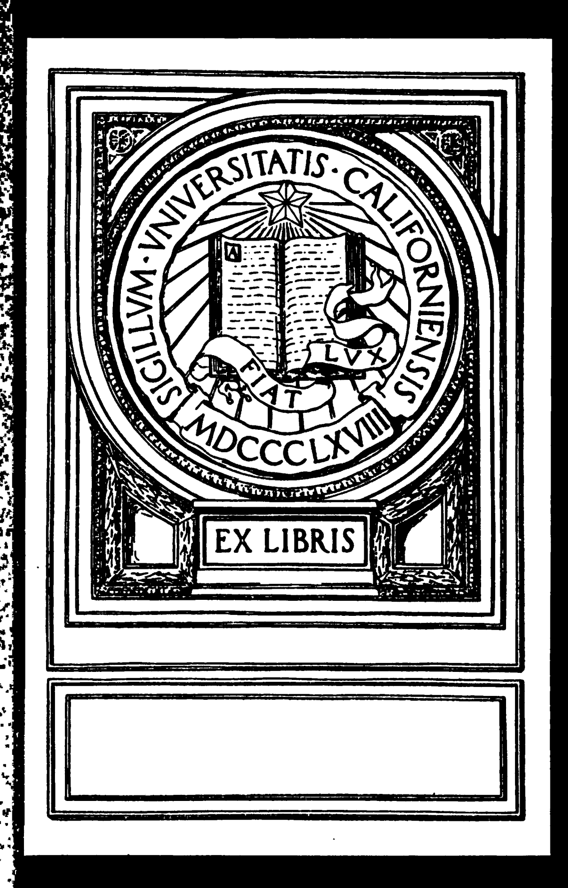
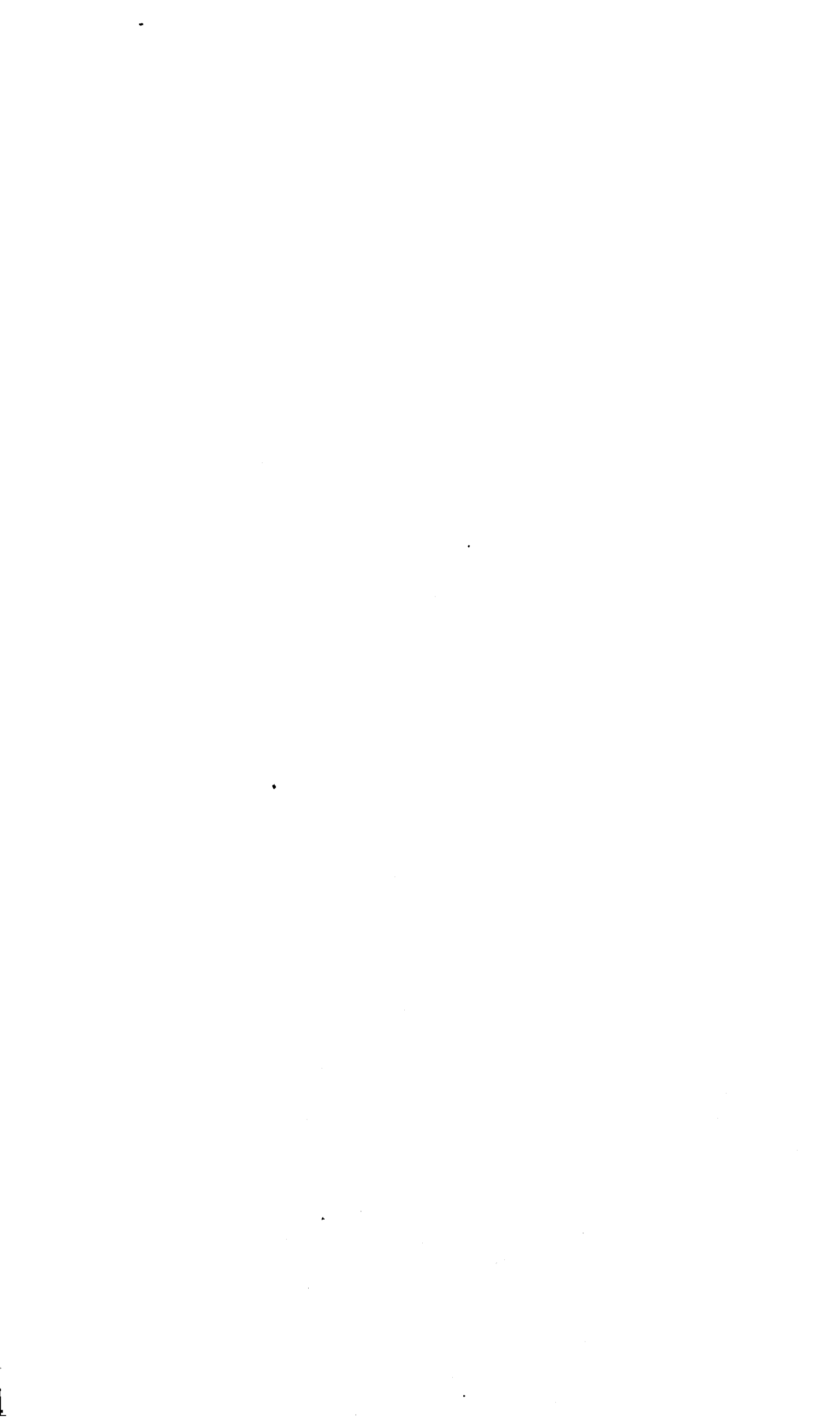

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Handbuch

der

Englischen Sprache.

Prosaïscher Theil.

Vierte Auflage.

Was man auch gegen solche Sammlungen sagen kann, welc
die Autoren zerstückelt mittheilen, sie bringen doch manche g
Wirkung hervor. Sind wir doch nicht immer so gefaſst und
geistreich, daſs wir ein ganzes Werk nach seinem Werth in u
aufzunehmen vermöchten. Streichen wir nicht in einem Buc
Stellen an, die sich unmittelbar auf uns beziehen? Junge Le
insonderheit, denen es an durchgreifender Bildung fehlt, we
den von glänzenden Stellen gar löblich aufgeregt.

Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit.
Von Göthe. Theil 3. S. 110.

HANDBUCH DER ENGLISCHEN SPRACHE UND LITERATUR,

oder

Auswahl interessanter chronologisch geordneter Stücke aus den Klassischen Englischen Prosaisten u. Dichtern Nebst Nachrichten von den Verfassern und ihren Werken.

von H. Nolte und L. Ideler

Ex ungue leonem.



Prosaischer Theil.

Vierte Auflage.

Berlin,
bey C. G. Nauck. 1823.

Vorrede zur zweiten Ausgabe.

Die erste Ausgabe des Handbuchs der Englischen Sprache, welche im Jahre 1793 erschien, wurde in den uns bekannten gelehrten Zeitungen *) nicht unvortheilhaft beurtheilt. Mehrere Schulmänner schenkten diesem Buche gleichfalls ihren Beifall, und legten es bei dem Unterricht, den sie in der Englischen Sprache ertheilten, zum Grunde. Beides ist für uns unterzeichnete Herausgeber ein Bewegungsgrund gewesen, allen unsern Fleiſs auf gegenwärtige zweite Auflage zu wenden, und uns zu bemühen, derselben einen höhern Grad von Brauchbarkeit zu ertheilen.

Wir sind auch hier stets des Zweckes eingedenk gewesen, den wir bei der Ausarbeitung des Handbuchs der Französischen Sprache, (zwei Bände, dritte Auflage, Berlin bei Nauck) zu erreichen uns bemühten, nämlich: dem Lehrling, welcher bereits die leichtern Hindernisse in Erlernung der Englischen Sprache überwunden hat, und der zur Lektüre der vorzüglichsten in derselben ge-

*) Unter andern in der Allgem. Lit. Zeit. vom Jahre 1795 nro. 100, in der Neuen Allgem. Deutschen Bibliothek, Band XI, St. 2, Heft 7, S. 437.

schriebenen Werke fortgehen will, vorläufig mit der glänzenden Gesellschaft, in die er zu treten gedenkt, bekannt zu machen." Zu dem Ende liefern wir ihm eine Reihe interessanter, charakteristischer und gröſstentheils als Meisterstücke anerkannter Stellen aus den Englischen Klassikern, begleitet mit gedrängten Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Schriften derselben.

Was die biographisch-literarischen Nachrichten betrifft, so wird zwar der Leser in denselben weder Ausführlichkeit, noch weniger feine ästhetische Bemerkungen finden, — denn jene erlaubte der beschränkte Raum, und diese, wenn wir sie auch hätten machen können, unser Zweck nicht —; freuen wird es uns indessen, wenn wir bei den hier gegebenen Umrissen die Physiognomie der charakterisirten Schriftsteller nicht ganz verfehlt, und wenigstens die Hauptzüge richtig gezeichnet haben sollten.

Die Wahl der Probestücke betreffend, so folgten wir dabei theils den Winken Englischer Kunstrichter, theils, wo diese fehlten, unserm eignen Gefühl, nie aber denen, welche sich vor uns mit ähnlichen Arbeiten beschäftigt haben. Da wir aus guten Gründen die aufgenommenen Stücke chronologisch ordneten, so konnte auf eine Folge vom Schwerern zum Leichteren nicht Bedacht genommen werden; sollte indessen jemand bei dem Gebrauch dieses Buchs darauf Rücksicht nehmen wollen, so würden

wir ihm unmafsgeblich rathen, mit den *Erzählungen, Beschreibungen* und *historischen Aufsätzen* von *Aikin, Addison, Steele, Johnson, Lady M. W. Montague, Gray, Fielding, Goldsmith, Swift, Brydone, Gibbon, Gillies, Burnet, Middleton, Robertson, Mallet, Roscoe, Johnson, Hume* und den biographischen Aufsätzen aus den *Public Characters*, den Anfang zu machen, hierauf die *Briefe* und *Gespräche* von *Lyttelton, Chesterfield, Sterne, Pope, Swift, Temple*, nebst den leichtern *didaktischen* Stücken von *Franklin, Addison, Blair, Smith, Harris, Richardson, Johnson*, zu lesen, und mit den *rednerischen* Aufsätzen von *Drysdale, Tillotson, Argyle, Burke, Chatham, Pitt, Sheridan, Fox*, und den übrigen schwerern Aufsätzen von *Dryden, Ferguson, Locke, Junius, Campbell, Bolingbroke, Shaftsbury* den Beschlufs zu machen. Uebrigens bemerken wir noch, dafs die Probestücke selbst, ohne Ausnahme, nach den besten Originalen, die wir bekommen konnten, abgedruckt worden sind.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit können wir nicht umhin, theils denjenigen Männern, welche uns gefällig mit Werken aus ihren Büchersammlungen versahen, unsern verbindlichen Dank öffentlich zu sagen, theils aber auch unser Bedauern darüber zu äufsern, dafs wir nicht aller zu unserer Arbeit dienlichen Werke hab-

*haft werden konnten; denn sonst würden wir nicht unterlassen haben, Probestücke aus den berühmten Bampton Sermons von White *), und noch von einigen andern Schriftstellern mitzutheilen.*

Bei dem zweiten Bande, welcher die Dichter enthält, wird der Leser verschiedene, zum bequemern Gebrauch dieses Buches dienende Verzeichnisse finden. Schiefslich wünschen wir uns eben so nachsichtsvoll als bei der ersten Ausgabe beurtheilt zu sehen, und versichern, dafs wir von jeder Belehrung dankbar Gebrauch machen werden.

Berlin den 30sten September 1801.

J. W. H. Nolte und L. Ideler.

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*) *Vergl. Kütiner's Beiträge 12tes Stück S. 89. „Die* Bampton Lectures *sind Predigten, die jährlich in der Universitätskirche zu Oxford gehalten werden, und von ihrem Stifter Bampton den Namen haben. Man ernennt jedes Jahr einen neuen Prediger, der gewöhnlich acht oder neun Tage dazu nimmt. Sie müssen, der Stiftung gemäfs, nachher gedruckt werden. Die erste Sammlung, die man davon hat, ist die von White, einem Mitgliede von Wadhams Collegium und Professor der Arabischen Sprache. Sie sollen indessen ihm nicht ganz gehören, sondern ein gewisser D. Par und ein Geistlicher, Badcock, sollen daran Theil haben." — Man hat auch* Bampton Lectures *von Kett.*

Vorrede zur dritten Auflage.

Wir finden bei dieser dritten Auflage weiter nichts zu erinnern, als dafs wir es uns haben angelegen seyn lassen, sowohl die biographischen Nachrichten zu vervollständigen, als auch für einen korrektern Abdruck des Textes zu sorgen. Die Anmerkungen, welche wir da, wo es uns nöthig zu seyn schien, hinzugefügt haben, werden verschiedenen Lesern hoffentlich nicht unwillkommen seyn. Uebrigens bemerken wir noch in Ansehung des poetischen Theils, dafs wir dem Lehrer unmafsgeblich rathen würden, die Lectüre desselben mit den leichtern erzählenden und beschreibenden Stücken von Gay, Swift, Thomson, Ossian, Denham, Dodsley, Bloomfield, Dyer, Lowth, anzufangen, hiernächst die schwerern Gedichte dieser Art z. B. die von Grainger, A. Philips, Goldsmith, Addison, Glover, Shenstone und Prior zu lesen, dann zu den didaktischen Fragmenten von Armstrong, Akenside, Blair, Roscommon, J. Philips, Pope, Young und zu den beiden dramatischen Aufsätzen von Sheridan und Shakspeare überzugehen, hiernächst die lyrischen Stücke von Gray, Waller, Hayley, Tickell, Watts, Barbauld, Beattie, Beresford, Hammond, Jago, Jerningham, Logan, Smollet, Bruce, Per-

cy, Smart, Granville, Cowley, Mallet, Mickle, Mason, Cunningham, Carter, folgen zu lassen, und den Beschluſs mit *Pomfret, Burns, Collins, Dryden, Congreve, Milton, Parnell, Penrose, Pope, Rochester, Johnson, Joseph* und *Thomas Warton, Wolcott, Butler, Churchill, Spenser* und *Chaucer* zu machen.

Berlin den 15. Mai 1808.

J. W. H. Nolte und L. Ideler.

Vorrede zur vierten Auflage.

Die vierte Auflage, welche die Verlagshandlung von dem Handbuche der Englischen Sprache und Literatur zu veranstalten sich veranlaſst gefunden hat, ist für uns eine erneuerte Aufforderung gewesen, dasselbe der von uns beabsichtigten Vollkommenheit näher zu führen. Zwar haben, wie dies bereits bei der dritten Auflage der Fall war, der vorzunehmenden Aenderungen nicht so viele seyn können und dürfen, als bei der zweiten; allein auch dies Mal ist, wie wir zu hoffen uns erlauben, manches verbessert worden. Denn mehrerer Berichtigungen des Textes und verschiedener neuen Anmerkungen nicht zu gedenken, sind zwei Schriftsteller — Argyle und Burnet — ganz weggelassen, dagegen durch zwei andere ersetzt worden, von denen der eine — Bacon — in demselben Maſse die erste Stelle, wie unter den Philosophen, so auch unter den frühern Stilisten der Engländer verdient, als der andere — Moore — einen ausgezeichneten Rang unter den neuern behauptet. Das eine der in der dritten Auflage abgedruckten Stücke eines ungenannten, mit J. W. bezeichneten Schriftstellers, ist dem Artikel Pitt einverleibt worden. In Betreff der ausgewählten Stücke wird der Leser in den Artikeln Brydone und Sheridan eine Aenderung finden.

Beim Beginn der Ueberarbeitung dieses Werks hofften wir übrigens auch noch dem einen oder dem andern der neuesten Prosaisten der Engländer hier eine Stelle einzuräumen und wir hefteten zuletzt noch unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf den, mehr jedoch als Dichter bekannten Southey; wir standen aber bald von unserm Vorhaben ab, da wir bei allen an ihm und andern wahrgenommenen Vorzügen denn doch die völlige Ebenbürtigkeit mit den älteren Prosaisten zu vermissen glaubten, überdies auch sein Name, so wie der von Walter Scott, mehr in dem, den Dichtern gewidmeten zweiten Theile genannt zu werden verdient.

Berlin den 1. October 1823.

J. W. H. Nolte und L. Ideler.

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BACON.

FRANCIS BACON, *Sohn des Sir* ***Nicholas Bacon,*** *Grofssiegelbewahrers unter der Regierung der Königinn Elisabeth, wurde am 22sten Januar* 1561 *zu London geboren. Bei seinen ausgezeichneten Fähigkeiten konnte er schon im 12ten Jahre (1573) auf die Universität Cambridge gesandt werden, und hier eignete er sich nicht allein bald an, was Wissenswürdiges gelehrt wurde, sondern durchschaute auch bereits die Schwächen der damals herrschenden scholastischen Philosophie und gelangte, ein noch nicht* 16 *jähriger Jüngling, zu der Ueberzeugung, dafs wahres Wissen aus ganz andern Quellen geschöpft werden müsse. Schon im Jahre* 1577 *finden wir den jungen* ***Bacon*** *in Paris bei dem damaligen Englischen Gesandten am Französischen Hofe Sir* ***Amias Powlet,*** *und dieser bediente sich auch seiner zu einer, Eile und Verschwiegenheit erfordernden Sendung an die Königinn Elisabeth. Nachdem er dieselbe zur Zufriedenheit vollendet hatte, kehrte er nach Frankreich zurück, durchreis'te noch einige Provinzen dieses Landes und gab durch seine bald nachher erschienenen* Observations on the general State of Europe *einen Beweis von dem Beobachtungsgeiste mit welchem er gereis't war. Durch den plötzlichen Tod seines Vaters fiel ihm, als jüngstem Sohne, nur ein kleines Erbtheil zu, und er mufste daher eine Laufbahn betreten, welche ihm auch Einkünfte gewährte. So wählte er, weniger aus Neigung, als durch die Umstände genöthigt, die Jurisprudenz und machte sich bald in* Gray's Inn *durch die Superiorität seiner Talente so bemerklich, dafs ihn die Königinn zu ihrem Rath in aufserordentlichen Rechtssachen ernannte. Er war damals 28 Jahr alt. Aber ein so aufserordentlicher Geist fand sich*

in den Studien der Rechte zu beengt. Geboren mit den Anlagen, das gesammte Gebiet des menschlichen Wissens zu umfassen, gab er schon früh Zeichen dieser Kraft, und eine damals von ihm verfaſste, aber verloren gegangene Abhandlung, betitelt: The greatest Birth of Time *scheint bereits die ersten Linien seines später erschienenen unsterblichen Werks* de Augmentis Scientiarum *enthalten zu haben. Eine Regierung, wie die der Königinn Elisabeth, unter welcher die Nation, während der nächst vorhergehenden Regierungen mannigfaltig darnieder gedrückt, sich so glänzend erhob, unter welcher groſse Krieger, geschickte Staatsmänner und Schriftsteller von hohem Range durch den Einfluſs dieser kraftvollen Regentinn erblühten, konnte auch nicht ohne beglückende Wirkungen auf den Geist eines Bacon seyn. Aber dies war auch die wesentlichste Frucht der Zeit für ihn; denn, wie sehr er sich auch an den damaligen mächtigen Günstling der Königinn, den Grafen von Essex, anschloſs, so wenig gelangen ihm seine Plane und jene Verbindung war vielmehr ein Hinderniſs seines Emporkommens. Denn die Königinn, wie werthvoll ihr auch damals der schöne, tapfere und bei der Nation beliebte Graf Essex war, konnte sich dem ihr eingeflöſsten Verdacht, als wolle derselbe, nicht zufrieden mit den ihm gewordenen Auszeichnungen, selbst sie beherrschen, nicht entziehen, und erhob nicht allein seinen Gegner Sir Robert Cecil zum Staats-Secretair, sondern versagte auch dem Grafen für seinen Freund Bacon, den man ihr als einen bloſs spekulirenden und zu Geschäften ungeeigneten Gelehrten zu schildern beflissen gewesen war, die Stelle eines* Solicitor general *(General-Anwalds). Der Graf Essex, gekränkt, seinem Freunde zu keinem Staatsdienst behülflich zu seyn, schenkte ihm — so wird allgemein behauptet —* Twickenham-Park *und noch einen Garten, Grundstücke, welche Bacon nachmals für* 1800 *l. verkaufte. Aber gegen diesen edlen Freund bewies Bacon nicht lange nachher die schwärzeste Undankbarkeit; denn als jener Günstling gefallen war, klagte er ihn öffentlich der Verrätherei an. Aber dafür wurde ihm auch allgemeine Verachtung zu Theil und sie verblieb ihm, was er auch nachmals zu seiner Vertheidigung sagen mochte, beides am Hofe und beim Publikum. Elisabeth überlebte bekanntlich die Hinrichtung ihres Günstlings nur etwa ein Jahr — sie starb am 24sten März 1603 —; ihr Nachfolger war Jacob der 6te von Schottland. Von diesem*

schwachen Regenten erhielt unser Bacon die Ritterwürde; mehr aber adelte ihn das unsterbliche Werk Instauratio magna, dessen erster Theil 1605 erschien. Es war ursprünglich in Englischer Sprache verfaſst und führte den Titel: Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning: allein Sir Francis Bacon, um es in einem weitern Umfange lesbar zu machen, veranlaſste den Doctor Playfair, es in das Lateinische zu übersetzen. Diese Uebersetzung miſsfiel aber schon nach den ersten Proben; er überhob den Uebersetzer der weitern Arbeit, und nachdem er, in seiner nachmaligen Zurückgezogenheit, das Original sehr erweitert und verbessert hatte, übersetzte er es, mit Hülfe einiger Freunde, selbst in das Lateinische und so erschien es 1623 als der erste Theil der Instauratio magna. Im Jahre 1607 erhielt er endlich die längst gewünschte Stelle eines Solicitor General und 1613 die eines Attorney General oder General-Fiskals. Auch in dem gröſsten Strudel der öffentlichen Geschäfte den Wissenschaften treu, hatte er 1610 seine Abhandlung of the Wisdom of Ancients bekannt gemacht. Im Jahre 1617 wurde er Groſs-Siegelbewahrer und im Jahre 1619 Groſskanzler von England, so wie bald nachher Baron von Verulam, welchen Titel er im folgenden Jahre gegen den eines Viscount St. Alban vertauschte. Wir haben die glänzende politische Laufbahn dieses Mannes nur mit wenigen Worten angedeutet, da er uns und die Welt überhaupt mehr als Gelehrter angeht. In Bezug hierauf verdient nur das wiederholentlich hervorgehoben zu werden, daſs er selbst in den genannten hohen Aemtern, welche ihn gewiſs auf das mannigfaltigste in Anspruch nahmen, dennoch fortwährend den Wissenschaften huldigte. Denn so erschien im Jahre 1620 sein Novum Organon, als der zweite Theil seiner Magna Instauratio, die Frucht eines zwölfjährigen Fleiſses und vielleicht die, welche als die vollendetste zu erachten ist. Bacon's politische Laufbahn nahte sich unterdessen einer unglücklichen Endschaft. Er wurde — wovon die Schuld jedoch mehr seine Untergebene, als ihn selbst treffen mogte — der Bestechungen beschuldigt, zu einer Geldstrafe von 40000 l., zu jedem öffentlichen Amte und zum Sitz im Parliament untüchtig, und zum Gefängniſs im Tower auf die Gnade des Königs verurtheilt. Zwar lieſs ihn der König nicht lange hier und es fand auch ein Umgehen der Geldbuſse statt, so wie drei Jahre nachher ihm auch durch den König vollkommene Verzeihung wiederfuhr; aber seine schon vorher zerrütteten Finanzen

waren es noch mehr durch den Verlust seiner Aemter geworden und er zog sich deshalb, als ein Opfer seines Ehrgeizes, in die Einsamkeit zurück. Hier verfaſste er 1622 seine History of Henry the seventh, *fügte seinen bekannten* Essays — *einer der geschätztesten seiner Schriften — mehrere hinzu, machte sie in Englischer und Lateinischer Sprache bekannt und schrieb auſserdem mehrere andere Werke; Beweise der auſserordentlichen Kraft seines Geistes, welche nicht körperliche Leiden und öffentliches Miſsgeschick zu unterdrücken vermocht hatten. Er starb den 9ten April 1626 im 66sten Jahre seines Alters. Wir haben die vorstehenden Nachrichten aus der, der neuesten und vollständigsten Ausgabe seiner Werke vorangeschickten Biographie* — The life of the Lord Chancellor Bacon — *entlehnt; ihr Verfasser ist Mallet, aber der Herausgeber dieser Ausgabe ist nicht genannt. Sie führt den Titel:* The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban and Lord High Chancellor of England, 10 Vols. London 1819. *Die 6 ersten Bände begreifen die in Englischer Sprache verfaſsten Werke und die vier letzten, vor deren erstem sich seine in Lateinischer Sprache von Rawley verfaſste Biographie befindet, die Lateinischen. — Sir Francis Bacon gehört unstreitig zu den gröſsten Geistern, welche die Welt sah und unter den Engländern gebührt ihm die nächste Stelle nach Newton. Er umfaſste, wie Leibnitz, nicht allein fast den ganzen damaligen Umfang des menschlichen Wissens, nämlich Philosophie, Naturlehre, selbst Medizin, ferner Alterthumswissenschaft, Geschichte, Jurisprudenz, Staatswissenschaft u. s. w. — nur in der Mathematik hatte er weniger geleistet — sondern erhob sich auch über den Standpunkt, auf welchem diese Wissenschaften zu seiner Zeit standen, dadurch, daſs er, theils die Art sie zu betreiben zeigte, theils in seiner umfassenden Uebersicht auf diejenigen Richtungen deutete, nach welchen hin sie noch zu erweitern wären. Es wird sich der Umfang seiner schriftstellerischen Thätigkeit am bequemsten durch die Darlegung des Inhalts der vorgedachten Ausgabe seiner Werke zeigen lassen. Der erste Band enthält die Abhandlung* Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human; *dann die* Sylva Sylvarum, or a natural History in ten Centuries. *Sie läuft auch noch durch einen Theil des zweiten Bandes durch, enthält Bruchstücke aus der Physik, Chemie, Naturgeschichte und Medizin, und schlieſst mit* physiological *und* medical remains *und* medical receipts. *Dann folgen seine* Moral Works *und zuvör-*

die vortreflichen Essays or counsels civil and moral, kleine Abhandlungen, geschöpft aus der Tiefe des Studiums und einer genauen Beobachtung der menschlichen Natur, und wie das in diese Sammlung aufgenommene Probestück beweiset, in einer kräftigen, edlen und wenig veralteten Sprache vorgetragen. Es sind ihrer 58. Ihnen folgt a collection of apophthegms, Anekdoten, welche der grofse Mann niederzuschreiben kein Bedenken trug, sich auf das Beispiel des Julius Cäsar, des Macrobius und anderer berufend, die es auch nicht unter ihrer Würde hielten, solche Histörchen dem Papier zu übergeben. Wir konnten uns die Aufnahme einiger derselben, so wie auch einiger aus seinen Schriften ausgehobenen und in dem zweiten Bande seiner Werke besonders abgedruckten Sentenzen um so weniger versagen, da sie auch dem Anfänger leicht verständlich sind. Aufser einem Essay on death machen die theological Works den Beschlufs dieses Bandes. Der 3te Band umfafst Works potitical, der 4te die Elements of the common Laws in England, der 5te die historischen Schriften, namentlich the history of the Life of King Henry the seventh und andere Bruchstücke. Dann folgen in diesem Bande und in dem 6ten Briefe, verschiedene derselben gerichtet an die Königinn Elisabeth und König Jacob den Ersten und viele andere denkwürdige Personen der damaligen Zeit. Den Beschlufs des 6sten Bandes macht das Testament des Verfassers und ein Inhaltsverzeichnifs. Der 7te Band, mit welchem die Lateinischen Werke Bacon's beginnen, enthält nebst dem 8ten und 9ten Theile und nach der oben gedachten Lateinischen Biographie, die berühmte Instauratio magna in fünf Theilen und zwar im ersten das aus 9 Abschnitten bestehende Werk de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum, dann im zweiten das Novum Organum sive Indicia vera de interpretatione naturae und demnächst noch drei andere Theile der Instauratio magna. Der übrige Raum des 9ten Bandes ist theils naturwissenschaftlichen, theils philosophischen Inhalts; auch findet man in demselben die Geschichte der Regierung Heinrich des 7ten, Königs von England, in Lateinischer Sprache. Der 10te Band enthält die Lateinische Uebersetzung der Essays unter dem Titel: Sermones fideles, sive interiora rerum und in eben dieser Sprache die Schrift de Sapientia Veterum, mythischen Inhalts, welche wir in Englischer Sprache, in welcher sie jedoch sei es früher oder später unter dem Titel: of the Wisdom of the Ancients, auch erschienen seyn mag, nicht kennen; ferner Meditationes sacrae und

endlich Epistolae. — *Nach dieser summarischen Uebersicht seiner Werke nur noch einige Bemerkungen über sein für die Gelahrtheit wichtigstes Werk, wir meinen seine* Magna Instauratio. *Der erste Theil derselben* — de augmentis scientiarum — *enthält eine Uebersicht des menschlichen Wissens nach der auf die drei Grundkräfte der Seele — Gedächtnifs, Einbildungskraft und Verstand — gegründeten Eintheilung in Geschichte, Poesie und Philosophie. Was nun in diesen Haupttheilen und in den mannigfaltigen Zweigen, in welche sich dieselben wiederum theilen, irrig oder mangelhaft ist oder noch ganz fehlt, das zeigt er und giebt zugleich die Mittel an, die Irrthümer zu berichtigen, den Mängeln abzuhelfen und das Fehlende zu ergänzen. Diese Uebersicht weiset nach, dafs er, was vor ihm in den Wissenschaften geleistet worden war, sich gröfstentheils angeeignet und nach Beendigung des hierzu erforderlichen unermefslichen Studiums sich zu dem hohen Standpunkt einer Kritik der bisherigen Leistungen erhoben hatte. Am Schlusse dieses Werkes giebt er unter dem Titel:* Desiderata *eine Uebersicht der verschiedenen Theile der Wissenschaft, welche bis dahin noch vernachläfsigt oder unbekannt waren. Unter diesen* Desideratis *findet man auch eine* Astrologia, *aber eine* Astrologia sana, *eine* Anatomia comparata; *auch eine* Grammatica philosophans *ist genannt. Ueberhaupt haben seine Andeutungen Veranlassung zur Bearbeitung manches bis dahin unbekannten Feldes der Wissenschaft gegeben. — Der zweite Theil seiner* Instauratio magna, *das* Novum Organon *enthaltend, ist zwar eine Logik, aber in einem edlern und höhern Sinne als die Dialektiken der damaligen Zeit und vielmehr eine Methodik. Er behauptet, dafs man sich mehr an die Sinne und die Erfahrung als an die Abstraction halten müsse und will das ganze Gebäude des menschlichen Wissens aus der Erfahrung durch Induction aufgeführt wissen. Newton gelangte auf diesem Wege zu seiner Theorie des Lichts. Der 3te, 4te und 5te Theil seiner* Instauratio magna *enthalten theilweise Ausführungen seiner Ideen. — Um sich den Zustand der Wissenschaften zu der Zeit, wo Sir Francis Bacon auftrat, mehr noch zu vergegenwärtigen, nehmen wir auf das weiterhin in diesem Handbuche aus Mallet's Biographie desselben abgedruckte Bruchstück Bezug und bemerken hier nur noch, dafs die deutsche Literatur eine, jedoch unvollendete Uebersetzung des* Novum Organon *besitzt, unter dem Titel: Neues Organon übersetzt von Bartoldy, Berlin 1793 in 8vo.*

1) Sentences.

Without good-nature, man is but a better kind of vermin.

He that studieth revenge, keepeth his own wounds green.

Fortune is like a market, where many times if you stay a little the price will fall.

He that goeth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel.

Generally it is good to commit the beginning of all great actions to Argus with an hundred eyes; and the ends of them to Briareus with an hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed.

He who builds a fair house upon an ill seat, commits himself to prison.

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise: for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

In great place, ask counsel of both times: of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest.

God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it.

If a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune: for though she be blind, she is not invisible.

Seneca saith well, that anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.

Death openeth the gate to good fame and extinguisheth envy.

It were good that man, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived.

Fame is like a river that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.

He that cannot see well, let him go softly.

2) Apophthegms.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was keeper of the great seal of England, when queen Elizabeth in her progress came to his house at Gorhambury, and said to him: „My lord, what a little house have you gotten!" answered her: „Madam, my house is well, but it is you that have made me too great for m y house".

Solon compared the people unto the sea, and orators and counsellors to the winds: for that the sea would be calm and quiet, if the winds did not trouble it.

Queen Elizabeth used to say of her instructions to great officers, „that they were like to garments, strait at the first putting on, but did by and by wear loose enough."

There was a captain sent to an exploit by his general with forces that were not likely to atchieve the entreprise; the captain said to him, „Sir, appoint but half so many." „Why?" saith the general. The captain answered, „Because it is better fewer die than more."

King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them: „Gentlemen, at London you are like ships at sea, which shew like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things.

When any great officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, queen Elizabeth would inquire after the piety, integrity, and learning of the man. And when she was satisfied in these qualifications, she would consider of his personage. And upon such an occasion, she pleased once to say to me: „Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority when the man is despised?"

Cato said, „The best way to keep good acts in memory, was to refresh them with new."

There was a bishop that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him: „My lord, why do you bathe twice a day?" The bishop answered: „Because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice."

Mr. Bettenham said, that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not out their sweet smell, till they be broken or crushed.

There was a painter became a physician; whereupon one said to him: „You have done well: for before the faults of your work were seen: but now they are unseen."

Cosmus duke of Florence was wont to say of perfidious friends, „that we read, that we ought to forgive our enemies; but we do not read, that we ought our friends."

Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, in a famine, sold all the rich vessels and ornaments of the church, to relieve the poor with bread, and said, „there was no reason that the

and temples of God should be sumptuously furnished and the living temples suffer penury."

Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, „That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead:" meaning of books.

Constantine the Great, in a kind of envy, himself being a great builder, as Trajan likewise was, would call Trajan *Parietaria* *), wall-flower; because his name was upon so many walls.

There was a King of Hungary took a bishop in battle, and kept him prisoner: whereupon the pope writ a monitory to him, for that he had broken the privilege of holy church, and taken his son. The king sent an embassage to him, and sent withal the armour wherein the bishop was taken, and this only in writing, *Vide non haec sit vestis filii tui:* „know now whether this be thy son's coat."

Michael Angelo the famous painter, painting in the pope's chapel the portraiture of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a cardinal that was his enemy, as every body at first sight knew it. Where upon the cardinal complained to pope Clement, humbly praying it might be defaced. The pope said to him, „why, you know very well, „I have power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, but not out of hell."

Sir Thomas More, who was a man, in all his life-time, that had an excellent vein in jesting, at the very instant of his death, having a pretty long beard, after his head was upon the block, lift it up again, and gently drew his beard aside, and said: „This hath not offended the king."

3) Of Friendship. **)

It had been hard for him that spake ***) it to have put more truth and untruth together, in few words, than in that speech: Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a God." For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society, in any man, has somewhat of the savage beast: but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a

*) Parietaria (herba) *Wandkraut, Mauerkraut.* **) Essays civil and moral. xxvii. ***) spake *alt für* spoke.

love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, *) Numa the Roman, **) Empedocles the Sicilian, ***) and Apollonius of Tyana; †) and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits, and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The latin adage meeteth with it a little: Magna civitas, magna solitudo; because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in little neighbourhoods. But we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude, to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness. And even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza ††) to open the liver; steel to open the spleen; flour of sulphur for the lungs; castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart, to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift †††) or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe, how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship, whereof we speak; so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes,

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*) *Epimenides, von Gnosus auf Creta (Candia), lebte um das Jahr Roms 158.* **) *Numa Pompilius, der bekannte zweite König Roms. Er regierte bis zum Jahre 81 d. St.* ***) *Empedocles, aus Agrigent in Sicilien, ein Pythagoreischer Philosoph, blühte um das Jahr Roms 311.* †) *Apollonius, aus Tyana, einer Stadt in Cappadocien, lebte um die Zeit der Geburt Christi, ein durch seine vorgeblichen Wunder berüchtigter Philosoph.* ††) *Sarsaparilla.* †††) Shrift, *(veraltet)* Geständniß, Mittheilung.

in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except, to make themselves capable thereof, they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves; which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites or privadoes; as if it were matter of grace or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof; naming them *participes curarum*;*) for it is that which ties the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men. —

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the unterstanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempests; but it maketh day-light in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts; neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another: he tosseth his thoughts more easely; he marshalleth them more orderly: he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse, than by a day's meditation. — Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained to such friends as are able to give a man counsel: they indeed are best: but even, without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word; a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from

*) *Theilnehmer der Sorgen.*

Hierauf bekleidete er mit allgemeinem Beifall einige nieder- und höhere geistliche Ämter, und ward zuletzt zum Erzbischof von Canterbury erhoben. Er starb den ersten November 1694. — Die Achtung, welche seine Zeitgenossen gegen ihn hegten, gründete sich theils auf seine Vorzüge als Mensch; denn er war sehr wohlthätig, und hinterliefs auch seiner Familie fast nichts, als das Manuskript der nach seinem Tode herausgekommenen Predigten; theils auf seine Verdienste als Gelehrter überhaupt, und als Theologe insonderheit. Tillotson nämlich gehört nebst Sir William Temple, Shaftsbury, Addison und Swift zu den ersten guten Prosaikern der Engländer; vorzüglich hatte sich vor ihm noch niemand in der Kanzelberedsamkeit ausgezeichnet. Blair, dieser scharfsinnige Beurtheiler, charakterisirt seine Schreibart sehr treffend in folgenden Worten*): „Simplicität ist ohne Zweifel die gröfste Schönheit, durch welche sich des Erzbischofs Tillotson Schreibart auszeichnet. Tillotson ist von jeher als ein beredter Schriftsteller, und seine Werke sind als Muster von Predigten bewundert worden. Aber man hat seine Beredsamkeit, wenn man ihm anders Beredsamkeit zuschreiben kann, fast von einer ganz falschen Seite angesehen. Wenn ein gewisser Grad von Wärme und Nachdruck, wenn anschauliche Darstellung, hinreifsende Figuren, oder auch nur möglichst vollkommene Anordnung und Verknüpfung der Redesätze, zu dem Begriffe der Beredsamkeit gehören, so kann man nicht leugnen, dafs der Vortrag unsers Erzbischofs sich in allen diesen Stücken merklich mangelhaft zeigt. Sein Ausdruck ist zwar jederzeit rein und verständlich: aber dafür sorglos und nachlässig, nicht selten matt und kraftlos; der Bau seiner Perioden, die oft das Ohr durch schleppende Zusätze beleidigen, ist nichts weniger als schön, und nur an

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ist, gilt auch vom Doktor der Medizin, nur dafs dieser zwei Jahre eher zu seinem Ziele gelangt. — Wer das Baccalaureat in der Musik erhalten will, mufs durch Zeugnisse darthun, dafs er sieben Jahre lang Musik getrieben habe, hierauf einen Gesang und eine Musik komponiren und im Hörsale der Musik aufführen. Nach fünf Jahren mufs er noch eine solche Probe halten, und nun ist er Doktor der Musik. S. Beiträge vornehmlich zur Kenntnifs des Innern von England und seiner Einwohner, zwölftes und dreizehntes Stück S. 58 u. f.

*) Siehe Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres by Hugh Blair, Lect. XXI.

sehr wenig Orten zeigt sich irgend einiges Bestreben nach Stärke oder Erhabenheit. Aber aller dieser Mängel ungeachtet, herrscht in seinen Werken eine so gleichförmige Ader von gesundem Verstande und Frömmigkeit, ein so eindringlicher und ernsthafter Vortrag, und ein so reichhaltiger, in einen reinen, natürlichen und ungezwungenen Ausdruck gekleideter Unterricht, daſs Tillotson's Name, so lange die Englische Sprache sich erhält, in Achtung bleiben wird; freilich nicht als ein Muster der höchsten Beredsamkeit, aber doch als ein kunstloser und liebenswürdiger Schriftsteller, in dessen Schreibart sich ein hoher Grad von Güte und Rechtschaffenheit unverkennbar abbildet. Simplicität der Darstellung ist mit einem gewissen Grade von Nachlässigkeit des Ausdrucks nicht unverträglich, und nur die Schönheit jener Simplicität ist die Ursache, welche den Nachlässigkeiten von Schriftstellern dieser Art einen gewissen Schein von Anmuth verleihen kann. Indeſs zeigt das Beispiel des Erzbischofs, daſs diese Nachlässigkeit zuweilen zu weit getrieben werden kann, daſs sie wirklich der Schönheit jener Simplicität Eintrag thut, und hin und wieder zu sichtbar in eine gewisse matte und kraftlose Darstellung ausartet." Die Ausgabe von Tillotson's Predigten, welche wir vor uns haben, besteht aus 14 Bänden in 8. und ist im Jahre 1704 zu London herausgekommen; eine spätere Ausgabe ist vom Jahre 1757 in 13 Bänden. In Französischer Sprache erschienen sie zu Paris 1745 in 12 Bänden in 8; eine Deutsche Uebersetzung veranstaltete Mart. Darnmann, Helmstädt 1728 u. ff. 8 Theile in 8. — Ausführlichere Nachrichten von dem Leben dieses, auch in der Englischen Kirchengeschichte berühmten Geistlichen, findet man unter andern in „The heads of illustrious persons – – with their lives, by Thomas Birch, Vol. 1. p. 157; im Brittischen Plutarch; Theil 4. S. 345 u. ff. Was die hier zum Theil aufgenommene Predigt über die Aufrichtigkeit gegen Gott und Menschen betrifft, so scheint sie uns einen vorzüglichen Rang unter Tillotson's Predigten zu behaupten. Die Sprache der Herzlichkeit herrscht unverkennbar in derselben. Sie war übrigens die letzte, welche der Erzbischof hielt. Zur Erläuterung des hier abgedruckten zweiten Abschnittes dient, daſs der Verfasser im ersten von der Natur der Aufrichtigkeit gegen Gott und Menschen handelt; der zweite enthält die Bewegungsgründe zu derselben.

Of Sincerity towards God and Man.

(Fragment of a Sermon preached at Kingston, July 29, 169

John I. 47.

Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behol an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.

— Having explained the nature of sincerity to God an Man, by declaring the properties of it, and in what instanc we ought chiefly to practise it, and what things are contrai to it; that which remains, is to persuade men, to endeavou after this excellent quality, and to practise it in all the wor and actions of their lives.

Let us then in the first place be sincere in our Religio and serve God in truth and uprightness of heart, out of con science of our duty and obligations to him, and not wit sinister respects to our private interest or passion, to th public approbation or censure of men. Let us never mal use of Religion to serve any base and unworthy ends, cloak ing our designs of covetousness, or ambition, or reveng with pretences of conscience and zeal for God, and let u endeavour after the reality of Religion, always remembrin that a sincere piety doth not consist in shew, but substanc not in appearance, but in effect; that the spirit of true Re ligion is still and calm, charitable and peaceable, making a little shew and stir as is possible; that a truly and sincerel good man does not affect vain ostentation, and an unseason able discovery of his good qualities, but endeavours rathe really to be, than to seem religious, and of the two rathe seeks to conceal his piety, than to set it out with pomp gives his alms privately, prays to God in secret, and make no appearance of Religion, but in such fruits and effects a cannot be hid in the quiet and silent virtues of humility and meekness, and patience, of peace and charity in govern ing his passions, and taking heed not to offend with hi tongue, by slander and calumny, by envious detraction o rash censure, or by any word or action that may be to th hurt and prejudice of his neighbour: but on the contrary it is a very ill sign, if a man affect to make a great nois and bustle about Religion, if he blow a trumpet before hi good works, and by extraordinary shews of devotion sum mon the eyes of men to behold him, and do, as it were,

call aloud to them to take notice of his piety, and to *come and see his zeal for the Lord of hosts.* It is not impossible but such a man with all his vanity and ostentation may have some real goodness in him; but he is *as the hypocrites* are, and does as like one as is possible; and by the mighty shew that he makes, to wise and considerate men, greatly brings in question the sincerity of his Religion.

And with the sincerity of our piety towards God, let us join the simplicity and integrity of manners in our conversation with men. Let us strictly charge ourselves to use truth and plainness in all our words and doings; let our tongue be after the true interpreter of our mind, and our expressions the lively image of our thoughts and affections, and our outward actions exactly agreeable to our inward purposes and intentions.

Amongst too many other instances of the great corruption and degeneracy of the age wherein we live, the great and general want of sincerity in conversation is none of the least. The world is grown so full of dissimulation and compliment, that mens' words are hardly any signification of their thoughts; and if any man measure his words by his heart, and speak as he thinks, and do not express more kindness to every man, than men usually have for any man, he can hardly escape the censure of rudeness and want of breeding. The old English plainness and sicerity, that generous integrity of nature and honesty of disposition, which always argues true greatness of mind, and is usually accompanied with undaunted courage and resolution, is in a great measure lost amongst us; there hath been a long endeavour to transform us into foreign manners and fashions, and to bring us to a servile imitation of none of the best of our neighbours, in some of the worst of their qualities. The dialect of conversation is now a days so swell'd with vanity and compliment, and so surfeited (as I may say) of expressions of kindness and respect, that if a man that lived an age or two ago should return into the world again, he would really want a dictionary to help him to understand his own language, and to know the true intrinsic value of the phrase in fashion, and would hardly at first believe at what a low rate the highest strains and expressions of kindness imaginable do commonly pass in current payment; and when he should come to understand it, it would be a great while be-

Apostle mentions this quality, as the chief ingredient into character of the best man, that ever was, our blessed Savic *who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.*

Secondly, the rarity of this virtue is a farther comm dation of it. A sincerely pious and good man, without guile or disguise, is not a sight to be seen every day. C Saviour in the text speaks of it, as a thing very extraor nary and of special remark and observation, and breaks into some kind of wonder upon the occasion, as if to a man of perfect integrity and simplicity were an occurre very rare and unusual, and such as calls for our more es cial attention and regard. *Behold*, saith he, *an Israelite deed, in whom there is no guile.*

Thirdly, the want of sincerity will quite spoil the vir and acceptance of all our piety and obedience, and certai deprive us of the reward of it. All that we do in the s vice of God, all our external obedience to his laws, if animated by sincerity, is like a sacrifice without a hea which is an abomination to the Lord.

Fourthly, hypocrisy and insincerity is a very vain a foolish thing; it is designed to cheat others, but is in tru a deceiving of ourselves. No man would flatter or disse ble, did he believe he were seen and discover'd; an op knave is a great fool, who destroys at once both his desi and his reputation: and this is the case of every hypocri all the disagreement, which is between his tongue and thoughts, his actions and his heart, is open to that eye, fr which nothing can be hid: *for the ways of man are bef the eyes of the Lord, and he seeth all his goings; there no darkness nor shadow of death, where the workers of i quity may hide themselves.*

Fifthly, truth and reality have all the advantages of a pearance, and many more. If the shew of any thing be go for any thing, I am sure sincerity is better; for why do any man dissemble, or seem to be that which he is not, b because he thinks it good to have such a quality as he pr tends to? for to counterfeit and dissemble, is to put on t appearance of some real excellency. Now the best way the world for a man to seem to be any thing, is really be what he would seem to be. Besides, that it is ma times as troublesome to make good the pretence of a go quality, as to have it; and if a man have it not, it is ten

Such were the manners of the people of Israel at that time, which were both the forerunner and the cause of those terrible calamities, which befell them afterwards; and this character agrees but to well to the present age, which is so wretchedly void of truth and sincerity; for which reason there is the greater need to recommand this virtue to us, which seems to be fled from us, that *truth and righteousness may return, and, glory may dwell in our land, and God may shew his mercy upon us, and grant us his salvation, and righteousness and peace may kiss each other.* To this end give me leave to offer these following considerations.

First, that sincerity is the highest commendation, and the very best character, that can be given of any man; it is the solid foundation of all virtue, the heart and soul of all piety and goodness; it is in scripture called *perfection*, and frequently joined with it: and throughout the Bible, there is the greatest stress and weight laid upon it; it is spoken of as the sum and comprehension of all Religion. *Only fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and truth*, says Joshua to the people of Israel, Jos. 24, 14. God takes great pleasure in it; so David assures us, 1 Chron. 29, 17. *I know, my God, that thou tryest the heart and hast pleasure in uprigthness;* and again, *thou lovest truth in the inward parts.*

To this disposition of mind the promises of divine favour and blessing are particularly made, Psal. 15, 1. 2. *Lord who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth from his heart.* Psal. 32, 2. *Blessed is the man, unto whom the Lord imputeth no sin, and in whose spirit there is no guile.* —

And 'tis observable, that this character of our Saviour here given of Nathanael, is the only full and perfect commendation that we read was ever given by him of any particular person. He commends some particular acts of piety and virtue in others, as St. Peter's confession of him, the faith of the centurion, and of the woman that was healed by touching the hem of his garment, the charity of the woman that cast her two mites into the treasury, and the bounty of that other devout woman, who poured upon him a box of precious ointment; but here he gives the particular character of a good man, when he says of Nathanael, that he was an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile. And the

together, as make his life a very perplext and intricate thing. *Oportet mendacem esse memorem; a lyar has need have a good memory*, lest he contradict at one time what he said at another; but truth is always consistent with it-self, and needs nothing to help it out; it is always near at hand, and sits upon our lips, and is ready to drop out before we are aware; whereas a lye is troublesome, and sets a man's invention upon the rack, and one trick needs a great many more to make it good. It is like building upon a false foundation, which continually stands in need of props to shoar it up, and proves at last more chargeable, than to have raised a substantial building at first upon a true and solid foundation; for sincerity is firm and substantial, and there is nothing hollow and unsound in it, and because it is plain and open, fears no discovery, of which the crafty man is always in danger, and when he thinks he walks in the dark, all his pretences are so transparent, that he that runs may read them; he is the last man that finds himself to be found out, and whilst he takes it for granted that he makes fools of others, he renders himself ridiculous.

Add to all this, that sincerity is the most compendious wisdom, and an excellent instrument for the speedy dispatch of business; it creates confidence, in those we have to deal with, saves the labour of many enquiries, and brings things to an issue in few words: it is like travelling in a plain beaten road, which commonly brings a man sooner to his journey's end, than by-ways, in which men often lose themselves. In a word, whatsoever convenience may be thought to be in falsehood and dissimulation, it is soon over; but the inconvenience of it is perpetual, because it brings a man under an everlasting jealousy and suspicion, so that he is not believed when he speaks truth, nor trusted when perhaps he means honestly: when a man hath once forfeited the reputation of his integrity, he is set fast, and nothing will then serve his turn, neither truth nor falsehood.

And I have often thought, that God hath in great wisdom hid from men of false and dishonest minds the wonderful advantages of truth and integrity to the prosperity even of our wordly affairs; these men are so blinded by their covetousness and ambition, that they cannot look beyond a present advantage, nor forbear to seize upon it, tho' by ways never so indirect; they cannot see so far, as to the re-

mote consequences of a steady integrity, and the vast benefit and advantages which it will bring a man at last. Were but this sort of men wise and clearsighted enough to discern this, they would be honest, out of very knavery, not out of any love to honesty and virtue, but with a crafty design to promote and advance more effectually their own interests; and therefore the justice of the divine providence hath hid this truest point of wisdom from their eyes, that bad men might not be upon equal terms with the just and upright, and serve their own wicked designs by honest and lawful means.

Indeed, if a man were only to deal in the world for a day, and should never have occasion to converse more with mankind, never more need their good opinion, or good word, it were then no great matter (speaking as to the concernments of this world) if a man spent his reputation all at once, and ventured it at one throw: but if he be to continue in the world, and would have the advantage of conversation whilst he his in it, let him make use of truth and sincerity in all his words and actions, for nothing but this will last and hold out to the end, all other arts will fail, but truth and integrity will carry a man through, and bear him out to the last.

'Tis the observation of Salomon, Prov. 12, 19. *The lip of truth is established for ever: but a lying tongue is but for a moment.* And the wiser any man is, the more clearly will he discern, how serviceable sincerity is to all the great ends and purposes of human life; and that man hath made a good progress, and profited much in the school of wisdom, who valueth truth and sincerity according to their worth. Every man will readily grant them to be great virtues, and arguments of a generous mind, but that there is so much of true wisdom in them, and that they really serve to profit our interest in this world, seems a great paradox to the generality of men; and yet I doubt not but it is undoubtedly true, and generally found to be so, in the experience of mankind.

Lastly, consider that it is not worth our while to dissemble, considering the shortness and especially the uncertainty of our lives. To what purpose should we be so cunning, when our abode in this world is so short and uncertain? Why should any man by dissembling his judgment,

or acting contrary to it, incur at once, the displeasure of God, and the discontent of his own mind? Especially if we consider, that all our dissimulation shall one day be made manifest and published on the open theatre of the world, before God, angels and men, to our everlasting shame and confusion; all disguise and vizards shall then be pluckt off, and every man shall appear in his true colours. For *then the secrets of men shall be judged, and God will bring every work into judgment, and every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil. Nothing is now covered, which shall not then be revealed, nor hid, which shall not then be known.*

Let us then be now what we would be glad to be found in that day, when all the pretences shall be examined, and the closest hypocrisy of men shall be laid open and dasht out of countenance; when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, and all the hidden works of darkness shall be revealed, and all our thoughts, words and actions shall be brought to a strict and severe trial, and be censured by that impartial and infallible judgment of God, which is according to truth; *in the day, when God shall judge the secrets of men, by Jesus Christ.*

To whom, with the father and the holy ghost, be glory now and for ever. Amen.

TEMPLE.

SIR *) WILLIAM TEMPLE, *geboren zu London* 1628, *stammte aus einer angesehenen Familie. Nachdem er sich gute Schulkenntnisse erworben hatte, bezog er in seinem* 17*ten*

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*) *Der eigentliche Adel in England besteht aus den Herzögen, Marquis, Grafen oder Earls, Viscounts und Baronen. Sie allein sind* Noblemen, *heissen zusammen* Lords, *sind* Peers *des Reichs und haben Sitz und Stimme im Oberhause. — Die Ritterschaft, oder, nach unserer Art zu reden, der niedere Adel, begreift die* Baronets *und* Knights *unter sich. Beide sind von den Gemeinen* (Commoners) *in weiter nichts unterschieden, als durch den Titel, welcher in dem Worte* Sir *besteht, das man vor ihren Taufnamen setzt, als z. B.* Sir Isaac Newton; *(man hüte sich demnach dieses* Sir *durch* Herr *zu übersetzen; es muss unverändert*

*Jahre die Universität zu Cambridge. Hier machte er bei seinen vorzüglichen Anlagen nicht nur glückliche Fortschritte in den ihn, als künftigen Geschäftsmann, zunächst angehenden Wissenschaften, sondern er setzte auch das Studium der Griechischen und Römischen Klassiker fort, beschäftigte sich mit Dichtkunst und Beredsamkeit, und brachte es in der Französischen und Spanischen Sprache zu einer seltenen Vollkommenheit. Nach einem zweijährigen Aufenthalt an diesem Orte, ging er auf Reisen, besuchte Frankreich, wo er zwei Jahre blieb, und durchreis'te hierauf Flandern, Holland und einen Theil von Deutschland. Nach seiner Rückkehr (*1654*), vermählte er sich mit einer Miſs Osborn, lebte hierauf, während Oliver Cromwell's Usurpation, fünf Jahre in der gröſsten Eingezogenheit in Irland, und studierte während dieser Zeit mit allem Eifer, vorzüglich Geschichte und Philosophie. Nach der Wiedereinsetzung der Königl. Familie begann er seine Laufbahn als Geschäftsmann, und das Vaterland hatte sich seiner Dienste zwanzig Jahre hindurch zu erfreuen. Der Lord-Kanzler Clarendon und der Graf Arlington hatten ihn dem Könige empfohlen, und dieser brauchte ihn nun bei verschiedenen Staatsverhandlungen. Vorzüglich macht ihm während seiner diplomatischen Laufbahn die Tripel-Allianz Ehre, welche im Jahre* 1668 *zwischen England, Holland und Schweden geschlossen wurde. Sir William Temple, der sich von dieser Verbindung, welche ganz sein Werk war, ungemein viel versprach, ging hierauf auch nach Deutschland, um den Kaiser und einige Deutsche Fürsten zur Theilnahme an derselben zu bewegen; allein er hatte den Verdruſs zu sehen, daſs sein eigner Hof kaltsinnig wurde, und selbst im Begriff stand, mit Holland zu brechen. Er ward hierauf* 1669 *zurückberufen, und man drang nun*

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beibehalten werden). Es giebt übrigens der Knights *oder Ritter mehrere Arten, als 1)* Knight banneret, *welcher im Felde unter der Fahne* (banner) *ernannt wird; da der König jetzt nicht mehr zu Felde zieht, so kann er deren auch nicht machen. 2)* Knight batchelor, *der darum so genannt wird, weil er mit der Person ausstirbt. 3) der* Baronet *ist von dem* Knight banneret *und* Knight batchelor *darin unterschieden, daſs er über beide den Rang hat, und daſs seine Würde erblich ist. Der Titel ist übrigens der nämliche; das Wort* Sir *vor dem Taufnamen. — Die Frauen der* Knights *und* Baronets *heissen in der Anrede* Mylady. *(S. Küttner's Beiträge 13tes Stück S. 63.)*

zu ihn, wieder nach dem Haag zurückzukehren, und das Bündniſs mit Holland zu vernichten, welches erst vor zwei Jahren durch seine Vermittelung mit diesem Staat geknüpft worden war. Sir William Temple lehnte diesen Auftrag von sich ab, und begab sich auf seinen Landsitz nach Shene nicht weit von Richmond. In dieser Eingezogenheit schrieb er seine Anmerkungen über die vereinigten Staaten und einen Theil seiner vermischten Schriften. — Im Jahre 1673 wollte ihn der König, welcher des zweiten Holländischen Krieges überdrüſsig war, nach Holland schicken, um Friedensunterhandlungen mit diesem Staate einzuleiten; da indessen dem damaligen Spanischen Botschafter in London, dem Marquis de Fresne, bereits Vollmachten übersandt waren, so bekam er Befehl, mit diesem zu negociiren, und in drei Tagen war die Unterhandlung beendigt. Auſserdem befand sich Sir William Temple als Botschafter und Vermittler bei dem Friedensschlusse zu Nimwegen (1674); auch brachte er während seines damaligen Aufenthalts in Holland die für die Sicherheit der Religion und Freiheit seines Vaterlandes höchst wichtige Vermählung zwischen dem Prinzen von Oranien, nachmaligem Könige Wilhelm dem Dritten, und der Lady Maria, Tochter Jacob's, Herzogs von York, und Nichte König Carl's II. zu Stande. Zur Belohnung für diese und viele andere wichtige Dienste ward ihm 1679 die Stelle eines Schatzmeisters angetragen; allein er schlug dieselbe nicht nur aus, sondern entfernte sich auch, aus politischen Ursachen, bald gänzlich von den öffentlichen Geschäften, und brachte den Ueberrest seiner Tage zu Moor-Park, unweit Farnham in Surry, zu, wo er auch 1698 starb. Sein Herz wurde, seiner ausdrücklichen Verordnung gemäſs, in einem silbernen Kästchen aufbewahrt, und unter dem Sonnenzeiger in seinem Garten begraben. — Es ist schon oben in der Biographie Tillotson's bemerkt worden, daſs Sir William Temple zu den ersten guten Prosaikern der Engländer gehört. Blair charakterisirt ihn von dieser Seite, in seiner 21sten Vorlesung, mit folgenden Worten: „Sir William Temple ist ein anderer wegen der Simplicität seiner Manier merkwürdiger Schriftsteller. Er steht, was Sprachrichtigkeit und Verzierung betrifft, um eine Stufe höher als Tillotson, ob er gleich in Ansehung der ersten Eigenschaft noch Verschiedenes zu wünschen übrig läſst. Aber dafür ist er überall auſserordentlich leicht und flieſsend, und

noch überdies in einem hohen Grade wohlklingend. Sanfte Rundung, und eine gewisse gefällige Lieblichkeit sind die unterscheidenden Kennzeichen seiner Manier; ob er sich schon zuweilen, wie es bei diesem Tone der Schreibart leicht geschehen kann, einen zu weitschweifigen und schlaffen Vortrag erlaubt. Ich weifs nicht, ob irgend ein Schriftsteller seiner Schreibart das Gepräge seines eigenthümlichen Charakters so tief eingedrückt hat. Wir glauben bei Lesung seiner Werke mit ihm selbst zu sprechen; wir werden innigst mit ihm vertraut und zwar nicht blofs mit dem Schriftsteller, sondern auch mit dem Menschen; wir werden theilnehmende Freunde von ihm. Uebrigens, dünkt mich, steht seine Schreibart zwischen der nachlässigen Simplicität, und dem höchsten Grade von Verzierung, welchen diese Gattung von Schreibart zuläfst, ungefähr mitten inne." — Eine ausführliche Biographie dieses grofsen Staatsmanns hat der Professor Heinrich Luden zu Jena unter dem Titel: Sir William Temple (Göttingen 1808) herausgegeben. Sie ist auch in der Sammlung: Kleine Aufsätze meist historischen Inhalts, abgedruckt. Die wichtigsten Schriften des Sir William Temple bestehen 1) in einer Reihe von Briefen (London 1700, 2 Vol.), welche zur Kenntnifs der Geschichte seiner Zeit sehr wichtig sind, und von denen wir drei als Probe liefern; 2) in einer Sammlung ungemein lehrreicher und unterhaltender Aufsätze, unter dem Titel Miscellanea (London 1697, 2 Vol.). Man findet darin unter andern die berühmte Abhandlung upon ancient and modern learning; ferner einen Aufsatz upon heroic virtue, upon poetry, upon the gardens of Epicurus, desgleichen ein vortreffliches Trostschreiben an die Gräfin Essex über den Verlust ihrer einzigen Tochter. Wir haben dem letztern einen Platz in unserer Sammlung angewiesen, indem die übrigen Aufsätze sich wegen ihrer beträchtlichen Länge nicht zur Aufnahme eignen, und, fragmentarisch mitgetheilt, nicht ganz verständlich seyn möchten. — Die neueste Ausgabe der sämmtlichen Werke unsers Autors ist folgende: The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart. complete; in four Volumes. To which is prefixed the life and character of the author, considerably enlarged. A new edition. London, Rivington, 1819. 4 Vols. gr. 8. (15 Thl.). Die politischen Abhandlungen sind nach der Zeitfolge abgedruckt. Wir haben noch nicht Gelegenheit gehabt, diese Ausgabe zu benutzen, sondern eine unter dem Titel: The works of Sir

William Temple, Bart. in 4 Vols. *(London 1770) erschienen vor uns gehabt.*

1) Letter from Sir William Temple to Sir Philip Warwick.

Brussels March 12. N. S.*) 1666

Sir,

Though it be more easy and more usual to beg favours than to acknowledge them; yet I find you are resolved to force me upon the last, without ever giving me time or occasion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my last dispatch, I am told enough by Mr. Godolphin, but more by my own heart, which will never suffer me to believe, that a person to whom I have been so long, and am so much a servant, should be any other than kind to me; for that is my way of judging my absent friends, and serves, like a watch in my pocket, to measure the time, though I see no sun. The very name of time puts me in mind, that yours it not to be spent idly, and that you are more pleased to oblige your friends than to receive their thanks; and therefore I will only say, that mine are very sensible and very hearty, and that no man is with more reason and with more sincereness than I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant.

2) Sir William Temple to Charles II.

Hague, Jan. 29. N. S. 1668.

May it please your Majesty **).

In my last passage hither, I had the honour of trying your Majesty's yacht in such a storm as I never felt before, and a greater no man in her***) pretended ever to have seen. The

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*) N. S. *bedeutet* new Style, *so wie* O. S. — *siehe weiter unten die Briefe der Lady Montague* — old Style. *Da die vom Pabst Gregor XIII im Jahr* 1582 *bewirkte Verbesserung des Kalenders, in England erst um das Jahr* 1752 *angenommen wurde, so waren auch obige Briefe noch ursprünglich nach dem* old Style *datirt.* **) May it please *ist eigentlich ein eingeführter Eingang der förmlichen Bittschriften.* ***) *Bekanntlich sind die Benennungen der verschiedenen Arten von Schiffen in der Englischen Sprache weiblichen Geschlechts, sobald nämlich der Engländer sich dieselben in Bewegung, gleichsam lebend, denkt. Von einem im Hafen liegenden Schiffe heißt es* it; *von einem segelnden* she.

fortune of your Majesty's affairs helped us to the discovery of a pilot-boat at a distance from the coasts, that brought us happily in, without which we had passed such another night at sea as I should not care to do for any thing your Majesty could give me, besides your favour, and the occasions of serving you: if we had miscarried, your Majesty had lost an honest diligent captain, and sixteen poor seamen, so beaten out with wet and toil, that the compassion I had then for them, I have still about me, and assure your Majesty, that five or six more will be necessary for your yacht, if you use her to such passages as this: but for the rest, I believe there is not such a boat in the world. She returns with a long, but final and happy account of my business to my Lord Arlington, and with the Count de Dona, who will be better company than a long ill letter, and deserves your Majesty's welcome by his other qualities, as well as his particular devotions for your Majesty's person and service.

I cannot end this letter, without congratulating with your Majesty, upon the success of your resolution, which occasioned my journey hither; and which is generally applauded here, as the wisest and happiest both for your kingdoms and your neighbours, and the most honourable to your Majesty's person, that ever was taken upon any occasion by any Prince. And the strange success of it hath been answerable to the rest of your Majesty's fortunes, and so amazing, that the expessions made of it here every hour are altogether extraordinary, not to say extravagant.

God in heaven continue your Majesty's good health, and good councils, and good fortunes, and then I shall have nothing more to wish, but that you may pardon the faults, and accept of the humble and hearty devotions of, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

3) Sir William Temple to the Earl of Northumberland.

Hague, Jun. 17. N. S. 1670.

My Lord,

By the same post which brought me the honour of a late letter from your Lordship, I received, from other hands, the news of my Lord of Northumberland's having left you to the succession of all his honours and fortunes: which gives me

the occasion of acknowledging your Lordship's favour a
memory; and at the same time of condoling with you up
the loss of a father, whose great virtues and qualities mu
needs have made so many sharers with you in this afflictio
I hope the help which is given your Lordship by so ma
of your servants and friends, upon this occasion, will ser
to ease your own part in it: and that after all that can
offered up to decency, and to the memory of so great a
excellent a person, this will find your Lordship rather tak
up with the imitation of his virtues, than the bewailing
his loss: since this is but what he owed to nature and
age, and to the course of long infirmities; and the other
what will be due from your Lordship all your life, to yo
birth, your family, and yourself. Nor indeed can ever
much depend upon so few paces, as will now, upon tho
your Lordship shall make at your first setting out; since a
men will be presaging by them the course of your journey
as they will have indeed influence upon the ease, as well
the direction of it. For my own part, I expect a great in
crease of your Lordship's personal honour upon this occa
sion: and that having been so excellent a son of family, yo
will shew yourself the same in being now a father of it
since nothing makes men fit to command, like having learn
to obey; and the same good sense and good disposition
make men succeed well in all the several offices of life
Those I know will be your Lordship's safety in enterin
upon a scene, where you will find many examples to avoid
and few to imitate: for I have yet seen none so generally cor
rupted as ours, at this time, by a common pride and affec
tation of despising and laughing at all face of order, and
virtue, and conformity to laws; which, after all, are qualities
that most conduce both to the happiness of a public state,
and the ease of a private life.

But your Lordship will, I hope, make a great example,
instead of needing other than those of your own family, to
which so much honour, order, and dignity, have been very
peculiar; as well as the consequences of them in the general
applause and the particular esteem of all those who have had
the honour to know and observe it; among whom there is
none more desirous to express that inclination by his servi-
ces, nor that has more of it at heart, than your Lordship's
most faithful and most humble servant.

4) Sir William Temple to the Countess of Essex.

(Upon her grief occasioned by the loss of her only daughter.)

Shene, Jan. 29. 1674.

*) — Perhaps none can be at heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladyship, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occasion, how unjust and unkind soever you are to yourself. But when you go about to throw away your health, or your life, so great a remainder of your own family, and so great hopes of that into which you are enter'd **), and all by a desperate melancholy, upon an accident past remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually subject; for God's sake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a christian, or so reasonable and so great a person as your Ladyship appears to the world in all other lights.

I know no duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect submission to his will in all things; nor do I think any disposition of mind can either please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None I am sure can be of more honour to God, nor of more ease to ourselves: for if we consider him as our maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our father, we ought not to distrust him: so that we may be confident, whatever be does is intended for our

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*) *Der Anfang dieses Schreibens, welcher sich auf verschiedene, uns unbekannte Verhältnisse bezieht, in welchen Lord Temple mit der Gräfinn von Essex stand, und der daher für den Leser unverständlich seyn würde, ist weggelassen worden. So viel sieht man aus demselben, daſs die Gräfinn von Essex in den Briefen an Sir William Temple und an ihre andern Freunde, eine an Verzweifelung gränzende Traurigkeit über den Tod ihrer Tochter geäuſsert haben muſste. — Wir glauben übrigens noch bemerklich machen zu müssen, daſs wir diesen Brief nach der in der Einleitung erwähnten Ausgabe der* Miscellanea *haben abdrucken lassen. Hugh Blair, welcher in seinen* Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres *verschiedene Stellen desselben als Muster einer vorzüglichen Schreibart anführt, scheint eine neuere, wahrscheinlich aber, wie man aus mehreren Umständen abnehmen kann, nicht vom Verfasser bearbeitete, Ausgabe der* Miscellanea *vor sich gehabt zu haben.* **) *Nämlich durch Verheirathung.*

good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwise yet we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.

But if it were fit for us to reason with God Almighty and your Ladyship's loss be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; yet I doubt you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do: for the first motions of passions, how violent soever may be pardoned; and it is only the course of them which makes them inexcusable. In this world, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good, and whatever is called so, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind, or else with the evil that is mingled in its composition; so he is a good man that is better than men commonly are, or in whom the good qualities are more than the bad; so in the course of life, his condition is esteemed good, which is better than that of most other men, or wherein the good circumstances are more than the ill. By this measure, I doubt, Madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your friends would have cause to rejoice rather than condole with you: for the goods or blessings of life are usually esteemed to be birth, health, beauty, friends, children, honour, riches. Now when your Ladyship has fairly considered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has yiven you of all these, you may be left to judge yourself how you have dealt with him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and consider other lives as well as your own, and what your lot is in comparison with those that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; if you think how few are born with honour, how many die without name or children, how little beauty we see, how few friends we hear of, how many diseases, and how much poverty there is in the world, you will fall down upon your knees, and instead of repining at one affliction, will admire so many blessings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladyship in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all these points, would look like a design to flatter you: but this I may say, that we will pity you as much as you please, if you will tell us who they are that you think upon all circumstances you have reason to envy. Now if I had a master that gave me all I could ask,

but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either because I used it ill, or gave myself so much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the rest of the world; or perhaps because he would shew his power, aud put me in mind from whom I held all the rest; would you think I had much reason to complain of hard usage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true you have lost a child, and therein all that could be lost in a child of that age; but you have kept one child, and are likely to do so long; you have the assurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a husband great in employment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the esteem of good men. You have kept your beauty and your health, unless you have destroyed them yourself, or discouraged them to stay with you by using them ill. You have friends that are as kind to you as you can wish or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of losing you, and being thereby so much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have honour and esteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that point of youn seeming to be fallen out with God and the whole world, and neither to care for yourself, or any thing else, after what you have lost.

You will say perhaps that one thing was all to you, and your fondness of it made you indifferent to every thing else. But this, I doubt, will be so far from justifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the blessings of life, and you set your heart wholly upon one, and despise or undervalue all the rest: is this his fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to heaven, as well as very scornful to the rest of the world; is it not to say, because you have lost one thing God hath given you, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to say, since that one thing is gone out of the world, there is nothing left in it which you think can deserve your kindness or esteem? A friend makes me a feast, and sets all before me that his care or kindness could provide; but I set my heart upon one dish alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I scorn all the rest; and though he sends for another of the same, yet I rise from the table in a rage, and say my friend is my

enemy, and has done me the greatest wrong in the world have I reason, Madam, or good grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the rest that is before me, and think no more of what hat happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of christianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our passions, to temper our affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the possession and patient under the loss whenever he that gave it shall see fit to take away. Your extreme fondness was perhaps as displeasing to God before, as now your extreme affliction and your loss may have been a punishment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. 'Tis at least pious to ascribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits rather than to injustice in God: aud becomes us better to adore all the issues of his Providence in the effects, than inquire into the causes: for submission is the only way of reasoning between a creature and its maker; and contentment in his will is the gratest duty we can pretend to, and the best remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes.

But, Madam, though Religion were no party in your case, and that for so violent and injurious a grief you had nothing to answer to God, but only to the world and yourself; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the world with us a poor needy uncertain life, short at the longest, and unquiet at the best; all the imaginations of the witty and the wise have been perpetually busied to find out the ways how to revive it with pleasures, or relieve it with ease, and settle it with safety. To some of these ends have been employed the institutions of lawgivers, the reasonings of philosophers, the inventions of poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous men. All the world is perpetually at work about nothing else, but only that our poor mortal lives should pass the easier and happier for that little time we possess them, or else end the better when we lose them. Upon this occasion riches came to be coveted, honours to be esteemed, friendship and love to be pursued, and virtues themselves to be admired in the world. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all mankind, to condemn their universal opinions and designs, if instead of passing your life as well and easily, you resolve to pass it as ill and as miserably as you can? You

grow insensible to the conveniencies of riches, the delights of honour and praise, the charms of kindness or friendship, nay to the observance or applause of virtues themselves; for who can you expect, in these excesses of passion, will allow you to shew either temperance or fortitude, to be either prudent or just? And for your friends, I suppose, you reckon upon losing their kindness, when you have sufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, since you have none left for yourself or any thing else. You declare upon all occasions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleasure in any thing that is left in this world; and I assure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to please you.

Among the several inquiries and endeavours after the happiness of life, the sensual men agree in pursuit of every pleasure they can start, without regarding the pains of the chase, the weariness when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The busy and ambitious fall into the more lasting pursuits of power and riches; the speculative men prefer tranquillity of mind, before the different motions of passion and appetite, or the common successions of desire and satiety, of pleasure and pain; but this may seem too dull a principle for the happiness of life, which is ever in motion; and passions are perhaps the stings, without which they say no honey is made; yet I think all sorts of men have ever agreed, they ought to be our servants, and not our masters; to give us some agitation for entertainment or exercise, but never to throw our reason out of its seat. Perhaps I would not always sit still, or would be sometimes on horse-back; but I would never ride a horse that galls my flesh, or shakes my bones, or that runs away with me as he pleases, so as I can neither stop at a river or precipice. Better no passions at all, than have them too violent; or such alone, as instead of hightning our pleasures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all such losses as your Ladyship's has been, there is something that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all excessive and outrageous grief or lamentation for dead, was accounted among the ancient christians, to have something of heathenish; and among the civil nations of old, to have something of barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the first to

moderate it by their precepts, and the latter to restrain it b
their laws. The longest time that has been allowed to th
forms of mourning by the custom of any country, and i
any relation, has been but that of a year, in which space th
body is commonly supposed to be mouldered away to earth
and to retain no more figure of what it was; but this ha
been given only to the loss of parents, of husband, or wif
On the other side, to children under age, nothing has bee
allowed; and I suppose with particular reason (the commo
ground of all general customs,) perhaps because they die i
innocence, and without having tasted the miseries of life, a
as we are sure they are well when they leave us, and escap
much ill which would in all appearance have befallen them i
they had staid longer with us. Besides a parent may hav
twenty children, and so his mourning may run through al
the best of his life, if his losses are frequent of that kind
and our kindness to children so young, is taken to procee
from common opinions, or fond imaginations, not friendshi
or esteem; and to be grounded upon entertainment, rathe
than use in the many offices of life: nor would it pass from
any person besides your Ladyship, to say you lost a com-
panion and a friend at nine years old, though you lost on
indeed, who gave the fairest hopes that could be of being
both in time, and every thing else that was esteemable and
good; but yet, that itself God only knows, considering the
changes of humour and disposition, which are as great as
those of feature and shape the first sixteen years of our lives
considering the chances of time, the infection of company, the
snares of the world, and the passions of youth; so that the
most excellent and agreeable creature of that tender age, and
that seemed born under the happiest stars, might by the
course of years and accidents, come to be the most miserable
herself, and more trouble to her friends by living long, than
she could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your loss so great, and
some measure of your grief so deserved, that would all your
passionate complaints, all the anguish of your heart do any
thing to retrieve it; could tears water the lovely plant so as
to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; would sighs
furnish new breath, or could it draw life and spirits from
the wasting of yours; I am sure your friends would be so
far from accusing your passion, that they would encourage

it as much, and share it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal laws of the creation extinguish all such hopes, forbid all such designs: nature gives us many children and friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the excesses of grief to have been so universally condemned as a thing unnatural, because so much in vain; whereas nature they say does nothing in vain: as a thing so unreasonable, because so contrary to our own designs; for we all design to be well, and at ease, and by grief we make ourselves ill of imaginary wounds, and raise ourselves troubles most properly out of the dust, whilst our ravings and complaints are but like arrows shot up into the air, at no mark, and so to no purpose, but only to fall back upon our heads, and destroy ourselves, instead of recovering or revenging our friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will say, this is your design, or if not, your desire; but I hope you are not yet so far gone, or so desperately bent: your Ladyship knows wery well, your life is not your own, but his that lent it you to manage, and preserve the best you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from some common hand. It belongs in a grat measure to your country, and your family; and therefore by all human laws, as well as divine, self-murder has ever been agreed on as the greatest crime, and is punish'd here with the utmost shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the dead. But is the crime much less to kill ourselves by a slow poison, than by a sudden wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual grief, can ye think ourselves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our hearts or consume them; if we pierce them, or bruise them; since all determines in the same death, as all arises from the same despair? But what if it goes not so far? 'Tis not indeed so bad as might be, but that does not excuse it from being very ill: though I do not kill my neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to spoil him of the conveniences of life? The greatest crime is for a man to kill himself; is it a small one to wound himself by anguish of heart, by grief, or despair, to ruin his health, to shorten his age, to deprive himself of all the pleasures, or eases, or enjoyments of life?

Next to the mischiefs we do ourselves, are those we do our children, and our friends, as those who deserve best of

us, or at least deserve no ill. The child you carry about you what has that done, that you should endeavour to deprive it of life, almost as soon as you bestow it? Or if at the best you suffer it to live to be born, yet by your ill usage of yourself, should so much impair the strength of its body and health, and perhaps the very temper of its mind, by giving it such an infusion of melancholy, as may serve to discolour the objects, and disrelish the accidents it may meet with in the common train of life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you say to another you are? Were it a small injury to my Lord Capel, to deprive him of a mother, from whose prudence and kindness he may justly expect the cares of his health and education, the forming of his body, and the cultivating of his mind; the seeds of honour and virtue, and thereby the true principles of a happy life; how has my Lord of Essex deserved that you should go about to lose him a wife he loves with so much passion, and which is more, with so much reason; so great an honour and support to his family, so great a hope to his fortune, and comfort to his life? Are there so many left of your own great family, that you should desire in a manner wholly to reduce it by suffering the greatest and almost last branch of it to wither away before is time? or is your country in this age so stored with great persons, that you should envy it those we may justly expect from so noble a race?

Whilst I had any hopes your tears would ease you, or that your grief would consume itself by liberty and time, your Ladyship knows very well I never once accused it, nor ever encreased it, like many others, by the common formal ways of assuaging it; and this I am sure is the first office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwise than in the most ordinary forms. I was in hope what was so violent, could not be so long: but when I observed it to grow stronger with age, and encrease like a stream the further it run; when I saw it draw out to so much unhappy consequences, and threathen no less than your child, your health, and your life; I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladyship, for God's sake, and for your own, for your children, and your friends, for your country's and your family's, that you would no longer abandon yourself to so disconsolate a passion, but that you would at length awaken

your piety, give way to your prudence, or at least, rouse up the invincible spirit of the Piercies *), that never yet shrunk at any disaster; that you would sometimes remember the great honours and fortunes of your family, not always the losses; cherish those veins of good humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and sear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your children, and to yourself: but above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health, and your life, for your friends sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me so great an honour and satisfaction, as if your Ladyship would own me to have contributed towards this cure; but, however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your pardon for the attempt, since there is none, I am sure that has always had at heart a greater honour for your Ladyship's family, nor can have for your person more devotion and esteem than, Madam,

Your Ladyship's
most obedient and most humble servant.

DRYDEN.

John Dryden *Esq. wurde* 1631 *zu Aldwinkle bei Oundle in Northamptonshire geboren. Er besuchte die Westminsterschule und Cambridge, wo er* 1653 *den Grad eines* Bachelor *annahm. Sein erster Versuch,* heroic stanzas *zum Lobe Cromwell's, erschien* 1658 *nach des Protector's Tode. Die Restauration hatte auf ihn eben den Einfluſs, den sie auf die Herzen der mehrsten Britten äuſserte: denn er schrieb bald darauf:* Astræa redux, a poem on the happy restoration and return of his sacred Majesty King Charles II. 1663 *fing er an für die Bühne zu arbeiten. Sein erstes Stück,* the wild gallant, *eine Komödie, wurde kalt aufgenommen. Dies hielt ihn indessen nicht ab, noch* 27 *andere, theils Trauerspiele, theils Lustspiele, theils sogenannte Tragikomödien, theils Opern zu liefern. Die wichtigsten darunter sind folgende:* the rival ladies (1664) *und* Sir Martin Marr-all (1668) *Lustspiele;*

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*) *Piercies, der Familienname der Gräfinn.*

the secret love or the maiden queen, *eine Tragikomödie;* the tempest *nach Shakspeare* (1670); tyrannic love, or the virgin martyr, *ein Trauerspiel in Versen* (1672); mariage à la mode, *ein Lustspiel* (1673); Aurung Zebe (1676) *und* Troilus and Cressida *nach Shakspeare* (1679), *Trauerspiele;* the spanish fryar, *eine Tragikomödie* (1681); the duke of Guise, *ein Trauerspiel* (1683); Albion and Albanus (1685), *und* Amphitryon, *Opern;* Don Sebastian (1690) *und* Cleomenes (1692), *Trauerspiele; und sein letztes Stück* the love triumphant, *eine Tragikomödie* (1694). *Man hält seine dramatischen Produkte für die schlechtesten seiner Werke, weil sie zu sehr in dem ungeläuterten Geschmack des damaligen Publikums geschrieben sind. Sein Theater erschien zu London* 1701 *in* 2 *Bänden in folio, und nachher öfters. Man sollte glauben,* 28 *Schauspiele würden ihn während eben so vieler Jahre hinreichend beschäftigt haben. Allein er arbeitete mit der Leichtigkeit eines Lope de Vega, und fand Muſse genug, sein fruchtbares Genie anderweitig zu üben.* 1667 *wurde sein* annus mirabilis *gedruckt, ein historisches Gedicht, das nach Dr. Johnson's Urtheil zu seinen gefeiltesten Werken gehört. Um diese Zeit schrieb er die Biographien des Polybius, Lucian und Plutarch, die den Englischen Uebersetzungen dieser Schriftsteller vorgedruckt sind.* 1668 *erhielt er den Posten eines* poet-laureat *oder Hofdichters, der ihn, wenn er sich darin zu erhalten gewuſst hätte, vor dem Mangel geschützt haben würde, mit dem er in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens kämpfen muſste. Um jene Zeit erschien sein eleganter und lehrreicher Dialog,* essay of dramatic poesy, *der erste Versuch einer feinern Kritik, der von einem Engländer gemacht wurde. Er erwarb sich dadurch ein so groſses Ansehen, daſs ihn die damaligen dramatischen Dichter, z. B. Lee, für den* Arbiter *der Bühne erkannten, und sich von ihm die Prologen oder Epilogen ihrer Stücke schreiben lieſsen.* 1681 *machte er seine merkwürdige Satyre* Absalom *und* Achitophel *bekannt. Sie ist gegen die Parthei des Herzogs von Monmouth gerichtet, und persiflirt viele der angesehensten Personen damaliger Zeit unter erdichteten Namen. Nach Jacob's II. Thronbesteigung trat er, weniger aus Ueberzeugung, als aus Politik, zur katholischen Kirche über, wofür ihn der König zu seinem Historiographen ernannte. Aus Eifer für seine neue Religion machte er jetzt seine berufene Fabel* the hind and the panther *bekannt, worin er die Römische Kirche unter dem Bilde einer*

milchweissen Hirschkuh ihre Gerechtsame gegen die protestantische, welche als ein Panther vorgestellt wird, vertheidigen läfst. Ein seltsamer Gedanke, welcher der Gegenpartey Stoff zur Satyre geben mufste. Und wirklich erschien bald eine bittere Parodie unter dem Titel the country mouse and the city mouse, wozu sich Prior und Montagu, nachmaliger Graf von Halifax, bekannten. Die von Jacob II. herbeigeführten goldenen Zeiten der katholischen Kirche gingen bald vorüber. Unser Dichter büfste den Lorbeer ein, worauf er zur Schriftstellerei als zu einem Erwerbsmittel seine Zuflucht nehmen mufste. Er arbeitete von nun an rüstiger als sonst, und zuweilen etwas fabrikmäfsig, wie ein von Johnson angeführter und auch in der neuen Ausgabe der prosaischen Schriften Dryden's abgedruckter Kontrakt beweiset, in welchem er sich anheischig macht, dem Buchhändler Tonson 10000 Verse für 250 Guineen zu liefern. Indessen tragen doch alle seine spätern Produkte das Gepräge seines grofsen Geistes an sich. 1693 erschien sein Persius und Juvenal. Den ersten übersetzte er ganz, von dem letztern aber nur die 1, 3, 6, 10 und 16te Satyre. 1697 gab er seinen Virgil heraus, der zu den meisterhaftesten Uebersetzungen gehört, die irgend eine neuere Nation aufweisen kann. Sein letztes Werk waren seine aus Homer, Ovid, Boccaz und Chaucer entlehnten und theils übersetzten, theils modernisirten fables ancient and modern, translated into verse with original poems; öfters gedruckt, unter andern London 1774, 8. In dieser Sammlung steht seine so gepriesene Ode Alexander's feast, or the power of music, in honour of St. Cecilia's day, die von Händel 1725 vortrefflich komponirt ist, und Pope's und Congreve's ähnliche Arbeiten weit hinter sich zurück läfst. Ramler hat sie 1770 übersetzt; auch findet man eine wohlgerathene Nachbildung derselben in Schiller's Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1800; der Verfasser derselben ist Herr Kosegarten. Dryden's prosaische Arbeiten bestehen aus Versuchen, kritischen Abhandlungen, Vorreden u. s. w. und sind eben so geistreich an Inhalt, als korrekt und zierlich an Sprache. Wir theilen hier einige derselben mit; im zweiten Theile dieser Sammlung wird der Leser einige poetische Stücke von diesem berühmten Dichter finden, namentlich seine Ode auf den Tod der Mrs. Killegrew, die nach Johnson's Urtheil zu den Meisterstücken der Englischen Poesie gehört, ferner Alexander's feast und die Erzählung

Theodore and Honoria. — *Dryden starb den 1sten Mai 1701 und wurde in der Westminster-Abtei zwischen Chaucer und Cowley beigesetzt. Auf seinem Monument steht nichts, als der Name Dryden. Was den Charakter dieses grofsen Mannes betrifft, so verdient darüber ganz vorzüglich sein Freund Congreve, in einer der oben angeführten Ausgabe der* dramatic works *vorgesetzten, Zueignungsschrift und Johnson im 2ten Bande seiner* Lives of the English poets *nachgelesen zu werden. Biographische Nachrichten von ihm findet man unter andern in dem oben angeführten Werke, wie auch in Birch's* heads of the illustrious persons of great Britain, *und im 4ten Theile des Brittischen Plutarch S. 205. u. ff. Unter den zahlreichen Ausgaben seiner Gedichte zeichnet sich besonders die vom Jahre 1760 durch Korrektheit und Eleganz aus; in der Johnsonschen Sammlung nehmen seine Werke den 13 bis 19ten Theil ein. — Die erste ganz vollständige Ausgabe seiner poetischen Werke, mit Johnson's Leben desselben und zahlreichen Anmerkungen, ist folgende:* Poetical works of John Dryden Esq. containing original Poems, Tales and Translations, with notes, by the late Rev. Jos. Warton D. D., the Rev. John Warton and others, in 4 Vols. 8. London 1812. *Von den prosaischen Schriften Dryden's ist eine Ausgabe von Malone unter folgendem Titel veranstaltet worden:* The critical and miscellaneous Prose works of John Dryden, now first collected with notes and illustrations; an account of the life and writings of the author, grounded on original authentic documents, and a collection of his letters, the greater part of which has never before been published, by Edmond Malone, Esq. III Vol. *(der erste Theil besteht aus 2 Bänden).* London 1800.

1) Tragedy compared with Epic Poetry *).

To raise, and afterwards to calm the passions: to purge the soul from pride, by the examples of human miseries, which befall the greatest; in few words, to expel arrogance, and introduce compassion, are the great effects of tragedy. Great,

*) *Aus der vor der Uebersetzung der Aeneis befindlichen Zueignungsschrift* to the most honourable John, Lord Marquis of Normandy, Earl of Mulgrave etc. *entlehnt.*

I must confess, if they were altogether as true as they are pompous. But are habits to be introduced at three hours warning? are radical diseases so suddenly removed? A mountebank may promise such a cure, but a skilful physician will not undertake it. An epic poem is not so much in haste: it works leisurely; the changes which it makes are slow; but the cure is likely to be more perfect. The effects of tragedy, as I said, are too violent to be lasting. If it be answered, that for this reason tragedies are often to be seen, and the dose to be repeated; this is tacitly to confess, that there is more virtue in one heroic poem, than in many tragedies. A man is humbled one day, and his pride returns the next. Chymical medicines are observed to relieve oftener than to cure: for it is the nature of spirits to make swift impressions, but not deep. Galenical decoctions, to which I may properly compare en epic poem, have more of body in them; they work by their substance and their weight. It is one reason of Aristotle's to prove that tragedy is the more noble, because it turns in a shorter compass; the whole action being circumscribed within the space of four and twenty hours. He might prove as well that a mushroom is to be preferred before a peach, because it shoots up in the compass of a night. A chariot may be driven round the pillar in less space than a large machine, because the bulk is not so great. Is the Moon a more noble planet than *Saturn*, because she makes her revolution in less than thirty days, and he in little less than thirty years? Both their orbs are in proportion to their several magnitudes; and, consequently, the quickness or slowness of their motion, and the time of their circumvolutions, is no argument of the greater or less perfection. And besides, what virtue is there in a tragedy, which is not contained in an epic poem? where pride is humbled, virtue rewarded, and vice punished; and those more amply treated, than the narrowness of the drama can admit? The shining quality of an epic hero, his magnanimity, his piety, or whatever characteristical virtue his poet gives him, raises first our admiration: we are naturally prone to imitate what we admire: and frequent acts produce a habit. If the hero's chief quality be vicious, as for example, the choler and obstinate desire of vengeance in Achilles, yet the moral is instructive: and besides, we are informed in the very proposition of the Iliad, that his anger was pernicious; that it brought a thou-

sand ills on the Grecian camp.*) The courage of Achilles is proposed to imitation, not his pride and disobedience to his general, nor his brutal cruelty to his dead enemy**), nor the selling his body to his father ***). We abhor these actions while we read them, and what we abhor we never imitate: the poet only shews them like rocks or quicksands, to be shunned.

By this example, the critics have concluded that it is not necessary the manners of the hero should be virtuous. They are poetically good if they are of a piece. Though where a character of perfect virtue is set before us, it is more lovely: for there the whole hero is to be imitated. This is the Eneas of Virgil: this is that idea of perfection in an epic poem, which painters and statuaries have only in their minds, and which no hands are able to express. These are the beauties of a god in a human body. When the picture of Achilles is drawn in tragedy, he is taken with those warts, and moles, and hard features, by those who represent him on the stage, or he is no more Achilles; for his creator Homer has so described him. Yet even thus he appears a perfect hero, though an imperfect character of virtue. Horace paints him after Homer, and delivers him to be copied on the stage with all those imperfections †). Therefore they are either not faults in an heroic poem, or faults common to the drama. After all, on the whole merits of the cause, it must be acknowledged that the epic poem is more for the manners, and tragedy for the passions. The passions, as I have said, are violent: and acute distempers require medicines of a strong and speedy operation. Ill habits of the mind are, like chronical diseases, to be corrected by degrees, and cured by alteratives: wherein though purges are sometimes necessary, yet diet, good air, and moderate exercise, have the greatest part. The matter being thus stated, it will appear that both sorts of poetry are of use for their proper ends.

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*) *S. Ilias I. 1-5; nach der Uebersetzung von Voss:*

Singe den Zorn, o Göttinn, des Peleiaden Achilleus,
Ihn der entbrannt den Achaiern unnennbaren Jammer erregte,
Und viel tapfere Seelen der Heldensöhne zum Aïs
Sendete, aber sie selbst zum Raub darstellte den Hunden,
Und dem Gevögel umher. — —

) *Hector.* *) *Priamus.* †) Horat. ars poetica v. 120-123.

The stage is more active, the epic poem works at greater leisure, yet is active too, when need requires. For dialogue is imitated by the drama, from the more active pars of it. One puts off a fit like the quinquina, and relieves us only for a time; the other roots out the distemper, and gives a healthful habit. The sun enlightens and chears us, dispels fogs, and warms the ground with his daily beams; but the corn is sowed, increases, is ripened, and is reaped for use, in process of time, and in its proper season. — I proceed from the gratness of the action, to the dignity of the actors, I mean the persons employed in both poems. There likewise tragedy will be seen to borrow from the epopee; and that which borrows is always of less dignity, because it has not of its own. A subject, it is true, may lend to his sovereign, but the act of borrowing makes the king inferior, because he wants, and the subject supplies. And suppose the persons of the drama wholly fabulous, or of the poet's invention, yet heroic poetry gave him the examples of that invention, because it was first, and Homer the common father of the stage. I know not of any one advantage which tragedy can boast above heroic poetry, but that it is represented to the view, as well as read; and instructs in the closet, as well as on the theatre. This is an uncontested excellence, and a chief branch of its prerogative; yet I may be allowed to say, without partiality, that herein the actors share the poet's praise. Your Lordship knows some modern tragedies which are beautiful on the stage, and yet I am confident you would not read them. Tryphon*), the stationer, complains they are seldom asked for in his shop. The poet who flourished in the scene, is damned in the ruelle; nay more, he is not esteemed a good poet by those who see and hear his extravagancies with delight. They are a sort of stately fustian, and lofty childishness. Nothing but nature can give a sincere pleasure; where that is not imitated, it is grotesque painting, the fine woman ends in a fish's tail**).

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*) *Wahrscheinlich ein erdichteter Name.* **) *Anspielung auf Horazens* ars poetica, v. 4.

Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.

2) Juvenal and Horace compared as Satirists *).

I would willingly divide the palm betwixt them, upon the two heads of profit and delight, which are the two ends of poetry in general. It must be granted by the favourers of Juvenal, that Horace is the more copious and profitable in his instructions of human life: but in my particular opinion, which I set not up for a standard to better judgments, Juvenal is the more delightful author. I am profited by both, I am pleased with both; but I owe more to Horace, for my instruction; and more to Juvenal, for my pleasure. This, as I said, is my particular taste of these two authors: they who will have either of them to excel the other in both qualities, can scarce give better reasons for their opinion, than I for mine: but all unbiassed readers will conclude, that my moderation is not to be condemned. To such impartial men I must appeal: for they who have already formed their judgments, may justly stand suspected of prejudice; and though all who are my readers, will set up to be my judges, I enter my caveat **) against them, that they ought not so much as to be of my jury; or, if they be admitted, it is but reason that they should first hear what I have to urge in the defence of my opinion.

That Horace is somewhat the better instructor of the two, is proved from hence, that his instructions are more general: Juvenal's more limited. So that, granting that the counsels which they give are equally good for moral use, Horace, who gives the most various advice, and most applicable to all occasions which can occur to us in the course of our lives; as including in his discourses not only all the rules of morality, but also of civil conversation; is undoubtedly to be preferred to him, who is more circumscribed in his instructions, makes them to fewer people, and on fewer occasions, than the other. I may be pardoned for using an old saying, since it is true, and to the purpose, „*Bonum* „*quo communius, eo melius*," ***) Juvenal, excepting only his

*) *Aus der, der Uebersetzung des Juvenal vorausgeschickten, Zueignungsschrift* to the right honourable Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex etc. **) Caveat, *gerichtlicher Einspruch.* ***) *Je gemeinsamer ein Gut ist, um so werthvoller ist es.*

first satire, is in all the rest confined to the exposing of some particular vice; that he lashes, and there he sticks. His sentences are truly shining and instructive, but they are sprinkled here and there. Horace is teaching us in every line, and is perpetually moral; he had found out the skill of Virgil, to hide his sentences; to give you the virtue of them, without shewing them in their full extent: which is the ostentation of a poet, and not his art. And this Petronius charges on the authors of his time, as a vice of writing which was then growing on the age. „*Ne sententiae extra „corpus orationis emineant:*" he would have them weaved into the body of the work, and not appear embossed upon it, and striking directly on the reader's view. Folly was the proper quarry of Horace, and not vice: and as there are but few notoriously wicked men, in comparison with a shoal of fools and fops; so it is a harder thing to make a man wise, than to make him honest: for the will is only to be reclaimed in the one; but the understanding is to be informed in the other. There are blind sides and follies, even in the professors of moral philosophy; and there is not any one sect of them that Horace has not exposed. Which, as it was not the design of Juvenal, who was wholly employed in lashing vices, some of them the most enormous that can be imagined; so perhaps, it was not so much his talent. „*Omne „vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico tangit et admissus cir- „cum praecordia ludit* *)." This was the commendation which Persius gave him; where by *vitium*, he means those little vices, which we call follies, the defects of human understanding, or at most the peccadillos of life, rather than the tragical vices, to which men are hurried by their unruly passions and exorbitant desires. But in the word *omne*, which is *universal*, he concludes with me, that the divine wit of Horace left nothing untouched; that he entered into the inmost recesses of nature; found out the imperfections even of the most common people; discovering, even in the great

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*) *Eine Stelle aus der ersten Satyre des Persius, nach Fülleborn's Uebersetzung:*

> *Horaz versteht die Fehler seiner Freunde*
> *So säuberlich zu fassen, daſs er ihnen*
> *Ein Lächeln abgewinnt und gern gesehen*
> *Sich unvermerkt in ihre Herzen schmeichelt.*

Trebatius *), to whom he addresses the first satire, his hunting after business, and following the court, as well as in the persecutor Crispinus **), his impertinence and importunity. It is true, he exposes Crispinus openly, as a common nuisance: but he raillies the other as a friend, more finely. The exhortations of Persius are confined to noblemen: and the stoick philosophy is that alone which he recommends to them; Juvenal exhorts to particular virtues, as they are opposed to those vices against which he declaims: but Horace laughs to shame all follies; and insinuates virtue, rather by familiar examples, than the severity of precepts.

This last consideration seems to incline the balance on the side of Horace, and to give him the preference to Juvenal, not only in profit, but in pleasure. But, after all, I must confess that the delight which Horace gives me, is but languishing. Be pleased still to unterstand, that I speak of my own taste only: he may ravish other men; but I am to stupid an insensible to be tickled. Where he barely grins himself and as Scaliger ***) says, only shews his white teeth, he cannot provoke me to any laughter. His urbanity, that is, his good manners, are to be commended; but his wit is faint; and his salt, if I may dare to say so, almost insipid. Juvenal is of a more vigorous and masculine wit; he gives me as much pleasure as I can bear; he fully satisfies my expectation; he treats his subject home; his spleen is raised and he raises mine: I have the pleasure of concernment in all he says: he drives his reader along with him; and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him. If he went another stage, it would be too far, it would make a journey of a progress, and turn delight into fatigue. When he gives over, it is a sign the subject is exhausted, and the wit of man can carry it no farther. If a fault can justly be found in him, it is that he is sometimes too luxuriant, too redundant; says more than he needs, like my friend the Plain-Dealer †), but never more than pleases. Add to this,

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*) *Cajus Trebatius Testa, ein Römischer Ritter und Rechtsgelehrter; an ihn ist Horazens 1ste Satyre des 2ten Buchs gerichtet.* **) *Horaz erwähnt seiner oft, als* Sat. I, 1, 120; S. I, 3, 139; S. I, 4, 14; S. II, 7, 45. ***) *Julius Caesar* Della Scala *oder* Scaliger, *geboren* 1484, *gestorben* 1558, *ein scharfsinniger Critiker.* †) A plain-dealer, *ein aufrichtiger, ehrlicher Mann; der Titel eines Englischen Schauspiels.*

that his thoughts are as just as those of Horace, and much more elevated. His expressions are sonorous and more noble; his verse more numerous, and his words are suitable to his thoughts, sublime and lofty. All these contribute to the pleasure of the reader: and the greater the soul of him who reads, his transports are the greater. Horace is always on the amble, Juvenal on the gallop; but his way is perpetually on carpet-ground. He goes with more impetuosity than Horace, but as securely; and the swiftness adds a more lively agitation to the spirits.

LOCKE.

JOHN LOCKE, *Esq. wurde* 1632 *zu Wrington unweit Bristol geboren, und theils in der Westminsterschule zu London, theils in dem Christ-church Collegio zu Oxford erzogen und gebildet. Er legte sich hauptsächlich auf die Arzneiwissenschaft, und erwarb sich in diesem Fache, wie seine Schriften beweisen, keine gemeine Kenntnisse, ob ihm gleich seine schwachen Gesundheitsumstände nie erlaubten, die Geschäfte eines ausübenden Arztes zu treiben. In seinen Erholungsstunden las er die Werke des Des Cartes, die seinem nach Deutlichkeit und Wahrheit strebenden Geiste einen Theil der Befriedigung gewährten, die er in der Aristotelischen Philosophie, der Modeweisheit damaliger Zeit, vergeblich gesucht hatte.* 1664 *sah er in Begleitung des Sir William Swan, Englischen Gesandten am Churbrandenburgischen Hofe, verschiedene Gegenden Deutschlands. Bei seiner Rückkehr setzte er seine Studien zu Oxford fort, und beschäftigte sich besonders mit Naturgeschichte und Physik.* 1668 *folgte er der Gräfinn von Northumberland nach Frankreich, wo er sich jedoch nicht lange aufhielt. Er lebte hierauf zu London in seines Gönners, des bekannten Lord Ashley Cooper, damaligen Kanzlers der Exchequer und nachherigen Grafen von Shaftsbury, Hause in welchem er um* 1670 *den Plan zu seinem* essay on human understanding *entwarf.* 1671 *ward er Mitglied der Königl. Societät der Wissenschaften und* Batchelor of Physic. *Nachdem er einige Zeit*

das Amt eines Sekretärs bei einer zur Untersuchung des Handels niedergesetzten Commission verwaltet hatte, machte er 1675 *zur Wiederherstellung seiner Gesundheit eine Reise nach Frankreich, hielt sich zu Montpellier und Paris auf, und lernte die vornehmsten dasigen Gelehrten kennen.* 1683 *fiel der Graf von* S h a f t s b ü r y *bei* J a c o b II. *in Ungnade, und ging zum Erbprinzen von Oranien über.* L o c k e *folgte ihm, und verlor nicht nur seine Stelle im Christ-church Collegio, sondern wurde nebst* 83 *andern Personen durch den Englischen Gesandten reklamirt, weil man ihn beschuldigte, verschiedene Pamphlets gegen die Regierung geschrieben zu haben. Allein er entging seinen Verfolgern, und hielt sich in der Stille zu Amsterdam auf, wo er besonders mit dem berühmten* l e C l e r c *Umgang hatte, bis ihn die* 1688 *erfolgte Revolution nach seinem Vaterlande zurückzukehren erlaubte. Er bekleidete hierauf einen Posten bei der Appellationscommission, und wurde* 1691 *zu einem Commissär des Handels und der Plantationen ernannt, ein einträgliches Amt, das er jedoch schon* 1700 *wieder aufgeben mufste, weil die Londner Luft seiner Gesundheit nicht zuträglich war. Von nun an hielt er sich gröfstentheils zu Oates in Essex, dem Landsitze seines Freundes* S i r F r a n c i s M a s h a m, *auf, wo er auch bei zunehmender Schwachheit im Jahr* 1704 *starb. — Dafs er einer der gröfsten Philosophen gewesen ist, welche England gesehen hat, ist bekannt; er war aber nicht blos diefs, sondern auch ein Mann von edler Denkungsart und musterhaftem Lebenswandel. Unter der Menge seiner Schriften, zeichnen sich besonders folgende aus:* 1) *sein* essay concerning human understanding in four books, 1687 *in Holland vollendet. Die erste Ausgabe erschien* 1690 *fol., nachdem* l e C l e r c *durch Uebersetzung eines Abschnitts das Publikum aufmerksam darauf gemacht hatte. Die vierte vom Verfasser vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage wird für die beste gehalten. Die* 18*te erschien zu London* 1788. 2 *Vols.* 8. J o h n W y n n e *hat, nach einem von* L o c k e *gebilligten Plan, einen Auszug daraus verfertigt, der verschiedenemal gedruckt ist, und vor dem Hauptwerke studiert zu werden verdient.* 2) Some thoughts concerning education, *zuerst London,* 1690. 8, *ein Werk, das jedem Freunde ächter Pädagogik zur Genüge bekannt ist. Im Jahre* 1706 *erschienen seine nachgelassenen Schriften in drei verschiedenen Ausgaben unter den Titeln* Posthumous works *und* Several pieces. *Man hat seine*

sämmtlichen in Englischer Sprache abgefaſsten Werke in ein Corpus gesammelt, das zuerst London 1714 in 3 Bänden in Folio, und zum 8tenmal 1777 in 4 Bänden in 4. gedruckt worden ist. Ueber diesen merkwürdigen Schriftsteller verdienen, auſser dem 5ten Bande der Biographia Britannica, *vorzüglich nachgelesen zu werden:* The heads of illustrious persons of great Britain, engraven by M. Houbrake and Mr. Vertue, with their lives and characters by T. Birch, London 1747. Fol.

1) Some thoughts concerning education.

A sound mind in a sound body, is a short, but full description of a happy state in this world. He that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. Mens' happiness or misery is most part of their own making. He, whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way; and he, whose body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confess, there are some mens' constitutions of body and mind so vigorous, and well framed by nature, that they need not much assistance from others; but by the strength of their natural genius, they are from their cradles carried towards what is excellent; and by the privilege of their happy constitutions are able to do wonders. But examples of this kind are but few; and I think, I may say, that of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little, or almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences: and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels, that make them take quite contrary courses: and by this little direction given them at first in the source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant places. —

The great mistake, I have observed in people's breeding their children, has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its *due season;* that the mind has not been made obedient to discipline, and pliant to reason, when at first it was most easy to be bowed. Parents, being wisely

ordained by nature to love their children, are very apt, if reason watch not that natural affection very warily, are apt, I say, to let it run into fondness. They love their little ones, and it is their duty; but they often, with them, cherish their faults too. They must not be crossed forsooth; they must be permitted to have their wills in all things; and they being, in their infancies, not capable of great vices, their parents think they may safely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themselves sport with that pretty perverseness, which they think well enough becomes that innocent age. But to a fond parent, that would not have his child corrected for a perverse trick, but excused it, saying, it was a small matter, Solon very well replied, *aye, but custom is a great one.*

The fondling must be taught to strike and call names, must have what he calls for, and to what he pleases. Thus parents, by humouring and cockering them when *little*, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taste their bitter waters, when they themselves have poisoned the fountain; for, when their children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their parents can no longer make use of them as play-things; then they complain, that the brats are untoward and perverse; then they are offended to see them wilful, and are troubled with those ill humours which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those weeds, which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root, to be easely extirpated. For he, that has been used to have his will in every thing, as long as he was in coats, why should we think it strange that he should desire it, and contend for it still, when he is in breeches? Indeed as he grows more towards a man, age shews his faults the more; so that there be few parents then so blind, as not to see them; few so insensible, as not to feel the ill effects of their own indulgence. He had the will of his maid, before he could speak, or go; he had the mastery of his parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed? Why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old, lose the privilege, which the parents' indulgence till then so largely al-

lowed him? Try it in a dog, or an horse, or any other creature, and see whether the ill and resty tricks, they have learned when young, are easily to be mended when they are knit: and yet none of these creatures are half so wilful and proud, or half so desirous to be masters of themselves and others as man.

We are generally wise enough, to begin with them, when they are *very young*, and discipline *betimes* those other creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own offspring, that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill children, we foolishly expect they should be good men. For if the child must have grapes or sugar-plums when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor baby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too, if his desires carry him to wine or women? They are objects as suitable to the longing of one of more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a child. The having desires accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several ages, is not the fault; but the not having them subject to the rules and restraints of reason: the difference lies not in having or not having appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny ourselves in them. He that is not used to submit his will to the reason of others, when he is young, will scarce hearken or submit to his own reason; when he is of an age to make use of it. And what a kind of a man such a one is likely to prove, is easy to foresee.

These are oversights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their children's education. But, if we look into the common management of children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of manners which the world complains of, that there are any foot-steps at all left of virtue. I desire to know what vice can be named, which parents, and those about children, do not season them with, and drop into them the seeds of, as soon as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the examples they give, and the patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here, is, the downright teaching them vice, and actually putting them out of the way of virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with violence, re-

venge and cruelty. *Give me a blow, that I may beat him*, is a lesson which most children every day hear; and it is thought nothing because their hands have not strength to do any mischief. But I ask, does not this corrupt their mind? Is not this the way of force and violence, that they are set in? And if they have been taught, when little, to strike and hurt others by proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and see them suffer, are they no prepared to do it, when they are strong enough to be felt themselves, and strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our bodies, which are for modesty, warmth and defence, are, by the folly or vice of parents, recommended to their children for other uses. They are made matters of vanity and emulation. A child is set a longing after a new suit, for the finery of it; and when the little girl is tricked up in her new gown and commode, how can her mother do less than teach her to admire herself, by calling her, *her little queen*, and *her princess?* Thus the little ones are taught to be proud of their clothes, before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this outside fashionableness of the taylor or tire-woman's making, when their parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying, and equivocations, and excuses little different from lying, are put into the mouths of young people, and commended in apprentices and children, whilst they are for their masters' or parents' advantage. And can it be thought, that he that finds the straining of truth dispensed with, and encouraged, whilst it is for his godly master's turn, will not make use of that privilege for himself, when it may be for his own profit?

Those of the meaner sort are hindered by the streightness of their fortunes, from encouraging intemperance in their children, by the temptation of their diet, or invitations to eat or drink more than enough; but their own ill examples, whenever plenty comes in their way, shew that it is not the dislike of drunkenness or gluttony, that keeps them from excess, but want of materials. But if we look into the houses of those who are a little warmer in their fortunes, their eating and drinking are made so much the great business and happiness of life, that children are thought neglected if they have not their share of it. Sauces and ragoos, and food

disguised by all the arts of cookery, must tempt their palates, when their bellies are full; and then, for fear the stomach should be overcharged, a pretence is found for the other glass of wine to help digestion, though it only serves to increase the surfeit.

Is my young master a little out of order? the first question is: what will my dear eat? what shall I get for thee? Eating and drinking are instantly pressed: and every body's invention is set on work to find out something, luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite, which nature has wisely ordered in the beginning of distempers, as a defence against their increase, that being freed from the ordinary labour of digesting any new load in the stomach, she may be at leisure to correct and master the peccant humours.

And where children are so happy in the care of their parents, as by their prudence to be kept from the excess of their tables, to the sobriety of a plain and simple diet, yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the contagion that poisons the mind; though, by a discreet management, whilst they are under tuition, their healths perhaps may be pretty well secure, yet their desires must needs yield to the lessons which every where will be read to them upon this part of epicurism. The commendation that *eating well* has every where, cannot fail to be a successful incentive to natural appetite, and bring them quickly to the liking and expence of a fashionable table. This shall have from every one, even the reprovers of vice, the title of *living well*. And what shall sullen reason dare to say against the public testimony? Or can it hope to be heard, if it should call that *luxury*, which is so much owned, and universally practised by those of the best quality?

This is now so grown a vice, and has so great supports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the name of virtue; and whether it will not be thought folly, or want of knowledge of the world, to open one's mouth against it. And, truly, I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might be censured as a little satire out of my way, did I not mention it with this view, that it might awaken the care and watchfulness of parents in the education of their children, when they see how they are beset on every side, not only with temptations, but instructors to vice, and that, perhaps, in those they thought places of security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this subject, much less run over all the particulars that would shew what pains are used to corrupt children, and instil principles of vice into them; but I desire parents soberly to consider, what irregularity, or vice there is, which children are not visibly taught, and whether it be not their duty and wisdom to provide them other instructions.

a) Of the Association of Ideas.*)

There is scarce any one that does not observe something that seems odd to him, and is in itself really extravagant in the opinions, reasonings, and actions of other men. The least flaw of this kind if at all different from his own, every one is quick-sighted enough to espy in another, and will by the authority of reason forwardly condemn, though he be guilty of much greater unreasonableness in his own tenets and conduct, which he never perceives, and will hardly, if at all, be convinced of.

This proceeds not only from self-love, though that has often a great hand in it. Men of fair minds, and not given up to the over-weening of self-flattery, are frequently guilty of it; and in many cases one with amazement hears the arguings, and is astonished at the obstinacy of a worthy man, who yields not to the evidence of reason, though laid before him as clear as day-light.

This sort of unreasonableness is usually imputed to education and prejudice, and for the most part truly enough, though that reaches not the bottom of the disease, nor shews distinctly enough whence it rises, or wherein it lies. Education is often rightly assigned the cause, and prejudice is a good general name for the thing itself: but yet, I think, he ought to look a little farther, who would trace this sort of madness to the root is springs from, and so explain it, as to shew whence this flaw has its original in very sober and rational minds, and wherein it consists.

I shall be pardoned for calling it by so harsh a name as *madness*, when it is considered, that opposition to reason deserves that name, and is really madness; and there is scarce a man so free from it, but that if he should always, on all occasions, argue or do as in some cases he constantly does,

*) Essay on human Understanding, Book II. Chap. 33.

would not be thought fitter for Bedlam *), than civil conversation. I do not here mean when he is under the power of an unruly passion, but in the steady calm course of his life. That which will yet more apologise for this harsh name, and ungrateful imputation on the greatest part of mankind, is, that enquiring a little by the bye into the nature of madness, (Book II. c. 11.) I found it to spring from the very same root, and to depend on the very same cause we are here speaking of. This consideration of the thing itself, at a time when I thought not the least on the subject which I am now treating of, suggested it to me. And if this be a weakness to which all men are so liable; if this be a taint which so universally infects mankind, the greater care should be taken to lay it open under its due name, thereby to excite the greater care in its prevention and cure.

Some of our ideas have a natural correspondence and connexion with one another: it is the office and excellency of our reason to trace these, and hold them together in that union and correspondence which is founded in their peculiar beings. Besides this, there is another connexion of ideas, wholly owing to chance or custom; ideas that in themselves are not all of kin, come to be so united in some mens' minds, that it is very hard to separate them; they always keep in company, and the one no sooner at any time comes into the understanding, but its associate appears with it; and if they are more than two, which are thus united, the whole gang, always inseparable, shew themselves together.

This strong combination of ideas, not allied by nature, the mind makes in itself either voluntarily, or by chance; and hence it comes in different men to be very different according to their different inclinations, educations, interests, etc. Custom settles habits of thinking in the understanding, as well as of determining in the will, and of motions in the body; all which seems to be but trains of motion in the animal spirits, which once set a going, continue in the same steps they have been used to, which by often treading, are worn into a smooth path, and the motion in it becomes easy, and as it were natural. As far as we can comprehend thinking thus ideas seem to be produced in our minds; or if they are

*) *Name des Hospitals für Wahnsinnige in London.*

not, this may serve to explain their following one another in an habitual train, when once they are put into that tract, as well as it does to explain such motions of the body. A musician used to any tune, will find, that let it but once begin in his head, the ideas of the several notes of it will follow one another orderly in his understanding, without any care or attention, as regularly as his fingers move orderly over the keys of the organ to play out the tune he has begun, though his unattentive thoughts be elsewhere a wandering. Whether the natural cause of these ideas, as well as of that regular dancing of his fingers, be the motion of his animal spirits, I will not determine, how probable soever, by this instance, it appears to be so: but this may help us a little to conceive of intellectual habits, and of the tying together of ideas.

That there are such associations of them made by custom in the minds of most men, I think no body will question, who as well considered himself or others; and to this, perhaps, might be justly attributed most of the sympathies and antipathies observable in men, which work as strongly, and produce as regular effects as if they were natural, and are therefore called so, though they at first had no other original but the accidental connexion of two ideas, which either the strength of the first impression, or future indulgence so united, that they always afterwards kept company together in that man's mind, as if they were but one idea. I say, most of the antipathies, I do not say, all, for some of them are truly natural, depend upon our original constitution, and are born with us; but a great part of those which are counted natural, would have been known to be from unheeded, though, perhaps, early impressions, or wanton fancies at first, which would have been acknowledged the original of them, if they had been warily observed. A grown person surfeiting with honey, no sooner hears the name of it, but his fancy immediately carries sickness, and qualms to his stomach, and he cannot bear the very idea of it; other ideas of dislike and sickness, and vomiting presently accompany it, and he is disturbed; but he knows from whence to date this weakness, and can tell how he got this indisposition; had this happened to him by an over-dose of honey, when a child, all the same effects would have followed, but the cause would have been mistaken, and the antipathy counted natural.

I mention this not out of any great necessity there is in this present argument, to distinguish nicely between natural and acquired antipathies, but I take notice of it for another purpose, viz, that those who have children, or the charge of their education, would think it worth their while diligently to watch, and carefully to prevent the undue connexion of ideas in the minds of young people. This is the time most susceptible of lasting impressions; and though those relating to the health of the body, are by discreet people minded and fenced against; yet I am apt to doubt, that those which relate more peculiarly to the mind, and terminate in the understanding, or passions, have been much less heeded than the thing deserves; nay, those relating purely to the understanding, have, as I suspect, been by most men wholly overlooked.

This wrong connexion in our minds of ideas, in themselves loose and independent one of another, has such an influence, and is of so great force to set us awry in our actions, as well moral as natural, passions, reasonings, and notions themselves, that perhaps there is not any one thing that deserves more to be looked after.

The ideas of goblins and sprights have really no more to do with darkness, than light; yet let but a foolish maid inculcate these often on the mind of a child, and raise them there together, possibly he shall never be able to separate them again so long as he lives; but darkness shall ever afterwards bring with it those frightful ideas, and they shall be so joined, that he can no more bear the one than the other.

A man receives a sensible injury from another, thinks on the man and that action over and over, and by ruminating on them strongly, or much in his mind, so cements those two ideas together, that he makes them almost one; never thinks on the man, but the pain and displeasure he suffered comes into his mind with it, so that he scarce distinguishes them, but has as much an aversion for the one as the other. Thus hatreds are often begotten from slight and almost innocent occasions, and quarrels propagated and continued in the world.

A man has suffered pain or sickness in any place, he saw his friend die in such a room; though these have in nature nothing to do with another, yet when the idea of the place occurs to his mind, it brings (the impression being

once made) that of the pain and displeasure with it, he confounds them in his mind, and can as little bear the one as the other.

When this combination is settled, and whilst it lasts, it is not in the power of reason to help us, and relieve us from the effects of it. Ideas in our minds, when they are there, will operate according to their natures and circumstances; and here we see the cause why time cures certain affections, which reason, though in the right, and allowed to be so, has not power over, nor is able against them to prevail with those who are apt to hearken to it in other cases. The death of a child, that was the daily delight of his mother's eyes, and joy of her soul, rends from her heart the whole comfort of her life, and gives her all the torment imaginable: use the consolation of reason in this case, and you were as good preach ease to one on the rack, and hope to allay, by rational discourses, the pain of his joints tearing asunder: till time has by disuse separated the sense of that enjoyment, and its loss, from the idea of the child returning to her memory, all representations, though never so reasonable, are in vain; and therefore some, in whom the union between these ideas is never dissolved, spend their lives in mourning, and carry an incurable sorrow to their graves.

A friend of mine knew one perfectly cured of madness by a very harsh and offensive operation. The gentleman, who was thus recovered, with great sense of gratitude and acknowledgment, owned the cure all his life after, as the greatest obligation he could have received; but whatever gratitude and reason suggested to him, he could never bear the sight of the operator: that image brought back with it the idea of that agony which he suffered from his hands, which was too mighty and intolerable for him to endure.

Many children imputing the pain they endured at school to their books they were corrected for, so join those ideas together, that a book becomes their aversion, and they are never reconciled to the study and use of them all their lives after; and thus reading becomes a torment to them, which otherwise possibly they might have made the great pleasure of their lives. There are rooms convenient enough, that some men cannot study in, and fashions of vessels, which though never so clean and commodious, they cannot drink out of, and that by reason of some accidental ideas which

are annexed to them, and make them offensive; and who is there that has not observed some man to flag at the appearance, or in the company of some certain person, not otherwise superior to him, but because having once on some occasion got the ascendant; the idea of authority and distance goes along with that of the person, and he, that has been thus subjected, is not able to separate them.

Instances of this kind are so plentiful every where, that if I add one more, it is only for the pleasant oddness of it. It is of a young gentleman, who having learnt to dance, and that to great perfection, there happened to stand an old trunk in the room where he learned. The idea of this remarkable piece of houshold-stuff had so mixed itself with the turns and steps of all his dances, that though in that chamber he could dance excellently well, yet it was only whilst that trunk was there; nor could he perform well in any other place, unless that, or some such other trunk, had its due position in the room. If this story shall be suspected to be dressed up with some comical circumstances, a little beyond precise nature: I answer for myself, that I had it some years since from a very sober and worthy man, upon his own knowledge, as I report it; and I dare say, there are very few inquisitive persons, who read this, who have not met with accounts, if no examples, of this nature, that may parallel, or at least justify this.

Intellectual habits and defects, this way contracted, are not less frequent and powerful, though less observed. Let the ideas of being and matter be strongly joined either by education or much thought, whilst these are still combined in the mind, what notions, what reasonings, will there be about separate spirits? Let custom, from the very childhood have joined figure and shape to the idea of God, and what absurdities will that mind be liable to, about the Deity?

Let the idea of infallibility be inseparably joined to any person, and these two constantly together possess the mind, and then one body, in two places as once, shall unexamined be swallowed for a certain truth, by an implicit faith, whenever that imagined infallible person dictates and demands assent without enquiry.

Some such wrong and unnatural combination of ideas will be found to establish the irreconcileable opposition between different sects of philosophy and religion; for we can-

not imagine every one of their followers to impose willfully on himself, and knowingly refuse truth offered by plain reason. Interest, though it does a great deal in the case, yet cannot be thought to work whole societies of men to so universal a perverseness, as that every one of them to a man should knowingly maintain falsehood; some at least must be allowed to do what all pretend to, *i. e.* to pursue truth sincerely; and therefore there must be something that blinds their understandings, and makes them not see the falsehood of what they embrace for real truth. That which thus captivates their reasons, and leads men of sincerity blindfold from common sense, will, when examined, be found to be what we are speaking of: some independent ideas, of no alliance to one another, are by education, custom, and the constant din of their party, so coupled in their minds, that they always appear there together, and they can no more separate them in their thoughts, than if they were but one idea, and they operate as if they were so. This gives sense to jargon, demonstration to absurdities, and consistency to nonsense and is the foundation of the greatest, I had almost said, of all the errors in the world; or if it does not reach so far, it is at least the most dangerous one, since, so far as it obtains it hinders men from seeing and examining. When two things in themselves disjoined, appear to the sight constantly united; if the eye sees these things riveted, which are loose, where will you begin to rectify the mistakes that follow in two ideas, that they have been accustomed so to join in their minds, as to substitute one for the other, and, as I am apt to think, often without perceiving it themselves? This, whilst they are under the deceit of it, makes them uncapable of conviction, and they applaud themselves as zealous champions for truth, when indeed they are contending for error; and the confusion of two different ideas which a customary connexion of them in their minds has to them made in effect but one, fills their heads with false views, and their reasonings with false consequences.

SHAFTSBURY.

ANTON ASHLEY COOPER EARL OF SHAFTSBURY, *wurde* 1671 *zu London geboren. Er erhielt seine erste Bildung in dem Hause seines Eltervaters, des Grofskanzlers von England, von einem gebildeten Frauenzimmer, welches Griechisch und Lateinisch fertig sprach. Im* 11*ten Jahre hatte unser* Shaftsbury *unter dieser Unterweiserinn bereits ansehnliche Fortschritte in beiden Sprachen gemacht. Nachdem er sich auf öffentlichen Schulen weiter ausgebildet hatte, trat er bald nach dem Jahre* 1686 *seine Reise nach Frankreich und Italien an. Er benahm sich, seiner Jugend ungeachtet, auf derselben überall sehr wohl, und kehrte als ein gebildeter Mann zurück. Philosophie, schöne Wissenschaften und Politik waren bis hieher die Gegenstände seines Fleifses gewesen; nach seiner Rückkehr widmete er sich den Wissenschaften mit erneuertem Eifer, und lehnte theils aus Bescheidenheit, theils aus Liebe zu den genannten Studien, die Stelle eines Parliamentsgliedes ab, welche man ihm antrug. Als im Jahre* 1694 *der berühmte* John Trenchard, *einer der eifrigsten Vertheidiger der Freiheit, mit Tode abgegangen war, ward* Shaftsbury *einstimmig zum Nachfolger desselben im Parliament erwählt, und zeigte sich auch bald eines solchen Vorgängers würdig. Obgleich unser Graf dem Hofe entgegen war, so bestimmte dies doch keinen seiner Schritte; er beabsichtigte nur das Wohl seines Vaterlandes, und widmete demselben alle seine Kräfte. Die Parliamentssitzungen waren damals lang und häufig.* Shaftsbury *wohnte denselben regelmäfsig bei. Diefs, und seine angestrengten Arbeiten in seiner Wohnung, verbunden mit dem Kummer, sein Vaterland durch Parteien entzweit zu sehen, verschlimmerten seine Gesundheitsumstände so sehr, dafs er sich, so ungern er es auch that, dem Dienste desselben entziehen mufste. Er unternahm nun zur Wiederherstellung seiner Gesundheit eine Reise, und hielt sich beinah ein Jahr unter einem angenommenen Namen, und dem Charakter eines der Arzneikunde Beflissenen, in Holland auf.* Bayle *und* le Clerc *gehörten zu den berühmtesten Gelehrten jener Zeit.* Shaftsbury *lernte beide, diesen zu Amsterdam, jenen zu Rotterdam kennen. Kaum hatte der Graf England verlassen, so machte man*

wider seinen Willen 1699 *seine* Inquiry concerning virtue and merit *bekannt, einen jugendlichen Entwurf, über dessen Bekanntmachung er sich bei seinen Freunden beschwerte. Auch kam er noch glücklich der weitern Ausbreitung dieser Schrift zuvor, so dafs nur wenige Exemplare unter das Publikum kamen.* Blair *in seinen* Lectures etc. *sagt, die Vergleichung dieser Ausgabe mit der verbesserten, wie sie gegenwärtig in* Shaftsbury's *Werken steht, sey eins der merkwürdigsten und nützlichsten Beispiele von den Wirkungen der Feile* (limae labor); *die Kunst, den Ausdruck zu verschönern, zu lange Perioden zu unterbrechen, und einzelne unvollkommene Züge zu einem vollendeten Ganzen umzubilden, erscheine hier in ihrem ganzen Umfange. — Shaftsbury kehrte gegen das Ende des Jahres* 1699 *nach England zurück. Der thätige Antheil, welchen er an verschiedenen Staatsunterhandlungen, vorzüglich an dem grofsen Bündnisse nahm, welches König Wilhelm kurz vor seinem Tode zwischen England, den vereinigten Niederlanden und dem Hause Östreich zu Stande brachte, um zu verhindern, dafs die Spanische Krone nicht einem Enkel Ludwigs des Vierzehnten zufallen möchte, war die Ursache, dafs ihm sein Monarch aus Dankbarkeit die Stelle eines Staatssekretärs übertrug; Shaftsbury aber schlug dieses ehrenvolle Amt aus, weil er unabhängig leben und sich den Wissenschaften fernerhin weihen wollte. Der Graf hatte sich während seiner politischen Laufbahn auch viele Feinde zugezogen. Diese brachten es dahin, dafs die Königin Anna ihm die Vice-Admiralsstelle von Dorset, welche die Familie des Grafen drei Generationen hindurch bekleidet hatte, nahm. So nun gänzlich aufser Verbindung mit dem Hofe gesetzt, widmete sich Shaftsbury ganz den Wissenschaften, und gab nach und nach seine Werke heraus. Seine Gesundheit hatte indessen seit einigen Jahren so gelitten, dafs ihm die Ärzte riethen, sich in ein wärmeres Land zu begeben. Er that es, ging über Frankreich nach Italien, und erreichte mit Mühe Neapel. Hier lebte er nur noch zwei Jahre, und starb den 4ten Februar* 1713. — *Es ist bereits einer seiner Schriften, der* Inquiry concerning virtue and merit *Erwähnung geschehen; sie enthält eine, in ihrer Art vollständige, auf philosophische Principien gegründete Moral.* A Letter concerning enthusiasm *ward zuerst* 1708 *gedruckt;* 1709 *folgten* the moralists, a philosophical rhapsody, being a recital of certain conversations on natural and moral subjects.

In eben dem Jahre erschien sein Essay on the freedom of wit and humour, *und* 1710 *sein* Soliloquy or advice to an author, *den man als eine Fortsetzung seiner* Enquiry concerning virtue *ansehen kann. Zu Neapel schrieb er* a notion of the historical draught or tablature of the judgment of Hercules, according to Prodicus, lib. II. Xen. Mem. Sec., with a letter concerning design, *eine Schrift, welche von den tiefen Einsichten des Verfassers in die Kunst zeugt. Ausserdem enthalten seine unter dem Titel* Characteristicks *in verschiedenen Ausgaben herausgekommenen Schriften annoch* Miscellaneous reflections on the preceding treatises and other critical subjects; *ferner erschienen nach seinem Tode die zwischen den Jahren* 1707 — 1710 *an Michel Ainsworth, einen jungen Mann, der sich dem theologischen Studio widmen wollte, gerichteten Briefe über verschiedene philosophische Gegenstände. Wir besitzen von seinen Werken eine treffliche Deutsche Uebersetzung, welche in 3 Bänden zu Leipzig* 1776 *unter dem Titel: „des Grafen von Shaftsbury philosophische Werke," erschienen ist. Ausführlichere biographische Notizen über ihn findet man theils in den bekannten allgemeinen literarischen Werken, als in den Supplementen zum 6ten Bande der* Biographia brittannica etc., *theils auch in der zu Genf* 1769 *erschienenen Französischen Uebersetzung von Shaftsbury's Werken, wie auch im 7ten Theile der* Bibliothèque choisie, *und an andern Orten. — Ueber seine Schreibart druckt sich Hugh Blair in seinen* Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres *folgendergestalt aus: „Von Schriftstellern, deren Schreibart bei manchen andern Vorzügen durch Mangel an Simplicität merklich verliert, weiſs ich kein merkwürdigeres Beispiel anzuführen, als Lord Shaftsbury. Ich habe bereits in verschiedenen Stellen Gelegenheit gehabt, einzelne Bemerkungen über seinen Ausdruck zu machen; itzt, da ich zum letzten Male auf denselben zurück komme, will ich versuchen, einen allgemeinen Charakter seiner Schreibart in wenigen Zügen zu entwerfen. Ich bin weit entfernt, einem Lord Shaftsbury alles Verdienst abzusprechen. Seine Werke würden, wegen der darin enthaltenen Moralphilosophie, mit vielem Nutzen gelesen werden können, wenn er denselben nicht so manche gehässige Seitenanspielungen gegen die christliche Religion eingemischt hätte; Anspielungen, die mit so viel Spott und bittrer Laune hingeworfen wurden, daſs sie seinem Andenken weder als Mensch, noch*

als Schriftsteller zum Ruhme gereichen. Seine Schreibart indessen hat wirkliche Schönheiten; sie ist nicht nur fest, und durch einen eignen Grad von gleich gehaltenem Nachdruck ausgezeichnet, sondern auch reich und musikalisch. Kein Englischer Schriftsteller hat auf den regelmäfsigen Bau seiner Sätze, sowohl in Ansehung des Ausdrucks, als in Ansehung des Wohlklanges, so viel Aufmerksamkeit verwandt, als Lord Shaftsbury. Alles dies giebt seiner Schreibart so viel Zierlichkeit und Schmuck, dafs man sich nicht wundern darf, wenn sie bei vielen einen hohen Grad von Bewunderung gefunden hat. Aber eben so ausgemacht ist es auch, dafs ihre Schönheiten durch ein steifes, gezwungenes Wesen, das sich allenthalben an ihr bemerken läfst, merklich verdunkelt werden. Und hierin liegt in der That der Hauptfehler dieses Schriftstellers. Es ist dem Lord unmöglich, irgend einen Gedanken natürlich und kunstlos auszudrucken. Er scheint es für zu gemein und unter der Würde eines Mannes von Stande zu halten, gleich andern Menschen zu sprechen. Daher geht sein Ausdruck allenthalben auf Stelzen und ist voller Umschreibungen und künstlicher Zierlichkeit. Jeder Absatz verräth Arbeit und Kunst; nirgends jene Leichtigkeit, mit welcher natürliche Gedanken und ungesuchte Empfindungen sich von selbst in Worte ergiefsen. Übrigens ist er ein aufserordentlicher Liebhaber von Figuren und Verzierungen jeder Art. Zuweilen gelingt es ihm, sie mit vielem Glück anzubringen; aber immer leuchtet seine Vorliebe für dieselben zu sichtbar hervor; und wenn er einmal eine Metapher oder Anspielung, die nach seinem Geschmack ist, erhascht hat, so weifs er sich gar nicht von ihr wieder loszureifsen. Das Sonderbarste bei dem allen ist, dafs er ein erklärter Bewunderer der Simplicität war, sie ohne Unterlafs als den schönsten Vorzug der Alten erhebt, und die Neuern wegen des Mangels derselben tadelt; obschon er selbst sich von ihr weiter entfernt, als irgend ein anderer neuer Schriftsteller. Shaftsbury besafs einen Grad von Feinheit und Zärtlichkeit des Geschmacks, den man beinahe weich und übertrieben nennen möchte; aber es fehlte ihm fast ganz an leidenschaftlicher Wärme, an starken kraftvollen Gefühlen. Und eben diese Kälte seines Charakters war ohne Zweifel die nächste Ursache jener künstlichen und zierlichen Manier, welche in seinen Schriften herrscht. Nichts ging ihm über Witz und feine Spottsucht; und doch fehlte viel, dafs er selbst in beiden glücklich ge-

wesen wäre. Zwar läſst er keine Gelegenheit vorbei, sich darin zu versuchen; aber immer erscheint er dabei zu seinem Nachtheil; er bleibt steif, selbst wenn er scherzen will, und lacht jederzeit mit der feierlichen Miene eines Autors, nie mit der Unbefangenheit des Menschen."

ON LOVE OF ONE'S COUNTRY *).

Of all human affections, the noblest and most becoming human nature, is that of *love to one's country.* This, perhaps, will easily be allow'd by all men, who have really a country, and are of the number of those who may be call'd a people **), as enjoying the happiness of a real constitution and polity, by which they are free and independent. There are few such country-men or free-men so degenerate, as directly to discountenance or condemn this passion of love to their community and national brotherhood. The indirect manner of opposing this principle, is the most usual. We hear it commonly, as a complaint, „that there is little of „this love extant in the world." From whence it is hastily concluded, „that there is little or nothing of friendly or so„cial affection inherent in our nature, or proper to our spe„cies." It is however apparent, that there is scarce a creature of human kind, who is not possess'd at least with some inferiour degree or meaner sort of this natural affection to a country.

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit.

Ovid. Pont. lib. I. Eleg. 3. v. 35.

It is a wretched aspect of humanity which we figure to our-selves, when we would endeavour to resolve the very essence and foundation of this generous passion into a relation to mere clay and dust, exclusively of any thing sensible,

*) Miscellaneous reflections, Miscellany III. ch. 1. (*im 3ten Bande der* Characteristicks. **) A multitude held together by force, tho' under one and the same head, is not properly united: nor does such a body make *a people*. It is the social ligue, confederacy, and mutual consent, founded in some common good or interest, which joins the members of a community, and makes a people *One*. Absolute power annuls *the public*: and where there is no *public, or constitution*, there is in reality no *mother-country* or *nation*.

intelligent, or moral. It is, I must own, on certain relations or respective proportions, that all natural affection does in some measure depend. And in this view it cannot, I confess, be denied that we have each of us a certain relation to the mere earth itself, the very mould or surface of that planet, in which, with other animals of various sorts, we, poor reptiles! were also bred and nourish'd. But had it happened to one of us Britishmen to have been born at sea, could we not therefore properly be call'd Britishmen? Could we be allowed country-men of no sort, as having no distinct relation to any certain soil or region; no original neighbourhood but with the watry inhabitants and sea-monsters? Surely, if we were born of lawful parents, lawfully employed, and under the protection of law; wherever they might be then detained, to whatever colonies sent, or whithersoever driven by any accident, or in expeditions or adventures in the public service, or that of mankind, we should still find we had a home, and country, ready to lay claim to us. We should be obliged still to consider ourselves as fellow-citizens, and might be allowed to love our country or nation as honestly and heartily as the most inland inhabitant or native of the soil. Our political and social capacity would undoubtedly come in view, and be acknowledged full as natural and essential in our species, as the parental and filial kind, which gives rise to what we peculiarly call natural affection. Or supposing that both our birth and parents had been unknown, and that in this respect we were in a manner younger brothers in society to the rest of mankind: yet, from our nurture and education we should surely espouse some country or other, and joyfully embracing the protection of a magistracy, should of necessity and by force of nature join ourselves to the general society of mankind, and those in particular, with whom we had entered into a nearer communication of benefits, and closer sympathy of affections. It may therefore be esteemed no better than a mean subterfuge of narrow minds, to assign this natural passion for society and a country, to such a relation as that of a mere *fungus* or common excrescence, to its parent-mould, or nursing dung-hill.

The relation of country-man, if it be allowed any thing at all, must imply something moral and social. The nation itself presupposes a naturally civil and political state of mankind, and has reference to that particular part of society to

which we owe our chief advantages as men, and rational creatures, such as are naturally and necessarily united for each other's happiness and support, and for the highest of all happinesses and enjoyments; „The intercourse of minds, „the free use of our reason, and the exercise of mutual love „and friendship.“

An ingenious physician among the moderns, having in view the natural dependency of the vegetable and animal kinds on their common mother Earth, and observing that both the one and the other draw from her their continual sustenance, (some rooted and fixed down to their first abodes, others unconfined, and wandering from place to place to suck their nourishment): he accordingly, as I remember, stiles this latter animal-race, *her releas'd sons; filios terrae emancipatos.* Now if this be our only way of reckoning for mankind, we may call ourselves indeed, the sons of *Earth, at large;* but not of *any particular soil,* or *district.* The division of climates and regions is fantastick and artificial: much more the limits of particular countries, cities or provinces. Our *natale solum,* or mother-earth, must by this account be the *real* globe itself which bears us, and in respect of which we must allow the common animals, and even the plants of all degrees, to claim an equal brotherhood with us, under this common parent.

According to this calculation, we must of necessity carry our relation as far as to the whole material world or universe; where alone it can prove complete. But, for the particular district or tract of earth, which, in a vulgar sense, we call our country, however bounded or geographically divided, we can never, at this rate, frame any accountable relation to it, nor consequently assign any natural or proper affection towards it.

If unhappily a man had been born either at an inn, or in some dirty village: he would hardly, I think, circumscribe himself so narrowly as to accept a denomination or character from those nearest appendices, or local circumstances of his nativity. So far should one be from making the hamlet or parish to be characteristical in the case, that hardly would the shire itself, or country, however rich or flourishing, be taken into the honorary term or appellation of one's country.

„What, then, shall we presume to call our country? Is „it England itself? — But what Scotland? — Is it there-

„fore Britain? — But what of the other islands, the northern „Orcades, and the southern Jersey and Guernsey? What of „the Plantations and poor Ireland?" — Behold, here, a very dubious circumscription!

But what, after all, if there be a conquest or captivity in the case? a migration? a national secession, or abandonment of our native seats for some other soil or climate? This has happened, we know, to our fore-fathers. And as great and powerful a people as we have been of late, and have ever shown ourselves under the influence of free councils, and a tolerable ministry; should we relapse again into slavish principles, or be administered long under such heads, as having no thought of liberty for themselves, can have much less for Europe or their neighbours; we may at last feel a war at home, become the seat of it, and in the end a conquest. We might then gladly embrace the hard condition of our predecessors, and exchange our beloved native soil for that of some remote and uninhabited part of the world. Now should this possibly be our fate; should some considerable colony or body be formed afterwards out of our remains, or meet, as it were by miracle, in some distant climate; would there be, for the future, no Englishman remaining? no common bond of alliance and friendship, by which we could still call country-men, as before? How came we, I pray, by our antient name of Englishmen? Did it not travel with us over land and sea? Did we not, indeed, bring it with us heretofore from as far as the remoter parts of Germany to this Island?

I must confess, I have been apt sometimes to be very angry with our language, for having denied us the use of the word *patria*, and afforded us no other name to express our native community, than that of country; which already bore*) two different significations, abstracted from mankind or society. Reigning words are many times of such force as to influence us considerably in our apprehension of things. Whether it be from any such cause as this, I know not: but certain it is, that in the idea of a civil state or nation, we Englishmen are apt to mix somewhat more than ordinary gross and earthy. No people who owed so much to a constitution, and so little to a soil or climate, were ever known so indifferent towards

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*) *Rus* et *regio*. In French *campagne* et *pays*.

one, and so passionately fond of the other. One would imagine from the common discourse of our countrymen, that the finest lands near the Euphrates, the Babylonian or Persian paradises, the rich plains of Egypt, the Grecian Tempe, the Roman Campania, Lombardy, Provence, the Spanish Andalusia, or the most delicious tracts in the Eastern or Western Indies, were contemptible countries in respect of *Old England**).

Now, by the good leave of these worthy patriots of the soil, I must take the liberty to say, I think *Old England* to have been in every respect a very indifferent country: and that *Late England*, of an age or two old, even since Queen Bess's**) days, is indeed very much mended for the better. We were, in the beginning of her grandfather's reign, under a sort of Polish nobility, and had no other liberties, than what were in common to us with the then fashionable monarchies and Gothic lordships of Europe. For religion indeed, we were highly famed, above all nations; by being the most subject to our ecclesiastics at home, and the best tributarys and servants to the Holy See abroad.

I must go further yet, and own, that I think *Late England*, since the revolution, to be better still than Old England, by many a degree; and that, in the main, we make somewhat a better figure in Europe, than we did a few reigns before. But however our people may of late have flourished, our name, or credit have risen; our trade, and navigation, our manufactures, or our husbandry been improved; it is certain that our region, climate, and soil, is, in its own nature, still one and the same. And to whatever politeness we may suppose ourselves already arrived, we must confess, that we are the latest barbarous, the last civilized or polished people of Europe. We must allow that our first conquest by the Romans brought us out of a state hardly equal to the Indian tribes; and that our last conquest by the Normans brought us only into the capacity of receiving arts and civil accomplishments from abroad. They came to us by degrees, from remote distances, at second or third hand; from other courts, states, academies, and foreign nurseries of wit and manners.

Notwithstanding this, we have as overweening an opinion of ourselves, as if we had a claim to be original and earth-

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*) Old *in* Old England *ist ein bloßes Liebkosungswort.*
**) Queen Elisabeth.

born. As oft as we have changed masters, and mixed races with our several successive conquerors, we still pretend to be as legitimate and genuine possessors of our soil, as the ancient Athenians accounted themselves to have been of theirs. It is remarkable however in that truly ancient, wise, and witty people, that as fine territories and noble countries as they possess'd, as indisputable masters and superiours as they were in all science, wit, politeness and manners; they were yet so far from a conceited, selfish, and ridiculous contempt of others, that they were even, in a contrary, extreme „admirers of whatever was in the least degree ingenious or „curious in foreign nations." Their great men were constant travellers. Their legislators and philosophers made their voyages into Egypt, passed into Chaldea, and Persia, and failed not to visit most of the dispersed Grecian governments and colonies through the islands of the Agæan in Italy, and on the coasts of Asia and Africa. It was mentioned as a prodigy, in the case of a great philosopher *), though known to have been always poor, „that he should never have travelled, „nor had ever gone out of Athens for his improvement." How modest a reflection in those who were themselves Athenians?

For our part, we neither care that foreigners **) should travel to us, nor any of ours should travel into foreign countries. Our best policy and breeding is, it seems, „to look „abroad as little as possible; contract our views within the „narrowest compass; and despise all knowledge, learning, or „manners which are not of a home-growth." For hardly will the ancients themselves be regarded by those who have so resolute a contempt of what the politest moderns of any nation, besides their own, may have advanced in the way of literature, politeness, or philosophy.

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*) Socrates. **) An ill token of our being thoroughly civilized; since in the judgment of the polite and wise; this inhospitable disposition was ever reckoned among the principal marks of barbarism.

ADDISON.

JOSEPH ADDISON *Esq.* 1672 *zu Milston bei Ambrosebury in Wiltshire geboren, und im Charterhouse zu London und Queen's College zu Oxford erzogen, gab früh die unzweideutigsten Beweise seines grofsen Dichtertalents.* 1693 *schrieb er ein Lobgedicht auf Dryden. Bald darauf erschien eine Uebersetzung des vierten Buchs der* Georgica, *die einen mit dem Geist der Alten genährten Jüngling charakterisirte, und ein* Essay upon the Georgics, *der dem Drydenschen Virgil einverleibt ist. Zu seinen Jugendarbeiten gehören auch: eine Ode auf den Cäcilien-Tag; eine Uebersetzung der Geschichte des Achæmenides aus dem dritten Buch der Aeneide; ein* Account of the greatest english poets, *und eine Reihe schätzbarer lateinischer Gedichte, die den zweiten Theil der* Musæ anglicanæ *ausmachen.* 1695 *schrieb er ein Gedicht auf William III., wofür ihm der Grofssiegelbewahrer, John Lord Sommers, eine jährliche Pension von* 300 l. *auswirkte, die seinen Wunsch, Italien besuchen zu können, befriedigte.* 1700 *ging er auf Reisen.* 1791 *erschien seine Epistel an den Lord Halifax, die man mit Recht für eins seiner schönsten Stücke hält (s. den zweiten Theil dieses Handbuchs). Die* Remarks on several parts of Italy *kamen* 1705 *heraus, und wurden bald Lieblingsbuch des Publikums. Die Materialien zu seinen Dialogen* on Medals *sammelte er an Ort und Stelle.* 1704 *schrieb er* the Campaign, *ein heroisches Gedicht auf die Schlacht bei Hochstädt oder Blenheim. Dadurch legte er den Grund zu seinem Glücke. Der Schatzmeister Godolphin, ein feiner Kenner der Poesie, gab ihm wenige Tage nachher den Posten eines Commissars bei der* Appellation. *Im folgenden Jahre begleitete er den Lord Halifax nach Hannover. Um diese Zeit ward seine Oper* Rosamond *gegeben, die aber weniger Beifall erhielt, als seine Komödien der zärtliche Ehemann und das Gespenst mit der Trommel.* 1706 *machte ihn der Staatssekretär Sir Charles Hedges zu seinem* Undersecretary, *und* 1709 *der Graf Wharton, Lord Lieutenant, zum Staatssekretär in Irland. Er war in Dublin, als er in seinem Freunde Steele den Verfasser des* Tatler *oder Schwätzer erkannte. Er nahm hierauf an dieser Zeitschrift thätigen Antheil, liefs seine* Remarks on Virgil *und*

mehrere schätzbare Aufsätze einrücken, welche indessen durch kein besonderes Unterscheidungszeichen charakterisirt sind. Der Plan zu der bekannten und beliebten Zeitschrift the Spectator *wurde von Addison und Steele gemeinschaftlich entworfen und ausgeführt. Sie hatten indessen mehrere Mitarbeiter, zu denen vorzüglich Tickell, Addison's Freund und Biograph, Pope und Parnell gehören. Das erste Stück kam den 1. März 1711, das letzte den 6. Dec. 1712 heraus. Hiermit waren 7 Bände beendigt. Nach einer fast zweijährigen Pause erschienen noch* 80 *Nummern, die an Mannigfaltigkeit und Reichthum des Inhalts die frühern selbst übertreffen. Mehr als der vierte Theil dieser spätern Stücke ist von Addison. Die Aufsätze dieses Schriftstellers sind durch einen der Buchstaben des Namens Clio, und die von Steele durch ein R und T bezeichnet. Tickell schreibt seinem Freunde folgende Nummern zu:* 556, 557, 558, 559, 561, 562, 565, 567, 568, 569, 571, 574, 575, 579, 580, 582, 583, 584, 585, 590, 592, 598, 600. *Ausserdem gehören ihm die Aufsätze mit den Ueberschriften* Essay on wit, the pleasures of the imagination *und* the criticism of Milton. *Der* Spectator *ist häufig in* 8 *oder* 9 *Bänden herausgegeben worden, z. B. London* 1744, 9 *Vols.* 8.; *Edinburgh* 1766, 8 *Vols.* 8. *Eine andere Ausgabe, welche bemerkt zu werden verdient, ist:* The Spectator with illustrative notes, to which are prefixed the lives of the authors, comprehending Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, Thomas Parnell, etc. with critical remarks on their respective writings by Robat Bisset. London 1794. 8 Vols. (price 2 l. 8 sh. in boards for Jordan.) *Addison nahm gleichfalls an dem* Guardian *(Aufseher) Theil; die von ihm herrührenden Aufsätze sind mit einer Hand bezeichnet. Alle seine durch diese periodischen Schriften zerstreuten Aufsätze sind in folgendem Werke vereint erschienen:* Addison's papers, being a complete collection of all his periodical works from the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian etc. with his life and notes, by Dr. Beattie, Edinburgh, 4 Vols. 8. *Ausserdem hat man:* The Beauties of the Spectator, Tatler and Guardian, connected and digested under alphabetical heads, in two Vols. London 1792. 8. 1713 *erschien sein mit so vielem Recht gepriesenes Trauerspiel* Cato. *Es wurde mit dem gröſsten Beifall aufgeführt; alle Parteien vereinigten sich zu dessen Lobe, und noch jetzt ist es Lieblingsstück der Engländer. Gegen das Ende der Regierung Anna's wollte Addison*

ein Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache nach dem Muster des Dizionario della Crusca *schreiben; allein wichtigere Geschäfte hinderten ihn daran. Denn nach dem Tode der Königinn ward er abermals zum Staatssekretär von Irland und bald darauf* (1715) *zu einem der* Lord Commissioners of trade *ernannt. Da die Rebellion in Schottland ausbrach, gab er ohne weitere Beihülfe den* Freeholder *heraus, eine Zeitschrift, welche die Vertheidigung der Regierung zum Zweck hat. Es erschienen* 55 *Stücke, das erste den* 23*sten Dec.* 1715, *das letzte den* 29*sten Jan.* 1716. 1717 *ward er zu dem ansehnlichen Posten eines Staatssekretärs (von Grossbritannien) erhoben. Seine abnehmende Gesundheit nöthigte ihn jedoch bald, diese Stelle niederzulegen, worauf er* 1719 *zu Hollandshouse bei Kensington an der Wassersucht starb. Er wurde in der Westminsterabtei beigesetzt. Seine Schriften, welche immer das Muster eines ächten Geschmacks und ein Beweis seiner edlen Denkungsart bleiben werden, wurden auf sein Geheiss von* T i c k e l l *unter folgendem Titel herausgegeben:* Miscellaneous works in verse and prose of the late right honourable Joseph Addison Esq. in III. Vols. with some account of the life and writings of the author. London 1721. 4 Vols. 12. *und hernach öfters, z. B. London* 1753. 3 *Vols.* 8. *Eine Hauptquelle für* A d d i s o n ' s *Leben ist folgendes Werk:* Memoirs of the life and writings of Joseph Addison Esq. with his character, by Sir Richard Steele, and a true copy of his last will and testament. The II. edition. London 1724. 8. *Ausserdem sehe man* Johnson's lives of the english poets, Vol II, Cibber's lives of the english poets, *(ein nicht ganz zuverlässiges Werk), die* Biographia britannica, *die* Heads of illustrious persons of great Britain, *und vorzüglich folgendes im Jahre* 1803 *erschienene interessante Werk:* Addisoniana, or Anecdotes and Facts connected with the Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Joseph Addison, on the plan of the Walpoliana, in two elegant Volumes, 8. with plates, London, Philips (price 10 sh. 6 d.). *Man findet in dieser Schrift auch viele,* S i r R. S t e e l e *betreffende Nachrichten. Als ein biographischer, kritischer und historischer Commentar zu dem* Spectator, *so wie zu dem* Guardian *und* Tatler *können die* Essays biographical, critical and historical illustrative to the Tatler etc. London 1804. 3 Vol. by Nathan Drake, *betrachtet werden.* A d d i s o n ' s *Gedichte nehmen den* 23*sten Theil der Johnsonschen Sammlung ein. Wir fügen*

noch zum Schlusse der hier mitgetheilten litterarischen Notize das Urtheil hinzu, welches **Hugh Blair** *in der 21sten Vorlesung des mehrmals angeführten Werks über* **Addison** *fällt. Er sagt: „Von der höchsten Stufe einer kunstlosen, anmuthigen, aber dabei nichts weniger als vernachlässigten Schreibart ist* **Addison** *im Englischen ohne Zweifel das vollkommenste Muster; und man kann daher diesen Schriftsteller wenn er schon nicht durchaus von Mängeln frei ist, doch im Ganzen genommen, als das sicherste und zu den wenigsten Fehlern verleitende Ziel der Nachahmung des prosaischen Vortrags aufstellen.* **Addison** *ist im höchsten Grade deutlich und rein; er zeichnet sich zwar nicht durch einen vorzüglichen Grad von Bündigkeit und Bestimmtheit aus; aber er bleibt doch auch in dieser Rücksicht nur selten hinter dem Gegenstande zurück, von welchem er handelt. Der Bau seiner Redesätze ist leicht, anmuthig, meistentheils für das Ohr angenehm, und gefällt minder durch Stärke, als durch gefällige Rundung. Was den bildlichen Ausdruck betrifft, so ist er vorzüglich reich, besonders in Vergleichungen und Metaphern, welche immer so schicklich angebracht sind, daſs die Schreibart dadurch keineswegs bunt oder üppig wird. Sein Ausdruck verräth durchaus nichts Gesuchtes; man findet keine Spur von mühsamem Bestreben; durchaus nichts Gezwungenes oder zu weit Hergeholtes; sondern allenthalben einen hohen Grad von Anmuth, mit einem hohen Grade von Leichtigkeit und Simplicität verbunden. Was ihn besonders unterscheidet, ist ein gewisses eigenthümliches Gepräge von Bescheidenheit und feinem Anstande, welcher aus allen seinen Arbeiten hervorleuchtet. Kein Schriftsteller kann sich eines gefälligern und volksmäſsigern* (popular) *Vortrags rühmen*). Was aber unsern* **Addison** *noch mehr empfiehlt, ist die unverkennbare Achtung, welche er allenthalben für Religion und Rechtschaffenheit äuſsert. Wenn ihm ja etwas gebricht, so ist es ein höherer Grad von Stärke und Präcision, wenigstens würde seine Schreibart, wenn sie schon zu Aufsätzen von der Art, wie sie der Zuschauer enthält,*

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*) *Wiewohl sich der Englische Zuschauer äuſserst leicht und angenehm lies't, so war es gewiſs nicht so leicht, ihn zu schreiben;* **Addison** *hatte sich, zufolge der oben angeführten* Addisoniana, *durch eine drei Folianten starke Sammlung dazu vorbereitet.*

vollkommen passte, für Arbeiten von einer höhern und kunstmäßsigern Gattung nicht als ein schickliches Muster können aufgestellt werden. Die Lesewelt hat Addison's Verdiensten volle Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren lassen; nur dünkt mich, als ob man die eigentliche Beschaffenheit derselben nicht immer aus ihrem wahren Gesichtspunkte betrachtet habe; denn obschon seine Gedichte recht artig sind, so gebührt ihrem Verfasser doch offenbar eine höhere Stelle unter den prosaischen Schriftstellern, als unter den Dichtern; so wie hinwiederum, selbst in Prosa, seine Laune einen höhern und originalern Schwung hat, als seine philosophischen Äusserungen. Die Charakterschilderung von Sir Roger Coverley verräth weit mehr Geist, als die Kritik über Milton." *)

1) The Mountain of Miseries **).

Qui fit, Mæcenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit, seu fors objecerit, illa
Contentus vivat: laudet diversa sequentes? etc. ***)

Hor. Sat. I. 1. v. 1.

It is a celebrated thought of Socrates, that if all the misfortunes of mankind were cast into a public stock, in order to be equally distributed among the whole species, those, who now think themselves the most unhappy, would prefer the share they are already possess'd of, before that which would fall to them by such a division. Horace has carried this thought a great deal further in the motto of my paper, which implies that the hardships or misfortunes we lie under, are more easy to us than those of any other person would be, in case we could change conditions with him.

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*) *Die Engländer haben übrigens mehrere andere ähnliche Zeitschriften auch in den neuesten Zeiten aufzuweisen. Zu den letzteren gehört:* Literary leisure or the Recreations of Salomon Saunter, Esq. in two Vols. London, Miller, *und* Materials for thinking or Essays on the diffusion of useful knowledge and the happiness of men, by W. Burdon, A. M. London, Hurst. *(s. d. Engl. Miszellen Bd. VI. 3. S.* 210 *u. f.)* **) Spectator, Vol. VIII. no. 558. Wednesday, June 23, 1714. ***) *Nach Wieland's Uebersetzung:*

Woher, Mäcenas, mag es kommen, dass
Mit seinem selbsterwählten oder vom Geschicke
Ihm zugeworfnen Loose Niemand sich begnügt,
Und jeden, der auf einem andern Pfade
Das Glück verfolgt, für neidenswürdig hält?

As I was ruminating on these two remarks, and seated in my elbow-chair, I insensibly fell asleep; when on a sudden, methought, there was a proclamation made by Jupiter, that every mortal should bring in his griefs and calamities, and throw them together in a heap. There was a large plain appointed for this purpose. I took my stand in the centre of it, and saw with a great deal of pleasure the whole human species marching one after another, and throwing down their several loads, which immediately grew up into a prodigious mountain, that seemed to rise above the clouds.

There was a certain lady of a thin airy shape, who was very active in this solemnity. She carried a magnifying glass in one of her hands, and was clothed in a loose flowing robe, embroidered with several figures of fiends and spectres, that discovered themselves in a thousand chimerical shapes, as her garment hovered in the wind. There was something wild and distracted in her looks. Her name was Fancy. She led up every mortal to the appointed place, after having very officiously assisted him in making up his pack, and laying it upon his shoulders. My heart melted within me to see my fellow-creatures groaning under their respective burdens, and to consider that prodigious bulk of human calamities which lay before me.

There were however several persons who gave me great diversion upon this occasion. I observed one bringing in a fardel very carefully concealed under an old embroidered cloke, which, upon his throwing it into the heap, I discovered to be poverty. Another, after a great deal of puffing, threw down his luggage, which, upon examining, I found to be his wife.

There were multitudes of lovers saddled with very whimsical burdens composed of darts and flames; but what was very odd, though they sighed as if their hearts would break under these bundles of calamities, they could not persuade themselves to cast them into the heap, when they came up to it; but after a few faint efforts, shook their heads and marched away, as heavy loaden as they came. I saw multitudes of old women throw down their wrinkles, and several young ones who stripped themselves of a tawny skin. There were very great heaps of red noses, large lips, and rusty teeth. The truth of it is, I was surprised to see the greatest part of the mountain made up of bodily deformities. Ob-

serving one advancing towards the heap, with a larger cargo than ordinary upon his back, I found upon his near approach, that it was only a natural hump, which he dispos'd of, with great joy of heart, among this collection of human miseries. There were likewise distempers of all sorts, though I could not but observe, that there were many more imaginary than real. One little packet I could not but take notice of, which was a complication of all the diseases incident to human nature, and was in the hand of a great many fine people; this was called the spleen. But what most of all surpris'd me, was a remark I made, that there was not a single vice or folly thrown into the whole heap; at which I was very much astonish'd, having concluded within myself, that every one would take this opportunity of getting rid of his passions, prejudices, and frailties.

I took notice in particular of a very profligate fellow, who, I did not question, came loaden with his crimes; but upon searching into his bundle, I found that instead of throwing his guilt from him, he had only laid down his memory. He was followed by another worthless rogue who flung away his modesty instead of his ignorance.

When the whole race of mankind had thus cast their burdens, the Phantom which had been so busy on this occasion, seeing me an idle spectator of what passed, approached towards me. I grew uneasy at her presence, when of a sudden she held her magnifying glass full before my eyes. I no sooner saw my face in it, but was startled at the shortness of it, which now appeared to me in its utmost aggravation. The immoderate breadth of the features made me very much out of humour with my own countenance, upon which I threw it from me like a mask. It happened very luckily, that one who stood by me had just before thrown down his visage, which, it seems, was too long for him. It was indeed extended to a most shameful length; I believe the very chin was modestly speaking, as long as my whole face. We had both of us an opportunity of mending ourselves; and all the contributions being now brought in, every man was at liberty to exchange his misfortune for those of another person. But as there arose many new incidents in the sequel of my vision, I shall reserve them for the subject of my next paper.

2) Continuation *)

Quid causæ est, merito quin illis Jupiter ambas
Iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac
*Tam facilem dicat, votis ut præbeat aurem? **)*

Hor. Sat. I. 1. v. 20.

In my last paper, I gave my reader a sight of that mountain of miseries, which was made up of those several calamities that afflict the minds of men. I saw, with unspeakable pleasure, the whole species thus delivered from its sorrows: though at the same time, as we stood round the heap, and surveyed the several materials of which is was composed, there was scarce a mortal, in this vast multitude, who did not discover what he thought pleasures and blessings of life; and wonder'd how the owners of them ever came to look upon them as burdens and grievances.

As we were regarding very attentively the confusion of miseries, this chaos of calamity, Jupiter issued out a second proclamation, that every one was now at liberty to exchange his affliction, and to return to his habitation with any such other bundle as should be delivered to him.

Upon this, Fancy began again to bestir herself, and parcelling out the whole heap with incredible activity, recommended to every one his particular packet. The hurry and confusion at this time was not to be expressed. Some observations which I made upon the occasion, I shall communicate to the publick. A venerable gray-headed man, who had laid down the colic, and who I found wanted an heir to his estate, snatched up an undutiful son, that had been thrown into the heap by his angry father. The graceless youth, in less than a quarter of an hour, pulled the old gentleman by the beard, and had like to have knock'd his brains out: so that meeting the true father, who came

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*) Spectator, Vol. VIII. no. 559. Friday, Jun. 25. 1714.

**) *Nach Wieland's Uebersetzung:*

—— Wäre solches Volk
Nicht werth, daſs Zeus mit aufgebauſsten Backen
Sie grimmig ansäh', und sich rund heraus erklärte,
Er wolle nicht so zahm mehr seyn, die Ohren
Zu albernen Gebeten herzuleihn?

towards him with a fit of the gripes, he begg'd him to take his son again, and give back his colic; but they were incapable either of them to recede from the choice they had made. A poor galley-slave, who had thrown down his chains, took up the gout in their stead, but made such wry faces, that one might easily perceive he was no great gainer by the bargain. It was pleasant enough to see the several exchanges that were made, for sickness against poverty, hunger against want of appetite, and care against pain.

The female world were very busy among themselves in bartering for features; one was trucking a lock of gray hairs for a carbuncle, another was making over a short waist for a pair of round shoulders, and a third cheaping a bad face for a lost reputation; but on all these occasions, there was not one of them who did not think the new blemish, as soon as she had got it into her possession, much more disagreeable than the old one. I made the same observation on every other misfortune or calamity, which every one in the assembly brought upon himself, in lieu of what he had parted with; whether it be that all the evils which befall us are in more measure suited and proportioned to our strength, or that every evil becomes more supportable by our being accustomed to it, I shall not determine.

I could not for my heart forbear pitying the poor hump-back'd gentleman mentioned in the former paper, who went off a very well-shaped person with a stone in his bladder; nor the fine gentleman who had struck up this bargain with him, that limped through a whole assembly of ladies, who used to admire him, with a pair of shoulders peeping over his head.

I must not omit my own particular adventure. My friend with the long visage had no sooner taken upon him my short face, but he made such a grotesque figure in it, that as I looked upon him I could not forbear laughing at myself, insomuch that I put my own face out of countenance. The poor gentleman was so sensible of the ridicule, that I found he was ashamed of what he had done: on the other side I found that I myself had no great reason to triumph; for as I went to touch my forehead I missed the place, and clapped my finger upon my upper lip. Besides, as my nose was exceeding prominent, I gave it two or three unlucky knocks as I was playing my hand about my face, and aiming at some

other part of it. I saw two other gentlemen by me, who were in the same ridiculous circumstances. These had made a foolish swop between a couple of thick bandy legs, and two long trapsticks that had no calfs to them. One of these looked like a man walking upon stilts, and was so lifted up into the air, above his ordinary height, that his head turned round with it, while the other made such aukward circles, as he attempted to walk, that he scarce knew how to move forward upon his new supporters: observing him to be a pleasant kind of fellow I stuck my cane in the ground, and told him I would lay him a bottle of wine, that he did not march up to it on a line, that I drew for him, in a quarter of an hour.

The heap was at last distributed among the two sexes, who made a most piteous sight, as they wandered up and down under the pressure of their several burdens. The whole plain was filled with murmurs and complaints, groans and lamentations. Jupiter at length, taking compassion on the poor mortals, ordered them a second time to lay down their loads, with a design to give every one his own again. They discharged themselves with a great deal of pleasure; after which, the phantom, who had led them into such gross delusions, was commanded to dissappear. There was sent in her stead a goddess of a quite different figure: her motions were steady and composed, and her aspect serious but cheerful. She every now and then cast her eyes towards heaven, and fixed them upon Jupiter: her name was Patience. She had no sooner placed herself by the mount of sorrows, what I thought very remarkable, the whole heap sunk to such a degree, that it did not appear a third part so big as it was before. She afterwards returned every man his own proper calamity, and teaching him how to bear it in the most commodious manner, he marched off with it contentedly, being very well pleased that he had not been left to his own choice, as to the kind of evils which fell to his lot.

Besides the several pieces of morality to be drawn out of this vision, I learnt from it, never to repine at my own misfortunes, or to envy the hapiness of another, since it is impossible for any man to form a right judgment of his neighbour's sufferings; for which reason also I have determined never to think too lightly of another's complaints, but to regard the sorrows of my fellow-creatures with sentiments of humanity and compassion.

3) Learning, proper for women *).

— — libelli Stoici inter sericos
Jacere pulvillos amant **).

Hor. Epod. 8. 15.

I have often wondered that learning is not thought a proper ingredient in the education of a woman of quality or fortune. Since they have the same improveable minds as the male part of the species, why should they not be cultivated by the same method? why should reason be left to itself in one of the sexes, and be disciplined with so much care in the other?

There are some reasons why learning seems more adapted to the female world, than to the male. As in the first place, because they have more spare time upon their hands, and lead a more sedentary life. Their employments are of a domestic nature, and not like those of the other sex, which are often inconsistent with study and contemplation. The excellent lady, the lady Lizard, in the space of one summer, furnished a gallery with chairs and couches of her own and her daughters' working; and at the same time heard all doctor Tillotson's ***) sermons twice over. It is always the custom for one of the young ladies to read, while the others are at work; so that the learning of the family is not at all prejudicial to its manufactures. I was mightily pleased the other day, to find them all busy in preserving several fruits of the season, with the Sparkler †) in the midst of them, reading over *the Plurality of worlds* ††). It was very entertaining to me to see them dividing their speculations between jellies and stars, and making a sudden transition from the sun to an apricot, or from the Copernican system to the figure of a cheese-cake.

A second reason why women should apply themselves to useful knowledge rather than men, is because they have that

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*) Guardian, Vol. II. no. 155. Tuesday, September 8, 1713. **). — *Und pflegen nicht die Schriften der Stoischen Weisen auf den seidenen Kissen zu liegen?* ***) *S. Seite 15.* †) *Name, welchen Steele* (*im 5ten Stück des* Guardian) *der jüngsten Tochter der Lady Lizard giebt; sie hiess eigentlich Mrs. Mary. Eine Schilderung dieser Familie ertheilt das zweite Stück jener Schrift.* ††) *Fontenelle's Schrift* sur la pluralité des mondes; *vermuthlich in der Englischen Uebersetzung.*

natural gift of speech in greater perfection. Since they have so excellent a talent, such a *copia verborum*, or plenty of words, 'tis pity they should not put it to some use. If the female tongue will be in motion, why should it not be set to go right? Could they discourse about the spots in the sun, it might divert them from publishing the faults of their neighbours; could they talk of the different aspects and conjunctions *) of the planets, they need not be at the pains to comment upon oglings and clandestine marriages. In short, were they furnished with matters of fact, out of arts and sciences, it would now and then be of great ease to their invention.

There is another reason why those especially who are women of quality, should apply themselves to letters, namely, because their husbands are generally strangers to them.

It is great pity there should be no knowledge in a family. For my own part, I am concerned when I go into a great house, where perhaps there is not a single person that can spell, unless it be by chance the butler, or one of the footmen. What a figure is the young heir likely to make, who is a dunce both by father and mother's side.

If we look into the histories of famous women, we find many eminent philosophers of this sex. Nay, we find that several females have distinguished themselves in those sects of philosophy which seem almost repugnant to their natures. There have been famous female Pythagoreans, notwithstanding most of that philosophy consisted in keeping a secret, and that the disciple was to hold her tongue five years together. I need not mention Portia, **) who was a Stoic in petticoats: nor Hipparchia ***), the famous She-Cynic

Learning and knowledge are perfections in us, not as we are men, but as we are reasonable creatures, in which

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*) *Aspecten nennt man die gegenseitigen Stellungen der Planeten; besonders spricht man von der Conjunktion oder Zusammenkunft, Opposition oder Gegenschein, Quadratur oder geviertem Schein u. s. w., und bezeichnet damit das Zusammenseyn der Planeten an einem Ort des Himmels, eine Entfernung von 180, eine Entfernung von 90 Grad u. s. w.* **) *Die Tochter des Cato von Utica und Gattinn des Junius Brutus, Porcia, legte, ganz ihres Vaters und Mannes würdig, eine so heroische Charakterstärke an den Tag, daſs sie zu den Stoikern gezählt wird.* ***) *Hipparchia, die Gemahlinn des Cynikers Crates.*

order of beings the female world is upon the same level with the male. We ought to consider in this particular, not what is the sex, but what is the species to which they belong. At least, I believe every one will allow me, that a female philosopher is not so absurd a character and so opposite to the sex, as a female gamester; and that it is more irrational for a woman to pass away half a dozen hours at cards or dice, than in getting up stores of useful learning. This therefore is another reason why I would recommend the studies of knowledge to the female world, that they may not be at a loss how to employ those hours that lie upon their hands.

I might also add this motive to my fair readers, that several of their sex, who have improved their minds by books and litterature, have raised themselves to the highest post of honour and fortune. A neighbouring nation may at this time furnish us with a very remarkable instance of this kind *); but I shall conclude this head with the history of Athenais, which is a very signal example to my present purpose.

The emperor Theodosius being about the age of one and twenty, and designing to take a wife, desired his sister Pulcheria and his friend Paulinus to search his whole empire for a woman of the most exquisite beauty and highest accomplishments. In the midst of this search, Athenais, a Grecian virgin, accidentally offered herself. Her father, who was an eminent philosopher of Athens, and had bred her up in all the learning of that place, at his death left her but a very small portion, in which also she suffered great hardships from the injustice of her two brothers. This forced her upon a journey to Constantinople, where she had a relation who represented her case to Pulcheria in order to obtain some redress from the emperor. By this means that religious princess became acquainted with Athenais, whom she found the most beautiful woman of her age, and edu-

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*) *Wahrscheinlich meint Addison die Frau von Maintenon (geb 1635, gest. 1719), welche erst an den berühmten Französischen Schriftsteller Scarron verheirathet war, nachmals aber, vorzüglich durch die Annehmlichkeiten ihres Geistes, den König Ludwig XIV so fesselte, daſs er sie zu seiner Nebengattin erhob. (Ein Mehreres von ihr findet man unter andern im ersten Theile des Handbuchs der Französischen Sprache.)*

cated under a long course of philosophy in the strictest virtue, and most unspotted innocence. Pulcheria was charmed with her conversation, and immediately made her reports to the emperor her brother Theodosius. The character she gave made such an impression on him, that he desired his sister to bring her away immediately to the lodgings of his friend Paulinus, where he found her beauty and her conversation beyond the highest idea he had framed of them. His friend Paulinus converted her to christianity, and gave her the name of Eudosia; after which the emperor publicly espoused her *), and enjoyed all the happiness in his marriage which he promised himself from such a virtuous and learned bride. She not only forgave the injuries which her two brothers had done her, but raised them to great honours; and by several works of learning, as well as by an exemplary life, made herself so dear to the whole empire, that she had many statues erected to her memory, and is celebrated by the fathers of the church as the ornament of her sex.

4) Time, not to be squandered **)

Gnosius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna;
Castigatque auditque dolos; subigitque fateri,
Quae quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem ***).

Virg. Aeneis, 6, v. 566.

I was yesterday pursuing the hint which I mentioned in my last paper, and comparing together the industry of man with that of other creatures; in which I could not but observe, that notwithstanding we are obliged by duty to keep ourselves in constant employ, after the same manner as inferior animals are prompted to it by instinct, we fall very short of them in this particular. We are here the more inexcusable, because there is a greater variety of business to which we

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*) *Im Jahre 421 nach Christi Geburt.* **) *Guardian,* Vol. II. no. 158. Friday, September 11, 1713. ***) *Nach der Uebersetzung von Voss:*

Hier übt harten Befehl der Gnosierheld Rhadamanthus,
Züchtiget streng, und verhört den Betrug und zwingt zu bekennen,
Wenn in der obern Welt, der leeren Verheimlichung fröhlich,
Einer bis spät zum Tod aufhob die begangenen Sünden.

may apply ourselves. Reason opens to us a large field of affairs, which other creatures are not capable of. Beasts of prey, and I believe of all other kinds, in their natural state of being, divide their time between action and rest. They are always at work or asleep. In short, their waking hours are wholly taken up in seeking after their food, or in consuming it. The human species only, to the great reproach of our natures, are filled with complaints, that *the day hangs heavy on them*, that *they do not know what to do with themselves*, that *they are at a loss how to pass away their time*, with many of the like shameful murmurs, which we often find in the mouths of those who are styled reasonable beings. How monstrous are such expressions among creatures, who have the labours of the mind, as well as those of the body, to furnish them with proper employments; who, besides the business of their proper callings and professions, can apply themselves to the duties of religion, to meditation, to the reading of useful books, to discourse; in a word, who may exercise themselves in the unbounded pursuits of knowledge and virtue, and every hour of their lives make themselves wiser or better than they were before!

After having been taken up for some time in this course of thought, I diverted myself with a book, according to my usual custom, in order to unbend my mind before I went to sleep. The book I made use of on this occasion was Lucian, where I amused my thought for about an hour among the dialogues of the dead, which in all probability produced the following dream.

I was conveyed, methought, into the entrance of the infernal regions, where I saw Rhadamanthus, one of the judges of the dead, seated in his tribunal. On his left hand stood the keeper of Erebus, on his right the keeper of Elysium. I was told he sat upon women that day, there being several of the sex lately arrived, who had not yet their mansions assigned them. I was surprized to hear him ask every one of them the same question, namely, *what they had been doing!* Upon this question being proposed to the whole assembly they stared one upon another, as not knowing what to answer. He then interrogated each of them separately. Madam, says he, to the first of them, you have been upon the earth about fifty years: what have you been doing there all this while? Doing? says she, really I don't know what

I have been doing: I desire I may have time given me to recollect. After about half an hour's pause she told him, that she had been playing at crimp *); upon which Rhadamanthus beckoned to the keeper on his left hand, to take her into custody. And you, Madam, says the judge, that look with such a soft and languishing air, I think you set out for this place in your nine and twentieth year, what have you been doing all this while? I had a great deal of business on my hands, says she, being taken up the first twelve years of my life, in dressing a jointed baby, and all the remaining part of it in reading plays and romances. Very well, says he, you have employed your time to good purpose. Away with her! The next was a plain country-woman; well mistress, says Rhadamanthus, and what have you been doing? An't please your Worship, says she, I did not live quite forty years; and in that time brought my husband seven daughters, made him nine thousand cheeses, and left my eldest girl with him, to look after his house in my absence, and who I may venture to say is as pretty a house-wife as any in the country. Rhadamanthus smiled at the simplicity of the good woman, and ordered the keeper of Elysium to take her into his care. And you, fair lady, says he, what have you been doing these five and thirty years? I have been doing no hurt, I assure you, Sir, said she. That is well, says he, but what good have you been doing? The lady was in great confusion at this question, and not knowing what to answer, the two keepers leaped out to seize her at the same time: the one took her by the hand to convey her to Elysium, the other caught hold of her to carry her away to Erebus. But Rhadamanthus observing an ingenious modesty in her countenance and behaviour, bid them both let her loose, and set her aside for a re-examination when he was at more leisure. And old woman, of a proud and sour look, presented herself next at the bar, and being asked what she had been doing? Truly, say she, I lived threescore and ten years in a very wicked world, and was so angry at the behaviour of a parcel of young flirts that I past most of my last years in condemning the follies of the times: I was every day blaming the silly conduct of people about me, in

*) *Nach Johnson's* Dictionary *ein jetzt aus der Mode gekommenes Kartenspiel.*

order to deter those I conversed with from falling into the like errors and miscarriages. Very well, says Rhadamanthus, but did you keep the same watchful eye over your own actions? Why truly, says she, I was so taken up with publishing the faults of others, that I had no time to consider my own. Madam, says Rhadamanthus, be pleased to file off to the left, and make room for the venerable matron that stands behind you. Old gentle-woman, says he, I think you are fourscore? You have heard the question, what have you been doing so long in the world? Ah, Sir! says she, I have been doing what I should not have done, but I had made a firm resolution to have changed my life, if I had not been snatched of by an untimely end. Madam, says he, you will please to follow your leader; and spying another of the same age, interrogated her in the same form. To which the matron replied: „I have been the wife of a husband who was as dear to me in his old age as in his youth. I have been a mother, and very happy in my children, whom I endeavoured to bring up in every thing that is good. My eldest son is blest by the poor, and beloved by every one that knows him. I lived within my own family, and left it much more wealthy than I found it." Rhadamanthus, who knew the value of the old lady, smiled upon her in such a manner, that the keeper of Elysium, who knew his office, reached out his hand to her. He no sooner touched her but her wrinkles vanished, her eyes sparkled, her cheeks glow'd with blushes, and she appeared in full bloom and beauty. A young woman observing that this officer, who conducted the happy to Elysium, was so great a beautifier, long'd to be in his hands, so that pressing through the crowd, she was the next that appeared at the bar. And being asked what she had been doing the five and twenty years that she had past in the world, „I have endeavoured, says she, ever since I came to years of discretion, to make myself lovely and gain admirers. In order to it I past my time in bottling up may-dew, inventing white-washes, mixing colours, cutting out patches, consulting my glass, suiting my complexion, tearing off my tucker, sinking my stays" — Rhadamanthus, without hearing her out, gave the sign to take her off. Upon the approach of the keeper of Erebus her colour faded, her face was puckered up with wrinkles, and her whole person lost in deformity.

"I was then surprised with a distant sound of a whole troop of females that came forward laughing, singing and dancing. I was very desirous to know the reception they would meet with, and withal was very apprehensive, that Rhadamanthus would spoil their mirth: but at their nearer approach the noise grew so very great that it awakened me.

I lay some time, reflecting in myself, on the oddness of this dream, and could not forbear asking my own heart, what I was doing? I answered myself, that I was writing Guardians. If my readers make as good a use of this work as I design they should, I hope it will never be imputed to me as a work that is vain and unprofitable.

I shall conclude this paper with recommending to them the same short self-examination. If every one of them frequently lays his hand upon his heart, and considers what he is doing, it will check him in all the idle, or, what is worse, the vicious moments of life, lift up his mind when it is running on in a series of indifferent actions, and encourage him when he is engaged in those which are virtuous and laudable. In a word, it will very much alleviate that guilt which the best of men have reason to acknowledge in their daily confessions, of *leaving undone those things which they ought to have done, and of doing those things which they ought not to have done.*

STEELE.

SIR RICHARD STEELE *wurde* 1676 *von Brittischen Eltern zu Dublin erzeugt. Zugleich mit* Addison, *seinem Busenfreunde, in der* Charter-house school *zu London erzogen, nahm er ums Jahr* 1695 *als Fähnrich Dienste bei der Garde. In dieser, einem feurigen und zu Ausschweifungen geneigten Jüngling gefährlichen Lage, schrieb er zu seinem Privatgebrauch ein Sittenbüchlein unter dem Titel* the christian Hero, *voll der dringendsten, aus der Religion entlehnten, Bewegungsgründe zu einem tugendhaften Wandel. Dieser geheime Erinnerer sprach aber nicht laut genug, um ihn vor den Abwegen zu bewahren, die er zu betreten fürchtete. Er liefs*

das Werkchen also drucken (1701), *um sich zur Befolgung der darin enthaltenen Weisheitsregeln gleichsam gezwungen zu sehen. Dieser seltsame Entschlufs zog ihm indessen tausend Verdriefslichkeiten zu, indem man bei jeder Gelegenheit sein Betragen nach dem Ideal des christlichen Helden abmafs, worüber er gewöhnlich seinen lustigen Waffenbrüdern zum Gespött ward. Um sein Gemüth von diesen Kränkungen abzuziehen, schrieb er seine* 1702 *mit allgemeinem Beifall aufgeführte Komödie* the Funeral, or grief à la mode. *Er ward hierauf Sekretär des Lords* C u t t s, *dem er seinen* christian Hero *dedicirt hatte, und Kapitän in des Lord* L u c a s *Füselier Regiment.* 1703 *wurde sein* tender Husband or the accomplished Fools, *und* 1704 the lying Lovers or the Ladies friendship *gespielt.* 1709 *fing er an, unter dem angenommenen Namen* B i c k e r s t a f f *den* Tatler *herauszugeben, eine Zeitschrift, deren Form, Manier und Ton so vielen Beifall fand, dafs sie mit den veränderten Titeln* Spectator, Guardian, Rambler, Idler, World, Adventurer, Connoisseur etc. *bis auf die neusten Zeiten fortgesetzt ist. Das erste Stück erschien den 12ten April* 1709, *das letzte den 2ten Jan.* 1711. S t e e l e *nannte sich anfangs nicht, wurde aber bald von* A d d i s o n *als Herausgeber erkannt, da er dessen* Remarks on Virgil *einrückte, worauf dieser grofse Schriftsteller mehrere seiner Aufsätze in den* Tatler *aufnehmen liefs, ohne sie durch ein besonderes Unterscheidungszeichen zu charakterisiren. Die beste Ausgabe führt den Titel:* Richard Steele's Tatler, with illustrations and notes historical, biographical and critical by Dr. Percy, 1786. 6 Vol. 8. *Hierauf arbeitete unser Verfasser an dem* Spectator, *von welchem er sich in dem letzten Stück vom 6ten Dec.* 1712 *als den Herausgeber nennt, und in Vereinigung mit den gröfsten Geistern damaliger Zeit, einem* A d d i s o n, P o p e, P a r n e l l, G a y, T i c k e l l *etc. an dem* Guardian, *für dessen Redacteur er gleichfalls gehalten wird. Das erste Stück dieser an innerm Gehalt weder dem* Tatler *noch dem* Spectator *nachstehenden Zeitschrift, erschien den 12ten März* 1713, *das letzte oder Nro.* 175 *den 1sten Octbr. desselben Jahres.* A d d i s o n ' s *Stücke sind mit einer Hand unterzeichnet. Zu den vorzüglichsten Ausgaben gehören folgende: London* 1714, 2 *Vols.* 8. *Dublin* 1744, 2 *Vols.* 8. *London* 1775, 3 *Vols.* 8. *Von* 1713 *an gab* S t e e l e *mehrere Schriften politischen Inhalts heraus, als* the Englishman, *eine Wochenschrift,* the Crisis, Apology for himself and his writings etc. *worin er sich als einem erklärten Gegner des letzten*

Ministeriums der Königinn Anna *und eifrigen Anhänger der Whig-Partei zeigte. Diese Gesinnung mufste* Georg's I. *Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehn, und wirklich wurde er sogleich nach des Königs Regierungsantritt mit Würden überhäuft. Er erhielt den Baronetstitel, und die Aemter eines Aufsehers der Königl. Ställe zu Hamptoncourt, eines Direktors der Königl. Schauspieler und eines Friedensrichters der Grafschaft Middlesex. Aufserdem wurde er bald darauf zum Parliamentsgliede für Boroughbrigg in Yorkshire, und nach Unterdrückung der Schottischen Rebellion zum Commissär der in Schottland confiscirten Güter ernannt. Zu den wichtigern Schriften aus der letzten Periode seines Lebens sind folgende zu rechnen:* the romish ecclesiastical History of late years, London 1714 8.; the Lover *und* the Reader, *zwei periodische Schriften,* 1714; an Account of the state of the roman catholic religion, *angeblich aus einem Italiänischen Manuskript übersetzt, und dem Pabst dedicirt,* London 1715, 8.; the Spinster, *ein Pamphlet,* 1719; the Reader, *eine periodische Schrift,* 1720; the conscious lovers, *eine mit überaus grofsem Beifall im Jahr 1722 aufgeführte Komödie;* the ladies library, written by a lady, London 1722, 3 Vols. 12. *Nach der Erscheinung des letztern Werks begab er sich nach seinem Landgut Langunnor bei Camarthen in Südwallis, wo er an den Folgen paralytischer Zufälle im Jahr* 1729 *starb. Seine dramatischen Werke sind zu London* 1760 *vereinigt erschienen, unter folgendem Titel:* Richard Steele's dramatic works. — *Die zuverlässigsten Nachrichten von seinem Leben finden sich im 6ten Bande der* bibliotheca britannica, *im* Journal étranger *vom May* 1755 *und in den* Heads of the illustrious persons of great Britain.

The Story of Inkle and Yariko *).

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas **).

Juv. Sat. II. v. 58.

Arietta is visited by all persons of both sexes, who have any pretence to wit and gallantry. She is in that time of life which is neither affected with the follies of youth, or

*) Spectator, Vol. I. no. 11. **) *Nach der Uebersetzung von* Bahrdt:

Die Tauben fängt man ein,
Die Raben läfst man laufen.

infirmities of age; and her conversation is so mixed with gaiety and prudence, that she is agreeable both to the young, and the old. Her behaviour is very frank, without being in the least blameable: and as she is out of the track of any amorous or ambitious pursuits of her own, her visitants entertain her with accounts of themselves very freely, whether they concern their passions or their interests. I made her a visit this afternoon, having been formerly introduced to the honour of her acquaintance, by my friend Will Honeycomb, who has prevailed upon her to admit me sometimes into her assembly, as a civil inoffensive man. I found her accompanied with one person only, a common-place talker, who, upon my entrance, arose, and after a very slight civility sat down again; then turning to Arietta, pursued his discourse, which I found was upon the old topic of constancy in love. He went on with great facility in repeating what he talks every day of his life; and with the ornaments of insignificant laughs and gestures enforced his arguments by quotations out of plays and songs, which allude to the perjuries of the fair, and the general levity of women. Methought he strove to shine more than ordinarily in his talkative way, that he might insult my silence, and distinguish himself before a woman of Arietta's taste and understanding. She had often an inclination to interrupt him, but could find no opportunity, till the larum ceased of itself; which it did not till he had repeated and murdered the celebrated story of the Ephesian matron.

When she had a little recovered herself from the serious anger she was in, she replied in the following manner:

Sir, when I consider how perfectly new all you have said on this subject is, and that the story you have given us is not quite two thousand years old, I cannot but think it a piece of presumption to dispute with you: but your quotations put me in mind of the fable of the lion and the man. The man walking with that noble animal, shewed him, in the ostentation of human superiority, a sign of a man killing a lion. Upon which the lion said very justly: *we lions are none of us painters, else we could shew a hundred men killed by lions, for one lion killed by a man.* You men are writers, and can represent us women as unbecoming as you please in your works, while we are unable to return the injury. Such a writer I doubt not was the celebrated Petronius who invented the pleasant aggravations of the frailty of the Ephesian

lady; but when we consider this question between the sexes, which has been either a point of dispute or raillery ever since there were men and women, let us take facts from plain people, and from such as have not either ambition or capacity to embellish their narrations with any beauties of imagination. I was the other day amusing myself with Ligon's account of Barbadoes*); and, in answer to your well-wrought tale, I will give you (as it dwells upon my memory) out of that honest traveller, in his fifty fifth page, the history of Inkle and Yariko.

Mr. Thomas Inkle, of London, aged twenty years, embarked in the Downs**) on the good ship called the Achilles, bound for the West-Indies, on the 16th of June, 1674, in order to improve his fortune by trade and merchandise. Our adventurer was the third son of an eminent citizen, who had taken particular care to instil into his mind an early love of gain, by making him a perfect master of numbers, and consequently giving him a quick view of loss and advantage, and preventing the natural impulses of his passions, by prepossession towards his interests. With a mind thus turned, young Inkle had a person every way agreeable, a ruddy vigour in his countenance, strength in his limbs, with ringlets of fair hair loosely flowing on his shoulders. It happened, in the course of the voyage, that the Achilles, in some distress, put into a creek on the main of America, in search of provisions. The youth, who is the hero of my story, among others went ashore on this occasion. From their first landing they were observed by a party of Indians, who hid themselves in the woods for that purpose. The English unadvisedly marched a great distance from the shore into the country, and were intercepted by the natives, who slew the greatest number of them. Our adventurer escaped among others, by flying into a forest. Upon his coming into a remote and pathless part of the wood, he threw himself, tired, and breathless, on a little hillock, when an Indian maid rushed from a thicket

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*) Barbadoes, *eine den Engländern gehörige Insel in West-Indien.* **) Downs, *diejenigen Sandhügel, welche das Meer am Ufer macht. In besonderem Verstande sind die Dünen die Gegend längs den östlichen Küsten von Kent und Sussex, wo die Schiffe vor Anker liegen und durch die Sandbänke* Goodvins *vor den Wellen gesichert werden.*

behind him. After the first surprize, they appeared mutually agreeable to each other. If the European was highly charmed with the limbs, features and wild graces of the naked American, the American was no less taken with the dress, complexion, and shape of an European, covered from head to foot. The Indian grew immediately enamoured of him, and consequently solicitous for his preservation. She therefore conveyed him to a cave, where she gave him a delicious repast of fruits, and led him to a stream to slake his thirst. In the midst of those good offices, she would sometimes play with his hair, and delight in the opposition of its colour to that of her fingers: then open his bosom, then laugh at him for covering it. She was, it seems, a person of distinction, for she every day came to him in a different dress, of the most beautiful shells, bugles, and bredes. She likewise brought him a great many spoils, which her other lovers had presented to her, so that his cave was richly adorned with all the spotted skins of beasts, and most party-coloured feathers of fowls, which that world afforded. To make his confinement more tolerable, she would carry him in the dusk of the evening, or by the favour of moonlight, to unfrequented groves and solitudes, and shew him where to lie down in safety, and sleep amidst the falls of waters and melody of nightingales. Her part was to watch and hold him awake in her arms, for fear of her countrymen, and awake him on occasions to consult his safety. In this manner did the lovers pass away their time, till they had learned a language of their own, in which the voyager communicated to his mistress, how happy he should be to have her in his country, where she should be cloathed in such silks as his waistcoat was made of, and carried in houses drawn by horses, without being exposed to wind or weather. All this he promised her the enjoyment of without such fears and alarms as they were there tormented with. In this tender correspondence these lovers lived for several months, when Yarico, instructed by her lover, discovered a vessel on the coast to which she made signals; and in the night, with the utmost joy and satisfaction, accompanied him to a ship's crew of his countrymen, bound for Barbadoes.

When a vessel from the main arrives in that island, it seems the planters come to the shore, where there is an immediate market of the Indians, and other slaves, as with us of

horses and oxen. To be short, Mr. Thomas Inkle, now coming into English territories, began seriously to reflect upon his loss of time, and to weigh with himself how many days interest of his money he had lost during his stay with Yarico. This thought made the young man very pensive and careful what account he should be able to give his friends of his voyage. Upon this consideration, the prudent and frugal young man sold Yarico to a Barbadian merchant; notwithstanding that the poor girl, to incline him to commiserate her condition, told him that she was with child by him. But he only made use of that information, to rise in his demands upon the purchaser.

I was so touched with this story (which I think should be always a counterpart to the Ephesian matron) that I left the room with tears in my eyes; which a woman of Arietta's good sense, did, I am sure, take for greater applause, than any compliments I could make her.

POPE.

ALEXANDER POPE, *Esq. wurde* 1688 *zu London geboren. Seine Erziehung war von den ungünstigsten Umständen begleitet, und nur die Kraft seines Geistes konnte ihre Mängel ersetzen. Mit den Buchstaben machte ihn einer seiner Verwandten bekannt; schreiben lehrte er sich aber selbst, indem er geschriebene Charaktere nachmahlte. In seinem achten Jahre wurde er dem Unterricht eines Geistlichen,* Taverner, *übergeben, von welchem er die Anfangsgründe der Griechischen und Lateinischen Sprache erlernte. Um diese Zeit fiel ihm* Ogleby's *Uebersetzung des Homer in die Hände. Das Vergnügen, welches ihm diese Lektüre verursachte, konnte nur durch* Sandy's *Ovid erhöht werden. Er wurde hierauf in eine Privatschule bei Hidepark-Corner geschickt, wo er, begeistert von einem Schauspiel, das er zu sehen Gelegenheit gehabt hatte, aus* Ogleby's *Homer ein Drama zusammensetzte, welches von seinen Schulfreunden aufgeführt wurde. Von seinem zwölften Jahre an hielt er sich bei seinem Vater, der von einem durch Handlung erworbenen Vermögen in der Stille lebte,*

zu Binfield im Walde bei Windsor auf, und ward von dieser Zeit an sein eigener Lehrer. Er erwarb sich bald eine Fertigkeit in den alten Sprachen, und suchte sich nun durch die klassischen Schriftsteller der Griechen und Römer zu bilden. Hierzu fügte er das Italiänische und Französische. Spenser's, Waller's und Dryden's Gedichte, die er jetzt kennen lernte, wurden seine Lieblingslektüre. Dryden besonders kam nie aus seinen Händen, und er gestand, daſs er diesem groſsen Muster den Zauber seiner Versification verdanke. Sein frühster gedruckter Versuch war eine Ode on solitude, die er in seinem zwölften Jahre geschrieben haben soll. 1702 übersetzte er das erste Buch der Thebaide des Statius. 1703 fing er ein episches Gedicht Alcander an, das er aber bald den Flammen Preis gab. Ein ähnliches Schiksal drohte seinen 1704 geschriebenen Pastorals; sie wurden aber von seinen Freunden Sir William Trumbull und Wycherley gerettet. Es folgten nun in kurzen Zwischenräumen seine Ode on St. Cecilia's day (1708), sein Essay on criticism (1709), sein Messiah und sein Temple of fame (1711), sein Rape of the lock (1712) und sein Windsor-forest (1713). Diese Meisterstücke machten ihn so berühmt, daſs man ihn von allen Seiten aufforderte, die Englische Literatur mit einer Uebersetzung der Iliade zu bereichern. Er unterzog sich dieser mühsamen Arbeit, und vollendete sie in fünf Jahren. Die beiden ersten Bände erschienen 1716, der dritte 1717, der vierte 1718, und die beiden letzten 1720 (London 4.) Er gab das Werk auf Subskription heraus. Der Preis eines jeden Bandes betrug eine Guinee, und der Gewinn nach Abzug aller Kosten 5320 l. So belohnte die Nation die Verdienste dieses groſsen Mannes, der übrigens durch seine Religion (er war Katholik) verhindert wurde, ein öffentliches Amt zu bekleiden. Von der Odyssee, welche 1725 in 5 Bänden in 4. gleichfalls auf Subskription gedruckt wurde, gehören unserm Dichter nur 12 Bücher; die übrigen sind von Elijah Fenton und William Broome (von diesen nicht unbedeutenden Dichtern s. Johnson's lives etc. Vol. III.) übersetzt worden. Pope war nun ein wohlhabender Mann, und bemittelt genug, sich ein Landhaus zu Twickenham zu kaufen, wo er mit wenigen Unterbrechungen bis an seinen Tod gelebt hat. Er genoſs die Achtung aller Männer von Verdienst. Dagegen hatte er sich theils durch seinen Ruhm, den man beneidete, theils durch seine satyrischen Schriften, worin man sich getroffen fühlte, den Haſs und die Verfolgung aller kleinen Geister zugezogen.

Um sich zu rächen, schrieb er seine berühmte Dunciade, *worin er die* Dunces *sämmtlich an den Pranger stellt.* The Dunciad, with notes variorum, and the prolegomena of Scriblerus. London 1729, 8. 1733 *erschienen die drei ersten und* 1734 *die letzte Epistel seines vortreflichen Lehrgedichts* Essay on man. *Er widmete es dem Lord Bolingbroke, und gab dadurch seinen Feinden Gelegenheit, ihn für einen Anhänger der damals übel berüchtigten Philosophie des Lords auszuschreien. Es fehlte nicht an scharfsinnigen Theologen, die in seinen Sätzen den Spinozismus fanden; und daſs nun bittere Angriffe erfolgten, läſst sich erwarten. Dagegen vertheidigte der bekannte Dr. Warburton, Verfasser der göttlichen Sendung Mosis, den Versuch über den Menschen in sieben* 1740 *erschienenen Briefen mit so glücklichem Erfolge, daſs ihm der Dichter zur Belohnung die Hälfte seiner Bibliothek, und das Eigenthumsrecht zu allen seinen Schriften vermachte. Pope's letztes Werk waren seine gleichfalls aus 4 Episteln bestehende* Moral essays. *Er starb* 1744 *zu Twickenham an der Brustwassersucht. Die Stärke seines Geistes und die Menge und Vortrefflichkeit seiner Schriften erregt um so mehr Bewunderung, da er von Natur schwach und fast immer kränklich war. Die erste Sammlung seiner Gedichte erschien* 1717, *London* 4. *Ein zweiter Theil erfolgte* 1735 *in 2 Bänden* 4. *Die beste Ausgabe seiner sämmtlichen Werke, von der alle spätern nur Abdrücke sind, ist vom Dr. Warburton besorgt worden.* The works of Alexander Pope, Esq. in nine Volumes complete, with his last corrections, additions and improvements, as they were delivered to the editor a little before his death; together with the commentary and notes of Mr. Warburton, London 1752, 8. *Der Inhalt dieser 9 Bände ist:* Vol. I. Pastorals *oder 4 nach den Jahreszeiten benannte Schäfergedichte, Nachahmungen des Theocrit, Virgil und Spenser;* Messiah, *eine geistliche Ekloge, die dem Pollio des Virgil, wovon sie eine Nachahmung ist, vorgezogen wird;* Windsor-forest, *ein beschreibendes Gedicht;* Ode on St. Cecilia's day; Essay on criticism, *eins von Pope's meisterhaften Gedichten;* the Rape of the lock, an heroi-comical poem, *in 5 Gesängen, eine der besten komischen Epopöen, die irgend eine Nation aufzuweisen hat. Addison nannte sie* merum sal. Vol. II. Translations and imitations. *Hierunter zeichnen sich ganz vorzüglich die Epistel der Heloise an Abelard, der Tempel des Ruhms und Erzählungen nach*

Chaucer, January and May *und* the Wife of Bath *aus*. Vol. III. Essay on man and moral Essays. Vol. IV. Satires and Epistles of Horace imitated, and Satires of John Donne *(eines von* 1574 *bis* 1631 *lebenden Dichters)* versified. Vol. V. The Dunciad. Vol. VI. Miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse, *unter andern die* Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus. Vol. VII. VIII. *und* IX. *enthalten Briefe. Diese gehören nach dem einstimmigen Urtheile aller spruchfähigen Richter zu den vorzüglichsten, welche die Englische Literatur aufzuweisen hat, wiewohl nicht alle frei von Künsteleien sind. Wir theilen unsern Lesern einige derselben mit. Sie erschienen übrigens zuerst von dem Verfasser selbst besorgt, London* 1737, 4; *nachher sind sie öfters, theils einzeln, theils in den Ausgaben der Werke des Verfassers abgedruckt worden. Mehrere Proben von Pope's Gedichten wird der Leser im zweiten Theile dieses Handbuchs finden. Die besten Werke über Pope's Leben und Schriften sind folgende:* the Life of Alexander Pope, with remarks on his works, to which is added his last will. London 1744, 8. — Memoirs of the life and writings of Alexander Pope collected from anthentic authors by W. Ayre, London 1745, 2 Vols. 8. — Pope's life by Warburton (s. Pope's works). — Johnson's Lives of the english poets, Vol. IV. — Essay on the writings and genius of Pope, Vol. I. London 1756; Vol. II, ib. 1782, 8. *von* Jos. Warton *).

1) To Mr. Cromwell.

(The use of poetical studies; a panegyrick upon dogs.)

Oct. 19. 1709.

I may truly say I am more obliged to you this summer than to any of my acquaintance, for had it not been for the two kind letters you sent me, I had been perfectly *oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis* **). The only companions I had were those Muses of whom Tully says, *adolescentiam alunt,*

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*) *Joseph Warton, der auch eine Ausgabe von Pope's Werken in 9 Bänden besorgte, starb den 24sten Februar 1800; er ist der Bruder des Hofdichters Thomas Warton.* **) *Die meinigen vergessend und auch von ihnen zu vergessen.*

senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur *)*; which indeed is as much as ever I expected from them: for the Muses, if you take them as companions, are very pleasant and agreeable, but whoever should be forced to live or depend upon them, would find himself in a very bad condition. That Quiet, which Cowley **) calls the *Companion of obscurity*, was not wanting to me, unless it was interrupted by those fears you so justly guess I had for our friend's welfare. It is extremely kind in you to tell me the news you heard of him, and you have deliver'd me from more anxiety than he imagines me capable of on his account, as I am convinced by his long silence. However, the love of some things rewards itself, as of virtue, and of Mr. Wycherley ***). I am surprised at the danger, you tell me, he has been in, and must agree with you, that our nation would have lost in him, as much wit and probity, as would have remained (for ought I know) in the rest of it. My concern for his friendship will excuse me (since you know I love him above all men) if I vent a part of my uneasiness to you, and tell you, that there has not been wanting one, to insinuate malicious untruths of me to Mr. Wycherley, which I fear, may have had some effect upon him. If so, he will have a greater punishment for his credulity then I could wish him, in that fellow's acquaintance. The loss of a faithful creature is something, though of ever so contemptible an one; and if I were to change my dog for such man as the aforesaid, I should think my dog undervalued; (who follows me about as constantly here in the country, as I was used to do Mr. Wycherley in the town.)

Now I talk of my dog, that I may not treat of a worse subject, which my spleen tempts me to, I will give you some account of him; a thing not wholly unprecedented, since

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*) Cic. orat. p. Archia cap. 7. *Sie geben der Jugend Nahrung und Freude dem Alter, schmücken im Glücke und gewähren im Unglück einen Zufluchtsort und Trost, sie ergötzen uns im Hause und hindern uns nicht ausserhalb desselben, sie sind bei uns in der Nacht, auf der Reise und auf dem Lande.* **) **Cowley**, *ein berühmter Engl. Dichter, s. Handbuch 2ter Theil.* ***) **Wycherley**, *ein dramatischer Dichter, geb. 1640, gestorben 1715.*

Montaigne *) (to whom I am but a dog in comparison) has done the same thing of his cat. *Dic mihi quid melius desidiosus agam?* **) You are to know then, that as it is likeness begets affection, so my favorite dog is a little one, a lean one, and none of the finest shaped. He is not much a spaniel in his fawning, but has (what might be worth any man's while to imitate him in) a dumb surly sort of kindness, that rather shows itself when he thinks me ill-used by others, than when we walk quietly and peaceably by ourselves. If it be the chief point of friendship to comply with a friends motions and inclinations, he possesses this in an eminent degree; he lies down when I sit, and walks when I walk, which is more than many good friends can pretend to, witness our walk a year ago in St. James-Park. — Histories are more full of examples of the fidelity of dogs than of friends, but I will not insist upon many of them, because it is possible some many be almost as fabulous as those of Pylades and Orestes etc. I will only say for the honour of dogs, that the two most ancient and esteemable books, sacred and profane, extant (viz. the Scripture and Homer) have shown a particular regard to these animals. That of Toby is the more remarkable, because there seemed no manner of reason to take notice of the dog, besides the great humanity of the author. Homer's account of Ulysses dog Argus ***) is the most pathetic imaginable, all the circumstances considered, and an excellent proof of the old bard's good-nature. Ulysses had left him at Ithaca when he embarked for Troy, and found him at his return after twenty years (which by the way is not unnatural, as some critics have said, since I remember the dam of my dog was twenty-two years old when she died: may the omen of longævity prove fortunate to her successor). You shall have it in verse.

Argus.

When wise Ulysses, from his native coast
Long kept by wars, and long by tempest tost,
Arriv'd at last, poor, old, disguis'd, alone,
To all his friends, and ev'n his Queen †) unknown;

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*) *Von Michel de Montagne oder Montaigne, einem vortrefflichen Französischen Schriftsteller (geb. 1533. gest. 1592) siehe unter andern das Handbuch der Französischen Sprache, Theil I. S. 3. (sechste Auflage.)* **) *Was könnt' ich, müssig, Besseres thun?* ***) *Homers Odyssee, 17, 300 u. ff.* †) *Penelope.*

Chang'd as he was, with age, and toils, and cares,
Furrow'd his rev'rend face, and white his hairs,
In his own palace forc'd to ask his bread,
Scorn'd by those slaves his former bounty fed,
Forgot of all his own domestic crew;
The faithful dog alone his rightful master knew:
Unfed, unhous'd, neglected, on the clay,
Like an old servant now cashier'd, he lay;
Touch'd with resentment of ungrateful men,
And longing to behold his ancient Lord again,
Him when he saw — he rose, and crawl'd to meet,
('Twas all he could) and fawn'd and kiss'd his feet,
Seiz'd with dumb joy — then falling by his side,
Own'd his returning Lord, look'd up, and dy'd!

Plutarch relating how the Athenians were obliged to abandon Athens in the time of Themistocles, steps back again out of the way of his history, purely to describe the lamentable cries and howlings of the poor dogs they left behind. He makes mention of one, that followed his master across the Sea to Salamis, where he died, and was honour'd with a tomb by the Athenians, who gave the name of the Dog's Grave to that part of the Island where he was buried. This respect to a dog in the most polite people of the world, is very observable. A modern instance of gratitude to a dog (though we have but few such) is, that the chief order of Denmark *) (now injuriously called the order of the Elephant) was instituted in memory of the fidelity of a dog, nam'd Wild-brat, to one of their kings who had been deserted by his subjects; he gave his order this motto, or to this effect (which still remains) *Wild-brat was faithful.* Sir William Trumbull has told me a story, which he heard from one that was present: King Charles I. being with some of his court during his troubles, a discourse arose what sort of dogs deserved pre-eminence, and it being on all hands agreed to belong either to the spaniel or grey-hound, the king gave his opinion on the part of the grey-hound, because (said he) it has all the good-nature of the other without the fawning. A good piece of satire upon his courtiers, with which I will

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*) *Wahrscheinlich ist der Dänische Orden* de la Fidélité *oder vielmehr* de l'union parfaite *gemeint, der aber seit dem Jahre 1770 nicht mehr vertheilt wird.*

conclude my discourse of dogs. Call me a Cynic, or what you please, in revenge for all this impertinence, I will be contented; provided you will but believe me, when I say a bold word for a Christian, that, of all dogs, you will find none more faithful than Your etc.

8) To Mr. Steele.

(Concerning a public, private, or mixed life.)

Jun. 18. 1712.

You have obliged me with a very kind letter, by which I find you shift the scene of your life from the town to the country, and enjoy that mixed state, which wise men both delight in, and are qualified for. Methinks the moralists and philosophers have generally run too much into extremes in commending entirely either solitude, or public life. In the former, men for the most part grow useless by too much rest, and in the latter are destroyed by to much precipitation; as waters lying still, putrefy, and are good for nothing, and running violently on, do but the more mischief in their passage to others, and are swallowed up and lost the sooner themselves. Those indeed who can be useful to all states, should be like gentle streams, that not only glide through lonely valleys and forests amidst the flocks and the shepherds; but visit populous towns in their course, and are at once of ornament and service to them. But there are another sort of people who seem designed for solitude, such, I mean, as have more to hide than to show. As for my own part, I am one of those of whom Seneca says: *tam umbratiles sunt, ut putent in turbido esse quicquid in luce est.**) Some men, like some pictures, are fitter for a corner than a full light; and, I believe, such as have a natural bent to solitude (to carry on the former similitude) are like waters, which may be forced into fountains, and exalted into a great height, may make a noble figure and a louder noise, but after all they would run more smoothly, quietly, and plentifully, in their own natural course upon the ground. The consideration of this would make me very well contented with the possession only of that quiet, which Cowley calls the *Companion of obscu-*

*) *Sie sind so scheu, daſs sie, was der helle Tag bescheint, undunkel halten.*

rity. But whoever has the Muse too for his companions, can never be idle enough, to be uneasy. Thus, Sir, you see, I would flatter myself into a good opinion of my own way of living. Plutarch just now told me, that it is in human life as in a game at tables, where a man may wish for the highest cast; but, if his chance be otherwise, he is even to play it as well as he can, and to make the best of it. I am your etc.

5) To Mr. Steele.

(Of sickness and dying young.)

July 15, 1712.

You formerly observed to me, that nothing made a more ridiculous figure in a man's life, than the disparity we often find in him sick and well: thus one of an unfortunate constitution is perpetually exhibiting a miserable example of the weakness of his mind, and of his body, in their turns. I have had frequent opportunities of late to consider myself in these different views, and, I hope, have received some advantage by it, if what Waller*) says be true, that

The soul's dark cottage, batter'd and decay'd,
Lets in new light thro' chinks that time has made.

Then surely sickness, contributing no less than old age to the shaking down this scaffolding of the body, may discover the inward structure more plainly. Sickness is a sort of early old age: it teaches us a diffidence in our earthly state, and inspires us with the thoughts of a future, better than a thousand volumes of philosophers and divines. It gives so warning a concussion to those props of our vanity, our strength and youth, that we think of fortifying ourselves within, when there is so little dependance upon our outworks. Youth at the very best is but a betrayer of human life in a gentler and smoother manner than age: it is like a stream that nourishes a plant upon a bank, and causes it to flourish and blossom to the sight, but at the same time is undermining it at the root in secret. My youth has dealt more fairly and openly with me; it has afforded several prospects of my danger, and given me an advantage not very common to young men, that the attractions of the world have not dazzled me

*) *Von diesem Dichter siehe den 2ten Theil des Handbuchs.*

very much; and I begin, where most people end, with a full conviction of the emptiness of all sorts of ambition, and the unsatisfactory nature of all human pleasures. When a smart fit of sickness tells me this scurvy tenement of my body will fall in a little time, I am even as unconcerned as was that honest Hibernian, who being in bed in the great storm some years ago, and told the house would tumble over his head, made answer, „what care I for the house? I am only a lodger." I fancy it is the best time to die when one is in the best humour; and so excessively weak as I now am, I may say with conscience, that I am not at all uneasy at the thought, that many men, whom I never had any esteem for, are likely to enjoy this world after me. When I reflect what an inconsiderable little atom every single man is, with respect to the whole creation, methinks, it is a shame to be concerned at the removal of such a trivial animal as I am. The morning after my exit, the sun will rise as bright as ever, the flowers smell as sweet, the plants spring as green, the world will proceed in its old course, people will laugh as heartily, and marry as fast, as they were used to do. The memory of man (at it is elegantly expressed in the Book of Wisdom) passeth away as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but one day. There are reasons enough, in the fourth chapter of the same book, to make any young man contented with the prospect of death. „For honourable age, is not that which „standeth in length of time, or is measured by number of „years. But wisdom is the grey hair to men, and an un„spotted life is old age. He was taken away speedily, lest „wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile „his soul," etc. I am Your, etc.

4) To Mr. Steele.

(On the Emperor Adrian's verses on his death-bed.)

Nov. 7, 1712.

I was the other day in company with five or six men of some learning; where chancing to mention the famous verses which the Emperor Adrian spoke on his death-bed, they were all agreed that it was a piece of gaiety unworthy of that Prince in those circumstances. I could not but differ from this opinion: methinks it was by no means a gay, but a very

serious soliloquy to his soul at the point of its departure; in which sense I naturally took the verses at my first reading them, when I was very young, and before I knew what interpretation the world generally put upon them.

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quae nunc abibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec (ut soles) dabis joca!

„Alas, my soul! Thou pleasing companion of this body, „thou fleeting thing that art now deserting it! Whither art „thou flying? To what unknown scene? All trembling, „fearful and pensive? What now is become of thy former „wit and humour? thou shalt jest and be gay no more."

I confess I cannot apprehend where lies the trifling in all this: it is the most natural and obvious reflection imaginable to a dying man: and if we consider the Emperor was a heathen, that doubt concerning the future fate of his soul will seem so far from being the effect of want of thought, that it was scarce reasonable he should think otherwise; not to mention that here is a plain confession included of his belief in its immortality. The diminutive epithets of *vagula, blandulă*, and the rest, appear not to me as expression of levity, but rather of endearment and concern; such as we find in Catullus, and the authors of Hendecasyllabi *) after him, where they are used to express the utmost love and tenderness for their mistresses. — If you think me right in my notion of the last words of Adrian, be pleased to insert it in the Spectator; if not, to suppress it. I am etc.

Adriani morientis ad animam, translated.

Ah fleeting spirit; wand'ring fire,
That long hast warm'd my tender breast,
Must thou no more this frame inspire?
No more a pleasing, cheerful guest?

*) Hendecasyllabi scil. versus. *So nennt man den Phaläcischen sowohl, als Sapphischen Vers; weil beide, übrigens wenig von einander unterschiedene, Versarten nur eilf Sylben haben können.*

Whither, ah whither art thou flying!
To what dark, undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shiv'ring, dying,
And wit and humour are no more! *)

SWIFT.

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT, *den 30sten November* 1667 *in der Hauptstadt Irland's geboren, und theils in der Schule zu Kilkenny, theils auf der Universität Dublin erzogen, leistete, als er zur gewöhnlichen Zeit um den Grad eines* Bachelor of Arts *anhielt, so wenig, dafs man sein Verlangen nur aus* special favour *befriedigte, ein Ausdruck, womit man auf dieser Akademie Mangel an Verdienst zu bezeichnen pflegt. Diese Kränkung hatte die Wirkung, dafs der ehrbegierige Jüngling von nun an täglich* 8 *Stunden dem Studieren zu widmen beschlofs, und mit einem Eifer, dessen Erfolg zur Genüge bekannt ist, sieben Jahre hindurch bei diesem Vorsatze beharrte.* 1688 *wurde er durch den Tod seines Onkels* G o d w i n S w i f t *seiner bisherigen Unterstützung beraubt, worauf er zu seinem Verwandten,* S i r W i l l i a m T e m p l e, *dem Vertrauten und Lieblinge* W i l l i a m' s III. *seine Zuflucht nahm, und sich einige Jahre auf dessen Landgute zu Moor-Park aufhielt.* 1692 *ertheilte ihm die Universität Oxford das Diplom eines Magisters der Künste. Vereitelte Hoffnungen zu Beförderungen veranlafsten ihn hierauf, sich von Moor-Park zu entfernen, und eine kleine Pfründe zu Kilroot in Cannor mit* 100 l. *jährlicher Einkünfte anzunehmen. Er kehrte indessen bald zurück, da ihn* S i r W i l l i a m T e m p l e *dem König* W i l l i a m *zur ersten in Westminster oder Canterbury vacant werdenden Pfründe dringend empfohlen hatte. Froh*

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*) *F o n t e n e l l e hat diese Verse sehr glücklich also nachgebildet:*

Ma petite ame, ma mignonne,
Tu t'en vas donc, ma fille, et Dieu sache où tu vas?
Tu pars seulette, nue et tremblottante, hélas!
Que deviendra ton humeur folichonne?
Que deviendront tant de jolis ébats?

sah er einer ehrenvollen Versorgung entgegen. Aber sein Gönner starb (1698) *und der König vergafs ihn. In dieser Lage hielt er es für ein Glück, dem Lord Berkeley als Sekretär nach Irland folgen zu können. Kaum war er aber zu Dublin angelangt, als er verabschiedet wurde, weil sich sein Principal hatte überreden lassen, dafs sich ein Geistlicher nicht zu seinem Begleiter schicke. Indessen erhielt er doch durch die Vermittelung dieses Mannes die ziemlich einträglichen Pfründen von Laracor und Rathbeggin in der Diöces von Meath. Er liefs sich nun zu Laracor nieder, und lud die so oft von ihm besungene Stella zu sich nach Irland ein. Dieses eben so geistreiche als wohlgebildete Frauenzimmer hiefs eigentlich Esther Johnson, war die Tochter eines Englischen Kaufmanns, welcher in ihrer frühsten Jugend starb, worauf sie mit ihrer Mutter nach Moor-Park zu Sir William Temple's Schwester zog, wo damals Swift gleichfalls lebte, dem ein Theil ihrer Erziehung, (er war zwanzig Jahr älter als sie) anvertraut ward. Sie begleitete ihn auf seine Pfründen in Irland und lebte mit ihm in der Dechantei, ohne jedoch damals mit ihm verheirathet zu seyn. Eine andere in seinen Schriften unter dem Namen Vanessa vorkommende Geliebte, hiefs Esther van Homrigh; er lernte diese zwischen* 1710 — 1712 *kennen. Endlich wurde er mit ersterer auf Zureden des Bischofs von Clogher, Dr. Ashe, jedoch heimlich,* 1716 *vermählt. — Er beschenkte die Welt nicht mit frühzeitigen Produkten. Sein erstes Werk,* Dissentions in Athens and Rome, *politischen Inhalts, erschien im 34sten Jahre seines Alters. Sein Meisterstück, das Mährchen von der Tonne, kam* 1704 *heraus. Erst seit dem Jahr* 1708 *ward er ein erklärter Schriftsteller. Es folgten sich in kurzen Zwischenräumen:* Sentiments of a church-of-England man; Bickerstaff, *eine Satyre auf die Astrologie;* an Argument against abolishing Christianity, *eine feine Ironie;* Defence of the sacramental test; a Project for the advancement of Religion; vindication of Bickerstaff *und* Explanation of an ancient prophecy. *Nun nahm die geschäfftige Periode seines Lebens ihren Anfang.* 1710 *schickte ihn der Primas von Irland in Angelegenheiten der Kirche an die Königinn Anna. Er wandte sich an Harley, nachmaligen Grafen von Oxford, dem er sich als einen von der vorigen Regierung unterdrückten Mann vorstellte, und bald dadurch werth und nothwendig zu machen wufste, dafs er sich zum Verfechter*

der Tories aufwarf. Er gab zu diesem Zweck eine Menge Pamphlets heraus, die Sensation erregten und mit grofser Begierde gelesen wurden. Dahin gehört vorzüglich the Conduct of the Allies (1712), *worin er das Volk zum Frieden geneigt zu machen suchte, welches ihm auch gelang. Ferner* Reflexions on the barrier treaty: Remarks upon the Bishop of Sarum's introduction to his third Volume of the reformation etc. 1713 *wurde er für seine dem Ministerio geleisteten Dienste zum Dechanten von St. Patrick in Dublin ernannt, eine Beförderung, die seinen Wünschen so wenig entsprach, dafs er sie eine Verbannung nannte. Kaum war er in Irland angelangt, als er zurückberufen wurde, die Lords* Oxford *und* Bolingbroke *zu versöhnen, die jetzt in offener Fehde lebten. Dies gelang ihm nicht; und so kehrte er denn, zumal da* Anna's *Tod bald darauf das ganze System der* Tories *vernichtete, nach Dublin zurück.* 1720 *gab er ein Pamphlet heraus, in welchem er den Irländern den Gebrauch ihrer Manufacturwaaren empfahl. Dadurch machte er sich bei dem Volke beliebt. Noch mehr aber schätzte man ihn, als er* 1724 *durch seine* Drapier's letters *das Königreich von den Plünderungen eines gewissen* Wood *befreite, der die Erlaubnifs erhalten hatte,* 180000 *Pfund an* halfpence *und* farthings *zu münzen, und offenbaren Betrug dabei zeigte. Man kannte ihn von dieser Zeit an nur unter dem Namen* the Dean, *und zog ihn bei allen Angelegenheiten zu Rath, die das öffentliche Wohl betrafen. Und wirklich konnten die Irländer erst von der Zeit, wo sich* Swift *ihrer annahm, ihren Wohlstand datiren.* 1728 *starb die unglückliche* Stella, *ein Verlust, den er um so tiefer empfand, da sie das einzige Band war, das ihn an die Menschheit knüpfte, von der er sich vernachlässigt hielt. Er versank in eine dumpfe Schwermuth, die endlich in Wahnsinn ausartete, und in Vereinigung mit Taubheit, Schwindel und andern Zufällen seinem Leben im Jahre* 1745 *ein Ende machte. Ueber den Charakter dieses grofsen, durchaus originellen, Mannes kann man nichts interessanteres lesen, als* Johnson's *Urtheil in den* Lives of the english poets, Vol. 3. *Der gröfste Theil seiner Schriften ist prosaisch, und hat auf die Geschichte seiner Zeit Beziehung. Wir führen die wichtigsten derselben an:* 1) *Briefe an die besten Köpfe der damaligen Zeit, als an* Addison, Bolingbroke, Gay, Pope, Prior, Steele *u. a. m. gerichtet, und voller Anekdoten und Bemerkungen über die*

Tagesgeschichte der damaligen Zeit, wodurch die Lektüre derselben zwar anziehend gemacht, aber nicht wenig erschwert wird. Diejenigen, welche wir hier unsern Lesern mittheilen, werden, auch ohne nähere Bekanntschaft mit den Verbindungen und Verhältnissen des Verfassers, nicht ohne Interesse seyn. 2) A tale of a tub, *(das Mährchen von der Tonne)* written for universal improvement of mankind, *trat zuerst im Jahre* 1704 *ans Licht, und enthält eine bittere Rüge theologischer und literarischer Thorheiten und Missbräuche allerhand Art. Swift bekannte sich dazu nie, weil er, bei aller Lauterkeit seiner Absichten, als Geistlicher ein Aergerniss zu geben fürchtete. In der dem Mährchen angehängten Bücherschlacht* (an Account of a battle between the ancient and modern books in St. James's library) *werden die damaligen Streitigkeiten über den Werth der Alten mit vieler Laune persiflirt.* 3) Lemuel Gulliver's travels into several remote nations of the world *erschienen* 1727. *Sie wurden bei ihrer Erscheinung mit unglaublicher Begierde gelesen, und stifteten grossen Nutzen; vielleicht würden sie einen noch tiefern Eindruck gemacht haben, wenn man nicht zu deutlich bemerkt hätte, dass es dem Verfasser weniger darum zu thun gewesen, seine Zeitgenossen zu bessern, als sich wegen vereitelter Hoffnungen an der gesammten Menschheit zu rächen. — Sämmtliche prosaische Werke Swift's gehören von Seiten der Schreibart zu den vorzüglichsten, welche die Englische Litteratur aufweisen kann, und haben ihrem Verfasser einen ehrenvollen Rang unter den klassischen Schriftstellern seiner Nation erworben. Das Urtheil, welches in dieser Hinsicht der berühmte Blair über ihn fällt, findet der Leser in der unten stehenden Anmerkung*). Aber auch von Seiten ihres*

*) Dean Swift may be placed at the head of those that have employed the plain style. Few writers have discovered more capacity. He treats every subject which he handles, whether serious or ludicrous, in a masterly manner. He knew almost beyond any man, the purity, the extent, the precision of the English language; and, therefore, to such as wish to attain a pure and correct style, he is one of the most useful models. But we must not look for much ornament and grace in his language. His haughty and morose genius made him despise any embellishment of this kind as beneath his dignity. He delivers his sentiments in a plain, downright, positive manner, like one who is sure he is in the right; and is very indifferent whether you be pleased or

Inhalts sind sie höchst schätzbar. **Swift** *war ein Mann von mannigfaltigen, gründlichen Kenntnissen, und ein ungemein feiner Beobachter der Menschen; als solchen zeigt er sich auf jeder Seite seiner Werke. Diese sind gröſstentheils satyrischen Inhalts, und züchtigen die Unarten, Thorheiten und Laster des menschlichen Geschlechts auf eine Art, wie es wenigen seiner Nachfolger gelungen ist. Zunächst hat es* **Swift** *freilich nur mit den Narren seiner Zeit zu thun; doch bleibt noch genug übrig, was zur Erbauung und Besserung der Narren jeder folgenden Zeit gereichen kann. Von seinen* **Gedichten**, *in denen durchaus eine groſse Leichtigkeit und Laune herrscht, und welche den 39 und 40sten Theil der Johnsonschen Dichtersammlung ausmachen, sehe man den 2ten Theil dieses Handbuchs. Seine sämmtlichen Werke sind 1755 von Dr.* **Hawkesworth** *in 6 Bänden in 4. und 12 Bänden in 8. mit erläuternden Anmerkungen und einem* Essay on the life, writings and character of Dr. Swift *herausgegeben und nachher häufig aufgelegt worden, z. B.* Dublin 1774, 15 Vols. 8. London 1776 — 79, 25 Vols. 8. 1784, 17 Vols. 8. *Nach den Englischen Miszellen (4ten Bandes 2tem Stück) ist folgende neue Ausgabe der Werke* **Swift's** *angekündigt worden, von deren Erscheinung wir nicht näher unterrichtet sind:* The works of the Reverend Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Arranged by Thomas Sheridan M. A. corrected by John Nichols, F. S. A. Edinburg and Perth, with notes by Dr. Hawkesworth, Lord Orrery, Dr. Delany, Deane Swift Esq., Dr. Birch, Mr. Sheridan and the editor. With a Portrait of the Author, London, Johnson, Robinson

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not. His sentences are commonly negligently arranged; distinctly enough as to the sense; but without any regard to smoothness of sound; often without much regard to compactness or elegance. If a metaphor, or any other figure, chanced to render his satire more poignant, he would, perhaps, vouchsafe to adopt it, when it came in his way; but if it tended only to embellish and illustrate, he would rather throw it aside. Hence in his serious pieces, his style often borders upon the dry and unpleasing; in his humorous ones, the plainness of his manner gives his wit a singular edge, and sets it off to the highest advantage. There is no froth, nor affectation in it; it flows without any studied preparation; and while he hardly appears to smile himself, he makes his reader laugh heartily. To a writer of such a genius as Dean Swift, the plain style was most admirably fitted. **Blair**, Lect. XVIII.

etc. *Die neueste Ausgabe ist von dem Schottischen Dichter Walter Scott besorgt und zu Edinburgh* 1817 *bei dem Buchhändler Constable in* 19 *Bänden in* 8. *(Preis* 9 l. 19 *sh.* 6 *den., brochirt und auf Königspapier* 15 l. 4 *sh.) erschienen. Voran geht eine Biographie des Verfassers. Zu den andern vorzüglichern Lebensbeschreibungen Swift's gehören, aufser der gedachten Biographie von Hawkesworth, die* Remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Swift by John Earl Orrery, London 1752. 8., *und* the Life of the Rev. Dr. Swift by Sheridan, Dublin 1787, 8. *Deutsch: Jon. Swift's Leben von Thomas Sheridan geschrieben, abgekürzt und aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Philippine Freyinn Knigge. Hannover* 1795, 8. *(Man vergleiche damit die Recension dieser Schrift in der Neuen Allg. Deutschen Bibliothek* 23*sten Bandes* 1*stem Stück.) Aufserdem verdient noch folgendes Werk angeführt zu werden:* Swiftiana; or Bon Mots, Anecdotes, fugitive Observations, and Facts, connected with the Life, Times and Contemporaries of Dean Swift, illustrated with engravings and curious Fac Similies, on the plan of the Walpoliana and Addisoniana, in 2 elegant Volumes, 8. with plates. London, Philips, 1804. (10 sh. 6 den.)

1) To Lord Treasurer Oxford.

(On the death of his Daughter the Marchioness of Caermarthen.)

Nov. 21, 1713.

My Lord,

Your Lordship is the person in the world to whom every body ought to be silent upon such an occasion as this, which is only to be supported by the greatest wisdom and strength of mind: wherein, God knows, the wisest and best of us, who would presume to offer their thoughts, are far your inferiors. It is true, indeed, that a great misfortune is apt to weaken the mind, and disturb the understanding. This, indeed, might be some pretence to us to administer our consolations, if we had been wholly strangers to the person gone. But, my Lord, whoever had the honour to know her, wants a comforter as much as your Lordship; because though their loss is not so great, yet they have not the same firmness and prudence, to support the want of a friend, a patroness, a benefactor, as you have to support that of a daughter.

My Lord, both religion and reason forbid me to have the least concern for that Lady's death, upon her own account; and he must be an ill Christian, or a perfect stranger to her virtues, who would not wish himself, with all submission to God Almighty's will, in her condition. But your Lordship, who hath lost such a daughter, and we, who have lost such a friend, and the world, which hath lost such an example, have in our several degrees greater cause to lament, than, perhaps, was ever given by any private person before. For, my Lord, I have sat down to think of every amiable quality that could enter into the composition of a lady, and could not single out one, which she did not possess in as high a perfection as human nature is capable of. But, as to your Lordship's own particular, as it is an unconceivable misfortune to have had such a daughter, so it is a possession which few can boast of to have had such a daughter. I have often said to your Lordship, that I never knew any one, by many degrees, so happy in their domestics as you; and I affirm you are so still, though not by so many degrees; from whence it is very obvious, that your Lordship should reflect upon what you have left, and not upon what you have lost.

To say the truth, my Lord, you began to be too happy for a mortal; much more happy than is usual with the dispensations of providence long to continue. You had been the great instrument of preserving your country from foreign and domestic ruin: you have had the felicity of establishing your family in the greatest lustre, without any obligation to the bounty of your prince, or any industry of your own; you have triumphed over the violence and treachery of your enemies, by your courage and abilities; and, by the steadiness of your temper, over the inconstancy and caprice of your friends. Perhaps your Lordship has felt too much complacency within yourself, upon this universal success: and God Almighty, wo would not dissappoint your endeavours for the public, thought fit to punish you with a domestic loss, where he knew your heart was most exposed; and, at the same time has fulfilled his own wise purposes, by rewarding, in a better life, that excellent creature he has taken from you.

I know not, my Lord, why I write this to you, nor hardly what I am writing. I am sure it is not from any compliance with form; it is not from thinking that I can give your Lordship any ease. I think it was an impulse upon me

that I should say something. And whether I shall send you what I have written, I am yet in doubt, etc.

a) To Mr. Pope.

Sept. 29, 1725.

I am now returning to the noble scene of Dublin, into the grand monde, for fear of burying my parts; to signalize myself among curates and vicars, and correct all corruptions crept in relating to the weight of bread and butter, through those dominions where I govern. I have employed my time (besides ditching) in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my travels *), in four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a printer shall be found brave enough to venture his ears. I like the scheme of our meeting after distresses and dispersions: but the chief end I propose to myself in all labours, is to vex the world, rather than divert it; and if I could compass that design without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen, without reading. I am exceedingly pleased that you have done with **) translations. Lord Treasurer Oxford lamented, that a rascally world should lay you under a necessity of mis-employing your genius for so long a time. But since you will now be so much better employed, when you think of the world, give it one lash the more at my request. I have ever hated all nations, professions and communities; and all my love is towards individuals. For instance, I hate the tribe of lawyers; but I love counsellor such a one, and judge such a one. 'Tis so with physicians, (I will not speak of my own trade) soldiers, English, Scotch, French and the rest. But principally I hate and detest that animal called *man*, although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. This is the system upon which I have governed myself many years, (but do not tell) and so I shall go on till I have done with them. I have got materials towards a treasise, proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale*, and to shew it should be only *rationis capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy (though not in

*) Gulliver's travels. **) I have done with — *ich habe dem entsagt, ich habe es gelassen.*

Timon's manner) the whole building of my travels is erected; and I never will have peace of mind till all honest men are of my opinion. By-consequence you are to embrace it immediately, and procure that all who deserve my esteem may do so too. The matter is so clear, that it will admit of no dispute; nay, I will hold a hundred pounds that you and I agree in the point.

I did not know your Odyssey was finished, being yet in the country, which I shall leave in three days. I thank you kindly for the present; but shall like it three-fourths the less, for the mixture you mention of other hands *): however I am glad you saved yourself so much drudgery. — I have been long told by Mr. Ford of your great atchievements in building and planting, and especially of your subterranean passage to your garden, whereby you turned a blunder into a beauty, which is a piece of *ars poetica*.

I have almost done with harridans, and shall soon become old enough to fall in love with girls of fourteen. The lady whom you describe to live at court, to be deaf, and no party-woman, I take to be mythology, but know not how to moralize it. She cannot be Mercy; for Mercy is neither deaf, nor lives at court: Justice is blind, and perhaps deaf; but neither is she a court-lady: Fortune is both blind and deaf, and a court-lady; but then she is a most damnable party-woman, and will never make me easy, as you promise. It must be Riches, which answers all your description. I am glad she visits you; but my voice is so weak, that I doubt she will never hear me.

Mr. Lewis sent me an account of Dr. Arbuthnot's illness; which is a very sensible affliction to me, who, by living so long out of the world, have lost that hardness of heart contracted by years and general conversation. I am daily losing friends, and neither seeking nor getting others. Oh, if the world had but a dozen of Arbuthnots in it, I would burn my travels! But however he is not without fault. There is a passage in Beda **), highly commending the piety and learning of the Irish in that age; where, after abundance of

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*) *Elijah Fenton und William Broome, s. oben S. 99.*

**) *Beda Venerabilis, geboren 672, gest. 735. S. von ihm unter andern Wachler's Versuch einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Literatur, 2ten Band, Seite 107.*

praises, he overthrows them all, by lamenting that, alas! they kept Easter at a wrong time of the year. So our doctor has every quality and virtue that can make a man amiable or useful; but alas! he has a sort of slouch in his walk! I pray God protect him, for he his an excellent christian, though not a catholic. —

Are you altogether a country-gentleman, that I must address to you out of London, to the hasard of your losing this precious letter, which I will now conclude, although so much paper is left? I have an ill name, and therefore shall not subscribe it; but you will guess it comes from one who esteems and loves you about half as much as you deserve, I mean as much as he can. —

5) To the Countess of Suffolk.

Twickenham, Aug. 15, 1727.

Madam,

I wish I were a young lord, and you were unmarried: I should make you the best husband in the world, for I am ten times deafer than ever you were in your life; and instead of a poor pain in my face, I have a good substantial giddiness and head-ache. The best of it is, that, although we might lay our heads together, you could tell me no secrets that might not be heard five rooms distant. These disorders of mine, if they hold me as long as they used to do some years ago, will last as long as my leave of absence, which I shall not renew: and then the Queen will have the misfortune not to see me, and I shall go back with the satisfaction never to have seen her since she was Queen, but when I kissed her hand. And, although she were a thousand Queens, I will not lose my privilege of never seeing her but when she commands it. I told my two landlords, that I would write you a love-letter; which I remember, you commanded me to do last year: but I would not shew it to either of them. I am the greatest courtier and flatterer you have; because I try your good sense and taste more than all of them put together, which is the greatest compliment I could put upon you: and you have hitherto behaved yourself tolerably well under it; much better than your Mistress, if what a lady told me was true; that, talking with the Queen about me, her Majesty said, I was an odd sort of man. But I forgive her; for it is

and odd thing in an honest man to speak freely to princes. I will say another thing in your praise, that goodness would become you better than any person I know; and, for that very reason, there is nobody I wish to be good so much as yourself. I am, etc.

4) Peter *)

Peter told his brothers **), he would have them to know that he was their elder, and consequently his fathers's sole heir; nay, a while after he would not allow them to call him brother, but Mr. Peter; and then he must be styled father Peter; and sometimes, my Lord Peter. To support this grandeur, which he soon began to consider could not be maintained without a better fond, than what he was born to: after much thought, he cast about at last to turn projector and virtuoso, wherein he so well succeeded, that many famous discoveries, projects and machines, which bear great vogue and practice at present in the world, are owing entirely to lord Peter's invention. I will deduce the best account I have been able to collect of the chief amongst them, without considering much the order they came out in; because, I think, authors are not well agreed as to that point.

I hope, when this treatise of mine shall be translated into foreign languages, (as I may without vanity affirm, that the labour of collecting, the faithfulness in recounting, and the great usefulness of the matter to the public, will amply deserve that justice) that the worthy members of the several academies abroad, especially those of France and Italy, will favourably accept these humble offers for the advancement of universal knowledge. I do also advertise the most reverend fathers, the eastern missionaries, that I have, purely for their sakes, made use of such words and phrases, as will best admit an easy turn into any of the oriental languages, especially the Chinese. And so I proceed with great content of mind upon reflecting, how much emolument this whole globe of the earth is like to reap by my labours.

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*) A Tale of a Tub, Sect. IV. *Der Leser bemerkt leicht, dafs unter Peter bald die katholische Kirche, bald der Pabst zu verstehen ist.* **) *Martin* and *Jack*, the church of *England* and the *Protestant* dissenters.

The first undertaking of lord Peter, was to purchase a large continent *), lately said to have been discovered in *terra australis incognita*. This tract of land he bought at a very great penny-worth from the discoverers themselves, (though some pretended to doubt whether they had ever been there), and then retailed it into several cantons to certain dealers, who carried over colonies, but were all shipwrecked in the voyage. Upon which lord Peter sold the said continent to other customers again, and again, and again, and again with the same success.

The second project I shall mention, was his sovereign remedy for the worms, especially those in the spleen**). The patient was to eat nothing after supper for three nights: as soon as he went to bed, he was carefully to lie on one side, and when he grew weary, to turn upon the other: he must also duly confine his two eyes to the same object; and by no means break wind at both ends together, without manifest occasion. These prescriptions diligently observed, the worms would void insensibly by perspiration, ascending through the brain.

A third invention was the erecting of a whispering office***) for the public good and ease of all such as are hypochondriacal, or troubled with the cholick; as likewise of all eves-droppers, physicians, midwives, small politicians, friends fallen out, repeating poets, lovers happy or in despair, bawds, privy-counsellors, pages, parasites and buffoons: in short, of all such as are in danger of bursting with too much wind. An ass's head †) was placed so conveniently, that the party affected might easily with his mouth accost either of the animal's ears, to which he was to apply close for a certain space, and by a fugitive faculty, peculiar to the ears of that animal, receive immediate benefit either by eructation, or expiration, or evomition.

Another very beneficial project of lord Peter's was an office of insurance ††) for tobacco-pipes, martyrs of the modern zeal, volumes of poetry, shadows, — — and rivers; that these, nor any of these, shall receive damage by fire. From whence our friendly societies, may plainly find them-

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*) *Das Fegfeuer.* **) *Buſse und Absolution.* ***) *Ohrenbeichte.* †) *Der Kopf des Geistlichen.* ††) *Der Ablaſskram für läſsliche Sünden.*

selves to be only transcribers from this original; though the one and the other have been of great benefit to the undertakers, as well as of equal to the public.

Lord Peter was also held the original author of puppets and raree-shows *); the great usefulness whereof being so generally known, I shall not enlarge farther upon this particular.

But another discovery, for which he was much renowned, was his famous universal pickle **). For having remarked how your common pickle, in use among house-wives, was of no farther benefit than to preserve dead flesh, and certain kinds of vegetables; Peter, with great cost as well as art, had contrived a pickle proper for houses, gardens, towns, men, women, children, and cattle; wherein he could preserve them as sound as insects in amber. Now, this pickle to the taste, the smell, and the sight, appeared exactly the same, with what is in common service for beef, and butter, and herrings, and has been often that way applied with great success; but for its many sovereign virtues was a quite different thing. For Peter would put in a certain quantity of his powder pimperlimpinp***), after which it never failed of success. The operation was performed by spargefaction in a proper time of the moon. The patient, who was to be pickled, if it were a house, would infallibly be preserved from all spiders, rats and weazels; if the party affected were a dog, he should be exempt from mange, and madness, and hunger. It also infallibly took away all scabs and lice, and scald-heads from children, never hindering the patient from any duty, either at bed or board.

But of all Peter's rarities, he most valued a certain set of bulls†), whose race was by great fortune preserved in a lineal descent from those, that guarded the golden-fleece. Though some who pretended to observe them curiously, doubted the breed hat not been kept entirely chaste; because they had degenerated from their ancestors in some qualities, and had acquired others very extraordinary, but a foreign mixture. The bulls of Colchis are recorded to have brazen feet; but whether it happened by ill pasture and running, by an

*) *Mönchsgaukeleien, Processionen, Altarputz u.s.w.* **) *Das Weihwasser.* ***) *Die Einsegnung des Weihwassers.* †) *Päbstliche Bullen.*

allay from invention of other parents, from stolen intrigues; whether a weakness in their progenitors had impaired the seminal virtue, or, by a decline necessary through a long course of time, the originals of nature being depraved in these latter sinful ages of the world; whatever was the cause, it is certain that lord Peter's bulls were extremely vitiated by the rust of time in the metal of their feet, which was now sunk into common lead *). However, the terrible roaring, peculiar to their lineage, was preserved: as likewise that faculty of breathing out fire **) from their nostrils: which notwithstanding many of their detractors took to be a feat of art, and to be nothing so terrible as it appeared; proceeding only from their usual course of diet, which was of squibs and crackers. However, they had two peculiar marks, which extremely distinguished them from the bulls of Jason and which I have not met together in the discription of any other monster, beside that in Horace:

Varias inducere plumas:

and

Atrum desinit in piscem ***).

For these had fishes tails; yet upon occasion could outfly any bird in the air. Peter put these bulls upon several employs. Sometimes he would set them a roaring to fright naughty boys †), and make them quiet. Sometimes he would send them out upon errands of great importance; where it is wonderful to recount, and perhaps the cautious reader may think much to believe it; an *appetitus sensibilis* deriving itself through the whole family from their noble ancestors, guardians of the golden fleece, they continued so extremely fond a gold, that if Peter sent them abroad, though it were only upon a compliment, they would roar, and spit, and belch, and piss, and fart, and snivel out fire, and keep a perpetual coil, till you flung them a bit of gold; but then, *pulveris exigui jactu*, they would grow calm and quiet as lambs. In

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*) *Das bleierne Siegel an den päbstlichen Bullen.* **) *Die Bannstrahlen der päbstlichen Bullen sind besonders uns Deutschen wohl bekannt.* ***) *Das erste ist der Charakterzug der päbstlichen Bullen, sich nach dem Wohlgefallen der Fürsten oder nach dem Interesse des Römischen Hofes mit verschiedenen bunten Federn zu schmücken, und das andere spielt auf den Fischerring an, worunter die Bullen ausgestellt werden.* †) *Kaiser, Könige, Fürsten etc., die dem päbstlichen Interesse im Wege stehn.*

dure, whether by secret connivance, or encouragement from their master, or out of their own liquorish affection to gold, or both; it is certain they were no better than a sort of sturdy, swaggering beggars; and, where they could not prevail to get an alms, would make women miscarry, and children fall into fits, who to this very day usually call sprights and hobgoblins by the name of bull-beggars. They grew at last so very trublesome to the neighbourhood, that some gentlemen of the north-west *) got a parcel of right English bull-dogs, and baited them so terribly, than they felt it ever after.

I must needs mention one more of lord Peter's projects, which was very extraordinary, and discovered him to be master of a high reach, and profound invention. Whenever it happened, that any rogue of Newgate **) was condemned to be hanged, Peter would offer him a pardon for a certain sum of money, which when the poor caitiff had made all shifts to scrape up, and sent, his lordship would return a piece of paper in this form:

„To all mayors, sheriffs, jailors, constables, bailiffs, hang„men, etc. Whereas we are informed, that A. B. remains in „the hands of you, or some of you, under the sentence of „death, we will and command you upon sight hereof to let „the said prisoner depart to his own habitation, whether he „stands condemned for murder, sodomy, rape, sacrilege, in„cest, treason, blasphemy, etc. for which this shall be your „sufficient warrant: and if you fail hereof, G—d d—mn „you and yours to all eternity. And so we bid you heartily „farewell."

Your most humble
man's man
Emperor Peter ***).

The wretches, trusting to this, lost their lives and money too.

I desire of those, whom the learned among posterity will appoint for commentators upon this elaborate treatise, that

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*) *Der König von England und andere Fürsten, die zur Zeit der Reformation zuerst das päbstliche Joch abschüttelten.*
**) Newgate, *Name des Hauptgefängnisses der Grafschaft Middlesex, in der* Old-baily, *einem Stadtviertel von London belegen.*
***) *Dies ist die Kopie einer Generalabsolution, unterzeichnet* servus servorum.

they will proceed with great caution upon certain dark points, wherein all, who are not *vere adepti* *), may be in danger to form rash and hasty conclusions, especially in some mysterious paragraphs, where certain *arcana* are joined for brevity's sake, which in the operation must be divided. And I am certain, that future sons of art will return large thanks to my memory for so grateful, so useful an innuendo.

It will be no difficult part to persuade the reader, that so many worthy discoveries met with great success in the world; though I may justly assure him, that I have related much the smallest number; my design having been only to single out such as will be of most benefit for public imitation, or which best served to give some idea of the reach and wit of the inventor. And therefore it needs not be wondered, if by this time lord Peter was become exceeding rich: but, alas! he had kept his brain so long and so violently upon the rack, that at last it shook itself, and began to turn round for a little ease. In short, what with pride, projects and knavery, poor Peter was grown distracted, and conceived the strangest imaginations in the world. In the height of his fits, as it is usual with those who run mad out of pride, he would call himself God Almighty **), and sometimes monarch of the universe. I have seen him (says my author) take three old highcrowned hats, and clap them all on his head, three story high ***), with a huge bunch of keys at his girdle, and an angling-rod †) in his hand. In which guise, whoever went to take him by the hand in the way of salutation, Peter with much grace, like a well educated spaniel, would present them with his foot; and if they refused his civility, then he would raise it as high as their chaps, and give them a damned kick on the mouth, which hath ever since been called a salute. Whoever walked by without paying him their compliments, having a wonderful strong breath, he would blow their hats off into the dirt.

Mean time his affairs at home went upside down, and his two brothers had a wretched time; where his first *boutade* was to kick both their wives one morning out of

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*) *Wirklich Eingeweihte.* **) Est Deus in terra; Est ut Deus in terra; Vicarius Christi etc. *sind die Definitionen der Kanonisten vom Pabst.* ***) *Die dreifache päbstliche Krone.* †) *Den Bischofstab.*

dones, and his own too; and in their stead, gave orders to pick up the first three strollers could be met with in the streets *). A while after he nailed up the cellar door, and would not allow his brothers a drop of drink to their victuals **). Dining one day at an alderman's in the city, Peter observed him expatiating, after the manner of his brethren, in the praises of his sirloin ***) of beef. „Beef said „the sage magistrate, is the king of meat; beef comprehends „in it the quintessence of partridge, and quail, and venison, „and pheasant, and plum-pudding, and custard." When Peter came home, he would needs take the fancy of cooking up this doctrine into use, and apply the precept, in default of a sirloin, to his brown loaf. „Bread, says he, dear brothers, „is the staff of life; in which bread is contained, *inclusive*, „the quintessence of beef, mutton, veal, venison, partridge, „plum-pudding, and custard; and to render all complete: „there is intermingled a due quantity of water, whose cru„dities are also corrected by yeast or barm, through which „means it becomes a wholesome fermented liquor, diffused „through the mass of the bread." Upon the strength of these conclusions, next day at dinner, was the brown loaf served up in all the formality of a city-feast. „Come brothers, „said Peter, fall to, and spare not; here is excellent good „mutton †); or hold, now my hand is in, I will help you." At which word, in much ceremony, with fork and knife he carves out two good slices of a loaf, and presents each on a plate to his brothers. The elder of the two, not suddenly entering into lord Peter's conceit, began with very civil language to examine the mistery. „My Lord, said he, I doubt, „with great submission, there may be some mistake. — What, „says Peter, you are pleasant; come then, let us hear this „jest your head is so big with. — None in the world, my

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*) *Das Cölibat.* **) *Verbot des Kelchs.* ***) loin, *ist eigentlich das Stück des Rinderbratens zu beiden Seiten des Rükkens, worin die Nieren sitzen. Ein Englischer König, der dieses Stück sehr liebte, schwenkte einmal, wie* Lichtenberg *(in der Erklärung der Hogarthschen Kupferstiche, Sammlung 7. S. 71) erzählt, in einem Anfall von gesundem Appetit und muthwilliger Laune sein Schwert über solchen Braten, und schlug ihn förmlich zum Ritter, und seit der Zeit heifst er nicht mehr* Loin of beef, *sondern* Sir loin of beef. †) *Der Transsubstantiation gemäfs verwandelt Peter das Brod in Fleisch.*

„Lord; but, unless I am very much deceived, your Lordship „was pleased a while ago to let fall a word about mutton, „and I would be glad to see it with all my heart. — Hem, „said Peter, appearing in great surprize, I do not comprehend „this at all." Upon which, the younger interposing to set business aright; „my Lord, said he, my brother I suppose is „hungry, and longs for the mutton your Lordship hath pro- „mised us to dinner. — Pray, said Peter, take me along with; „either you are both mad, or disposed to be merrier than I „approve of; if you there do not like your piece, I will carve „you another; though I should take that to be the choice „bit of the whole shoulder. — What then, my Lord, re- „plied the first, it seems this is a shoulder of mutton all this „while. — Pray, sir, says Peter, eat your victuals, and leave „off your impertinence, if you please, for I am not disposed „to relish it at present;" but the other could not forbear, being over-provoked at the affected seriousness of Peter's countenance: „by G —, my Lord, said he, I can only say, „that to my eyes, and fingers, and teeth, and nose, it seems „to be nothing but a crust of bread." Upon which the se- cond put in his word: „I never saw a piece of mutton in „my life so nearly resembling a slice from a twelve-penny „loaf. — Look ye, gentlemen, cries Peter in a rage, to con- „vince you, what a couple of blind, positive, ignorant, wilful „puppies you are, I will use but this plain argument; by „G —, it is true, good, natural mutton as any in Leaden- „hall *) market: and G — confound you both eternally, if „you offer to believe otherwise." Such a thundering proof as this left no further room for objection; the two unbelievers began to gather and pocket up their mistakes as hastily as they could. „Why, truly, said the first, upon more mature „consideration. — Ay, says the other interrupting him, now „I have thought better on the thing, your Lordship seems to „have a great deal of reason. — Very well, said Peter; here, „boy, fill me a beer-glass of claret; here's to you **) both with „all my heart." The two brethren, much delighted to see him so readily appeased, returned their most humble thanks, and said, they would be glad to pledge his Lordship. „That

*) *Ein berühmter Fleischmarkt mitten in London.* **) here's to you — *Worte mit welchen eine Gesundheit beim Trinken vorgebracht wird.*

„you shall, said Peter; I am not a person to refuse you any „thing that is reasonable; wine, moderately taken, is a cor„dial; here is a glass a-piece for you; it is true natural juice „from the grape, none of your damned vintners brewings." Having spoken thus, he presented to each of them another large dry crust, bidding them drink it off, and not be bashful, for it would do them no hurt. The two brothers, after having performed the usual office in such delicate conjunctures, of staring a sufficient period at lord Peter and each other, and finding how matters were like to go, resolved not to enter on a new dispute, but let him carry the point as he pleased; for he was now got into one of his mad fits, and to argue or expostulate further would only serve to render him a hundred times more untractable.

I have chosen to relate this worthy matter in all its circumstances, because it gave a principal occasion to that great and famous rupture *), which happened about the same time among these brethren, and was never afterwards made up. But of that I shall treat at large in another section.

However it is certain, that lord Peter even in his lucid intervals was very lewdly given in his common conversation, extreme wilful and positive, and would at any time rather argue to the death, than allow himself once to be in an error. Besides, he had an abominable faculty of telling huge palpable lyes upon all occasions; and not only swearing to the truth, but cursing the whole company to hell, if they pretended to make the least scruple of believing him. One time he swore he had a cow**) at home, which gave as much milk at a meal, as would fill three thousand churches; and what was yet more extraordinary, would never turn sour. Another time he was telling of an old sign-post, that belonged to his father, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war***). Talking one day of Chinese waggons, which were made so light as to sail over mountains: „Z — ds, †) said Peter, where's the wonder of that? by G—, „I saw a large house of lime and stone travel over

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*) *Die Reformation.* **) *Die Milch der heil. Jungfrau, die man an so vielen Orten hat.* ***) *Das Holz und die Nägel Christi, die in so ungeheurer Menge gefunden werden.* †) Zounds, *nach dem* classical dictionary of the Vulgar tonge, *eine Abkürzung für* God's wounds.

„sea and land*), granting that it stopped sometimes to bait,
„above two thousand German leagues." And that which was the good of it, he would swear desperately all the while, that he never told a lye in his life: and at every word; „by „G—, gentlemen, I tell you nothing but the truth; and the „D—l broil them eternally, that will not believe me."

In short, Peter grew so scandalous, that all the neighbourhood began in plain words to say, he was no better than a knave. And his two brothers, long weary of his ill usage, resolved at last to leave him; but first, they humbly desired a copy of their father's will, which had now lain by neglected time out of mind. Instead of granting this request, he called them damned sons of whores, rogues, traitors, and the rest of the vile names he could muster up. However, while he was abroad one day upon his projects, the two youngsters watched their opportunity, made a shift to come at the will and took a *copia vera***); by which they presently saw how grossly they had been abused; their father having left them equal heirs, and strictly commanded, that whatever they got should lie in common among them all. Pursuant to which, their next enterprise was to break open the cellar-door ***) and get a little good drink to spirit and comfort their hearts. In copying the will they had met another precept against whoring, divorce, and separate maintenance; upon which their next work was to discard their concubines, and send for their wives †). Whilst all this was in agitation, there enters a sollicitor from Newgate, desiring lord Peter would please to procure a pardon for a thief, that was to be hanged tomorrow. But the two brothers told him, he was a coxcomb to seek pardons from a fellow who deserved to be hanged much better than his client; and discovered all the method of that imposture, in the same form I delivered it a while ago, advising the sollicitor to put his friend upon obtaining a pardon from the king ††). In the midst of all this clutter and revolution, in comes Peter with a file of dragoons at his heels †††), and gathering from all hands what was in the

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*) *Die Loretto-Kapelle, die aus Palästina durch die Luft nach Italien kam.* **) *Uebersetzung der Bibel durch die Reformatoren.* ***) *Sie nahmen beim Abendmahl den Kelch wieder an.* †) *Die Ehe wird eingeführt.* ††) *Trennung der geistlichen und weltlichen Gewalt.* †††) ***Der Pabst braucht die weltliche Macht gegen die Reformation.***

wind, he and his gang, after several millions of scurrilities and curses not very important here to repeat, by main force very fairly kicks them both out of doors, and would never let them come under his roof from that day to this.

8) The Academy of Lagado*).

This academy is not an entire single building, but a continuation of several houses on both sides of a street, which growing waste, was purchased and applied to that use.

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days to the academy. Every room has in it one or more projectors, and I believe I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms.

The first man I saw was of a meager aspect, with sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged and singed in several places; his clothes, shirt, and skin, were all of the same colour. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, which were to be put into vials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers. He told me, he did not doubt in eight years more, he should be able to supply the governor's gardens with sun-shine at a reasonable rate; but he complained that his stock was low, and intreated me to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear season for cucumbers. I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My conductor pressed me forward conjuring me, in a whisper, to give no offence, which would be highly resented, and therefore I durst not so much as stop my nose. The projector of this cell was the most ancient student of the academy; his face and beard were of a pale yellow; his hands and clothes dawbed over with filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a very close embrace, (a compliment I could

*) Lemuel Gulliver's travels, Part. III. Chap. 5.

well have excused.) His employment from his first coming into the academy, was an operation to reduce human excrement to its original food, by separating the several parts, removing the tincture which it receives from the gall, making the odour exhale, and scumming off the saliva. He had a weekly allowance from the society, of a vessel filled with human ordure, about the bigness of a Bristol barrel.

I saw another at work to calcine ice into gunpowder, who likewise shewed me a treatise he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publish.

There was a most ingenious architect, who had contrived a new method for building houses, by beginning at the roof and working downwards to the foundation, which he justified to me by the like practice of those two prudent insects the bee and the spider.

There was a man born blind, who had several apprentices in his own condition: their employment was to mix colours for painters, which their master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their lessons, and the professor himself happened to be generally mistaken: this artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole fraternity.

In another apartment I was highly pleased with a projector, who had found a device of plowing the ground with hogs, so save the charges of plows, cattle and labour. The method is this: in an acre of ground you bury at six inches distance, and eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, chesnuts, and other maste or vegetables, whereof these animals are fondest; then you drive six hundred or more of them into the field, where in a few days they will root up the whole ground in search of their food, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their dung. It is true, upon experiment they found the charge and trouble very great, and they had little or no crop: however, it is not doubted that this invention may be capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls and ceiling were all hung round with cobwebs, except a narrow passage for the artist to go in and out. At my entrance he called aloud to me not to disturb his webs. He lamented the fatal mistake the world had been so long in, of using silk-worms,

while we had such plenty of domestick insects, who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave as well as spin. And he proposed farther, that by employing spiders, the charge of dying silks should be wholly saved, whereof I was fully convinced when he shewed me a vast number of flies most beautifully coloured; wherewith he fed his spiders, assuring us, that the webs would take a tincture from them; and as he had them of all hues, he hoped to fit every body's fancy, as soon as he could find proper food for the flies of certain gums, oils, and other glutinous matter to give a strength and consistence to the threads.

There was an astronomer who had undertaken to place a sun-dial upon the great weather-cock on the town-house by adjusting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.

I was complaining of a small fit of the cholick, upon which my conductor led me into a room, where a great physician resided, who was famous for curing that disease by contrary operations from the same instrument. He had a large pair of bellows, with a long slender muzzle of ivory. This he conveyed eight inches up the anus, and drawing in the wind, he affirmed he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he discharged into the body of the patient, then withdrew the instrument to replenish it, clapping his thumb strongly against the orifice of the fundament; and this being repeated, three or four times, the adventitious wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like water put into a pump) and the patient recover. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter, the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge, as was very offensive to me and my companions. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same operation.

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them *the universal artist*. He told us, he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life. He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry tangible substance, by extracting the nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse to preserve them from foundering. The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs; the first to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain composition of gums, minerals, and vegetables outwardly applied, to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped in a reasonable time to propagate the breed of naked sheep all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw, was in a very large room, with forty pupils about him. After salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said, perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness, and he flattered himself that a more noble exalted thought never sprung in any other man's head. Every one knew how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas by his contrivance, the most ignorant person at a reasonable charge, and with a little bodily labour, may write both in philosophy, poetry, politicks, law, mathematics and theology, without the least assistance from genius or study. He then led me to the frame; about the sides whereof all his pupils stood in ranks. It was twenty foot square, placed in the middle of the room. The superficies was composed of several bits of wood, about the bigness

of a dye, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered on every square with papers pasted on them, and on these papers were written all the words of their language in their several moods, tenses, and declensions, but without any order. The professor then desired me to observe, for he was going to set his engine at work. The pupils at his command took each of them hold of an iron handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was entirely changed. He then commanded six and thirty of the lads to reed the several lines softly as they appeared upon the frame; and where they found three or four words together that might make part of a sentence, they dictated to the four remaining hoys who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times, and at every turn the engine was so contrived, that the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down.

Six hours a-day the young students were employed in this labour, and the professor shewed me several volumes in large folio already collected, of broken sentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of those rich materials to give the world a compleat body of arts and sciences; which, however, might be still improved, and much expedited, if the public would raise a fund for making and employing five hundred such frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their several collections.

He assured me, that this invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth, that he had emptied the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the strictest computation of the general proportion there is in books between the number of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech.

I made my humblest acknowledgments to this illustrious person for his great communicativeness, and promised, if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him justice, as the sole inventor of this wonderful machine; the form and contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate upon paper, as in the figure here annexed*).

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*) *Im Original befindet sich wirklich ein Holzschnitt, welcher die hier erwähnte Maschine vorstellt. Niemand wird sie in unserm Abdruck vermissen.*

I told him, although it were the custom of our learned in Europe to steal inventions from each other, who had thereby at least the advantage, that it became a controversy which was the right owner, yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honour entire without a rival.

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sate in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

The first project was to shorten discourse, by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles, because in reality all things imaginable are but nouns.

The other was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever: and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak is in some degree a diminution of our lungs by corrosion, and consequently contributes to the shortning of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, that since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such things as were necessary to express the particular business, they are to discourse on. And this invention, would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women in conjunction with the vulgar and the illiterate had not threatened to raise a rebellion, unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their ancestors; such constant irreconcileable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things, which has only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged in proportion to carry a great bundle of things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of those sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us; who, when they met in the streets, would lay down their loads, open their sacks, and hold conversation for an hour together; then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burthens, and take their leave.

But for short conversations, a man may carry implements in his pockets and under his arms, enough to supply him, and in his house he cannot be at a loss: therefore the room

where company meet who practise this art, is full of all things ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter of this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention, was, that it would serve as an universal language to be understood in all civilised nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easely be comprehended. And thus embassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes or ministers of state, to whose tongues they were utter strangers.

I was at the mathematical school, where the master taught his pupils after a method scarce imaginable to us in Europe. The proposition and demonstrations were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink composed of a cephalick tincture. This the student was to swallow upon a fasting stomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water. As the wafer digested, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the proposition along with it. But the success hath not hitherto been answerable, partly by some error in the *quantum* or composition, and partly by the preverseness of the lads, to whom this bolus is so nauseous, that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards before it can operate; neither have they been yet persuaded to use so long an abstinence as the prescription requires.

BOLINGBROKE.

HENRY ST. JOHN, LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE, *stammte aus einer reichen und angesehenen Familie, und wurde 1672 zu Battersea in der Grafschaft Surrey geboren. Ein erklärter Schwärmer, Daniel Burgess, leitete seine früheren Studien, und flöfste ihm durch ascetische Schriften einen Widerwillen gegen die Religion ein. Glücklicherweise litt sein Verstand nicht; denn er wurde bald nach Eton und von da nach dem Christ-church Collegio zu Oxford geschickt. Hier zeichnete er sich eben so sehr durch seine seltenen Fähigkeiten, als durch seine einnehmende Bildung aus. Bei einem solchen Zusammenflusse von Naturgaben hätte man*

erwarten sollen, daſs die Kunst nicht zögern würde, ihre vollendende Hand zu reichen; allein der Jüngling ging von einer Ausschweifung zur andern fort, und schien keinen andern Ehrgeiz zu haben, als den, für den gröſsten Wüstling gehalten zu werden. So wie jetzt alle seine Neigungen auf das Vergnügen gerichtet waren, so schienen auch seine literarischen Beschäftigungen bloſs dahin abzuzwecken. Er schrieb Gedichte, in denen er aber mehr Witz als Geschmack, mehr Arbeit als Harmonie im Versbau blicken lieſs. Eine Probe dieser frühern Versuche steht vor Dryden's Uebersetzung des Virgil. Um 1700 fing er an, seiner bisherigen Lebensart überdrüssig zu werden, und dem stärkern Triebe nach Ruhm Gehör zu geben. Er bewarb sich um einen Sitz im Unterhause, und wurde zum Repräsentanten des Burgfleckens Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire gewählt. Um diese Zeit hielten sich die Whigs und Tories das Gleichgewicht. Sei es Grundsatz oder Eigennutz; Bolingbroke trat zur Partei der letztern, an deren Spitze Robert Harley, Sprecher des Unterhauses, nachmaliger Graf von Oxford stand. Er zeichnete sich bald so vortheilhaft aus, daſs er 1704 nach Harley's Ernennung zum Staatssekretär, zum Kriegs- und Marinesekretär erwählt wurde. Als solcher unterstützte er Marlborough's Operationen auf das nachdrücklichste, ungeachtet der Herzog zu den vornehmsten Häuptern der Gegenpartei gehörte. Der Staatssekretär sah sich nach drei Jahren genöthigt zu resigniren, und der Kriegssekretär folgte seinem Beispiel. Bolingbroke wandte nun die nächsten Jahre zum Studio der Geschichte und Philosophie an, und pflegte sich immer dieser in der Einsamkeit hingebrachten Zeit als der angenehmsten und nützlichsten Periode seines Lebens mit Vergnügen zu erinnern. Allein er trat bald wieder als einer der Heerführer seiner Partei auf, die jetzt einen neuen Triumph über die Whigs erhalten hatte. Sein Freund Harley wurde 1710 zum Kanzler und Unterschatzmeister der Exchequer, *er selbst zum Staatssekretär ernannt. In diesem Posten zeigte er so viel Genie und Thätigkeit, als nicht leicht in einer andern Person vereinigt gewesen ist. Auch waren die damaligen Zeitumstände so miſslich, daſs nur ein Mann von seinen Fähigkeiten das Staatsruder zu lenken vermogte. Eine aufgebrachte Partei, an deren Spitze ein siegreicher Feldherr, sein erklärter Gegner, stand; ein arglistiger Alliirter, der die Vortheile des Krieges genieſsen wollte, ohne die Lasten desselben tragen zu helfen; eine schwache Königinn,*

die allen gegen ihn gerichteten Eingebungen Gehör gab, ein finsterer und argwöhnischer College, der ihn wegen seiner Fähigkeiten hafste, legten seinen Bemühungen, den Utrechter Friedensschlufs zu Stande zu bringen, tausend Hindernisse in den Weg, die nur seine Beharrlichkeit überwinden konnte. Sein Eifer wurde erkannt; denn er sah sich 1712 zum Baron St. John von Lidyard Tregoze in Wiltshire und zum Viscount Bolingbroke ernannt. So zum Gipfel der Macht und des Ansehens erhoben, fing er an, über Lord Oxford's Schwächen die Augen zu öffnen. Er sah ein, wie wenig dieser Mann verdiene, bei so gefährlichen Umständen an der Spitze der Geschäfte zu stehen. Darüber erkaltete seine Freundschaft und verwandelte sich zuletzt in eine unversöhnliche Feindschaft. Swift, der Freund und Rathgeber beider, bemühte sich vergeblich, sie zu vereinigen. Die Folge dieses unpolitischen Zwistes war der völlige Untergang ihrer Partei. Die Whighs gewannen täglich mehr Grund, und der Tod der Königinn zernichte endlich völlig die Macht und die Entwürfe der Tories. Georg I, dem diese Partei verdächtig war, weil sie den Prätendenten zu begünstigen schien, zeigte bald, wie wenig sie auf seine Gunst zu rechnen hätte. Bolingbroke blieb zwar dem Namen nach noch Staatssekretär, mufste aber die Besorgung der Geschäfte dem bekannten Addison überlassen, und sich einer täglichen Beschimpfung von Seiten der Hofpartei, selbst vieler seiner ehemaligen Freunde, ausgesetzt sehen. Bei diesem plötzlichen Glückswechsel begab er sich auf's Land; da ihn aber die Rachsucht seiner Feinde alles befürchten liefs, ging er heimlich nach Calais. Seine Flucht wurde für einen Beweis seiner Schuld gehalten, und beschleunigte das traurige Schicksal, das ihn erwartete. Er wurde den 10ten Sept. 1715 unter dem nichtigsten Vorwande des Hochverraths schuldig erklärt. Da er so alle Hoffnungen zu einer ehrenvollen Rückkehr nach seinem Vaterlande vereitelt sah, sann er auf Mittel seine unglückliche Lage zu verbessern. Zu dem Ende fing er an, einigen Vorschlägen von Seiten des Prätendenten Gehör zu geben, zumal, da man ihn versicherte, dafs sich die Tories sämmtlich zu dem Prinzen geschlagen hätten, und nahm zu Commercy die Siegel dieses Titularkönigs an. Allein schon die erste Unterredung, die er mit diesem schwachen Projectmacher hatte, gab ihm von dem Erfolge seiner Entwürfe die ungünstigsten Erwartungen. Er täuschte sich nicht. Die Schottische Expedition misglückte,

und Bolingbroke *gab die Siegel zurück. Während seiner ganzen Verbannung sehnte er sich immer noch nach seinem Vaterlande. Als sein Bruch mit dem Prätendenten bekannt geworden war, liefs ihn* Georg I. *durch einen Genfer* Saladin *seiner gnädigen Gesinnungen versichern und ihm Vergebung verkündigen. Indessen wurde für jetzt die Achtserklärung noch nicht zurückgenommen. In Erwartung einer völlig befriedigenden Entwickelung seiner Hoffnungen suchte* Bolingbroke *Trost in der Philosophie, und schrieb im Jahre* 1716 *seine* Reflexions upon exile, *eine* consolatio philosophica *in Seneca's Manier, der bald eine Rechtfertigung seines Verfahrens in Rücksicht auf die* Tories *in Form eines Briefes an* Sir William Wyndham *folgte. Um diese Zeit starb seine erste Gemahlin, mit der er in einer unglücklichen Ehe gelebt hatte. Er vermählte sich auf's Neue mit einer Wittwe des* Marquis Villette *und Nichte der* Maintenon. *In Gesellschaft dieser eben so schönen als geistreichen Dame brachte er seine Zeit in Frankreich, bald auf dem Lande, bald in der Hauptstadt zu, bis es dem Könige gefiel, ihm in Betracht seiner persönlichen Sicherheit völlige Befriedigung seiner Wünsche zu gewähren, ohne ihm jedoch sein Familienerbtheil, seinen Titel und Sitz im Oberhause wieder zu geben. Er kehrte also im Jahre* 1723 *nach seinem Vaterlande zurück, und kaufte sich, da ihm* 2 *Jahr nachher durch eine Parliamentsakte sein Erbtheil, welches sich auf jährliche* 3000 l. *belief, zugestanden wurde, den Landsitz des* Lords Tankerville *zu Dawley nahe bei Uxbridge in Middlesex. Hier liefs er sich mit seiner Gemahlinn nieder, um in dem Genusse des Landlebens der grofsen Welt und ihrer Gefahren zu vergessen. Allein sein Ehrgeiz war zu grofs, als dafs ihn seine Philosophie besiegen konnte. Er blieb zwar vom Oberhause ausgeschlossen, suchte aber nichts desto weniger auf den Staat zu wirken. Der Oppositionspartei eifrig ergeben, zog er bald die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums durch eine Menge politischer, mit grofser Stärke und Kühnheit abgefafster Aufsätze, worin er das Volk über sein Interesse zu belehren suchte, auf sich. Besonders zeichneten sich seine Briefe in dem* Craftsman, *einer Wochenschrift, so vortheilhaft aus, dafs man sie allgemein und mit grofser Begierde las. Diese politische Fehde dauerte* 10 *Jahr, nach deren Verlauf er abermals die Kränkung fühlte, sich von seinen Freunden verlassen zu sehen. Dies bestimmte ihn, nicht nur von seinen Freunden und Feinden, sondern auch von*

seinem Vaterlande Abschied zu nehmen. Er schrieb sein Meisterstück, Dissertation upon parties, *und ging hierauf nach Frankreich* (1736), *wo er sich in einer angenehmen Einsamkeit in der Nähe von Fontainebleau niederliefs, und ganz der Philosophie lebte. Eine Frucht dieser Mufse waren seine philosophischen Schriften, besonders seine* Letters on the study and use of history. *Nachdem er 10 Jahr in der gröfsten Eingezogenheit und in dem Umgange mit einer kleinen aber auserlesenen Anzahl Personen zugebracht hatte, kehrte er noch einmal nach seinem Vaterlande, das er nicht aus den Augen verlieren konnte, zurück, und schrieb seine vortrefliche Abhandlung* the Idea of a patriotic king. *Er hatte lange gewünscht, in seinem Familiensitze Battersea sein Leben zu beschliefsen, und das Glück, das ihm nie günstig gewesen war, willfahrte ihm hierin. Er starb an seinem Geburtsort 1751. Ueber seinen Charakter, der nach seinem Tode von hämischer Frömmelei nicht selten mit den schwärzesten Farben ausgemahlt worden ist, verdient Dr. Goldsmith in einer vortrefflichen, hier benutzten Lebensbeschreibung, die er uns von diesem merkwürdigen Manne geliefert hat, nachgelesen zu werden. Sie findet sich in den* Miscellaneous and fugitive pieces, London 1774, Vol. III, 87 *ff.*; *auch steht sie vor der zehnten Ausgabe der* Dissertation upon parties, London 1775. 8. *David Mallet hat Bolingbroke's Werke in folgender prachtvollen Ausgabe gesammelt:* The Works of the late right honourable Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke in 5 Volumes complete, London 4. *Von eben demselben sind die philosophischen Werke in 3 Octavbänden zu London 1754 besonders herausgegeben worden. Wir fügen diesen literarischen Notizen noch das Urtheil hinzu, welches Hugh Blair in seinen* Lectures *über unsern Verfasser fällt:* „*In der leidenschaftlichen oder starken* (vehement) *Schreibart, zeichnete sich unter allen Englischen Schriftstellern am meisten Bolingbroke aus. Er hatte in der That von der Natur entschiedene Anlagen erhalten, um an der Spitze einer Staatspartei, oder als Demagog in Volksversammlungen zu glänzen. Der Ton, welcher in allen seinen politischen Schriften herrscht, ist mehr die Sprache eines Mannes, der mit Leidenschaft spricht, als eines, der mit kalter Ueberlegung schreibt. Er macht häufigen Gebrauch von rhetorischen Wendungen, und sein Ausdruck strömt mit unwiderstehlicher Heftigkeit dahin; er ist bis zum Uebermafse reich an Wendungen und Redensarten; er weifs denselben Ge-*

danken aus den mannigfaltigsten Gesichtspunkten zu zeigen, und immer mit Leben und Wärme beseelt. Ueberhaupt ist sein Vortrag mehr kühn, als regelmäſsig und sprachrichtig; er gleicht einem Strome, der mit Stärke dahin flieſst, aber nicht selten getrübt erscheint. In seinen Perioden wechselt Länge und Kürze mit einander ab, doch neigt sich seine Schreibart, im Ganzen genommen, mehr zu der erstern; indem er gern lange Zwischensätze einschiebt, und nicht selten die verschiedensten Dinge zusammenfaſst und neben einander stellt; eine Sache die in der Wärme des mündlichen Vortrags nicht ungewöhnlich ist. In der Wahl seiner Ausdrücke ist er eben so glücklich als bestimmt. Was die genaue Verbindung seiner Sätze betrift, so steht er dem Shaftsbury darin eben so sehr nach, als er ihn dagegen an Leichtigkeit und Leben übertrift. Mit einem Worte, Bolingbroke's Verdienst als Schriftsteller würde sehr bedeutend seyn, wenn sein Inhalt sich eben so vortheilhaft auszeichnete, als seine Schreibart. Aber so vortheilhaft sich diese letztere von gewissen Seiten zeigt, so wenig Empfehlungswürdiges bietet der erste dar. Seine Schlüsse sind gröſstentheils falsch oder schielend, seine politischen Schriften athmen den einseitigsten Parteigeist, und in den von ihm sogenannten philosophischen Schriften ist er im höchsten Grade irreligiös und sophistisch."*

Reflections on the general and usual state of Mankind *).

I say then, that if men come helpless into the world like other animals; if they require even longer than other animals to be nursed and educated by the tender instinct of their parents, and if they are able much later to provide for themselves; it is because they have more to learn and more to do; it is because they are prepared for a more improved state and for greater happiness. Sense and instinct direct all animals to their several ends. Some of them profit more by experience, acquire more knowledge, and think and reason better than others both in different species and in the same. Man is at the head of these, he profits still more by experience, he acquires still more knowledge, he thinks and reasons better than all other animals; for he who is born

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*) Fragments or Minutes of Essays LI.

too stupid to do so, is not a human creature: he sinks into an inferior species, though he be made after the image of man. Man is able by his intellectual superiority to foresee, and to provide more effectually against the evils that threaten him, as well as to procure to himself the necessaries, the comforts, and the pleasures of life. All his natural wants are easily supplied, and God has proportioned them to the abilities of those who remain in the lowest form of rational creatures. The Tartar under his tent, and the Savage in his hut enjoys them. Such is the general state of mankind. Of what then do we complain? His happiness exceeds that of his fellow creatures, at least as much as the dignity of his nature exceeds the dignity of theirs: and is not this enough?

We ought to think that it is enough: and yet God has done more for us. He has made us happy, and he has put it into our power to make ourselves happier by a due use of our reason, which leads us to the practice of moral virtue and of all the duties of society. We are designed to be social, not solitary creatures. Mutual wants unite us: and natural benevolence and political order, on which our happiness depends, are founded in them. This is the law of our nature; and though every man is not able for different reasons to discern it, or discerning it to apply it, yet so many are able to do this that they serve as guides to the rest. The rest submit, for the advantages they find in this submission. They learn by experience that servitude to law is real liberty, and that the regulation of pleasure is real happiness. Pleasures are the objects of self-love, happiness that of reason. Reason is so far from depriving us of the first, that happiness consists in a series of them: and as this can be neither attained nor enjoyed securely out of society, a due use of our reason makes social and self-love coincide, or even become in effect the same. The condition wherein we are born and bred, the very condition so much complained of prepares us for this coincidence, the foundation of all human happiness; and our whole nature, appetite, passion, and reason concur to promote it. As our parents loved themselves in us, so we love ourselves in our children, and in those to whom we are most nearly related by blood. Thus far instinct improves self-love. Reason improves it further. We love ourselves in our neighbours, and in our friends too; with Tully's leave; for if friendship is formed by a kind of

sympathy, it is cultivated by good offices. Reason proceeds. We love ourselves in loving the political body whose members we are, and we love ourselves when we extend our benevolence to all mankind.

These are the genuine effects of reason, these are the purposes for which it was given us, and nothing more trifling, nor more absurd, can be found in the writings of those who have presumed to censure the providence of God, than what Tully puts into the mouth of Cotta, in the third book of the nature of the gods, on this occasion. „I know not," is this pontiff made to say, „whether it had not been better for „mankind to have had no reasoning faculties at all, since „they are hurtful to so many, and profitable to so few, than „to have had them so bountifully and so profusely bestowed." Foolish and prophane! Fire serves for several necessary uses, among the rest to warm us, and sensitive experience teaches us to distinguish between warming and burning, in the manner and degree wherein we employ it. Shall we renounce the use of it, and complain that there is such an element, because it burns us when we employ it ill, or when we neglect, in employing it well, the precaution and attentions that are necessary? Just so (for we may transfer this material image to an intellectual subject, much more properly than such images are usually transferred to such subjects by metaphysicians) just so, I say, human reason is given for several necessary uses, and principally to lead us to all the happiness we are made capable of attaining, by a proper application of it, which rational experience is sufficient to teach us. This comparison is more just than that which Cotta makes, and Bayle has copied, of the Supreme Being to a physician, who prescribes wine to a patient that he knows will drink it too strong, and perish by the use of it. Neither the strength of our reason, nor the too frequent use of it, but the contrary, are to be apprehended: and if the sick man's wine must be mingled with water to do him good, reason, the *medicina animi*, must be employed pure and unmixed. The other similies, which these academicians employ, are as impertinent as this, and might be shewn very easily to be so, if it were worth our while. But no man, who is not already devoid of reason, will be induced by them to renounce this noble gift, wherein the dignity of our nature consists, because it becomes hurtful when we apply it ill; or through

negligence, or through affectation, or through design, even when we apply it well. It was applied rather impertinently than hurtfully, to maintain stoical apathy; for it was not given to destroy, but to direct and govern the passions; to make them as beneficial as they are necessary in the human system; to make a Piso of a Catiline,*) and a Brutus, I mean the first, of a Cæsar. But it was applied very hurtfully; indeed, and it is so still by those who employ all the reason they have to corrupt the morals of men, to bribe, to seduce, to argue, to deceive, or to force them out of their properties, or their liberties, and to make an whole community become the vassals of a faction of men, or of one man. This in politics. In religion it was applied very hurtfully, and it is so still by atheists and divines, whilst the former endeavour by sophism and declamation to censure the works of God, and the order of his providence, to destroy the belief of his existence, and to banish all sense of religion; and whilst the latter, who join very heartily in the same censure, would be thought to justify the divine attributes against the common accusation, and to promote the interests of religion by this justification.

A most unnecessary justification surely! if they did not make it necessary; since God leads us by the natural state, in which we stand at first, into the road of happiness, and leaves us to the conduct of a sufficient guide, that is, of our reason, afterwards. It would be false to say, as Seneca says, somewhere in one of the rants of the portic, that we owe our virtue to ourselves, not to God. It would be equally false to say, that we owe our happiness to ourselves, not to God. But this may be said with truth, that God, when he gave us reason, left us to our free-will to make a proper, or improper, use of it: so that we are obliged to our creator for a certain rule and sufficient means of arriving at happiness, and have none to blame but ourselves, when we fail of it. It is not reason, but perverse will, that makes us fall

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*) *Der edle Römer, der hier in Gegensatz mit dem leidenschaftlichen* *Catilina* *gestellt wird, soll höchst wahrscheinlich* *L. Piso Frugi*, *der erste dieses Beinamens, seyn, von dem* *Cicero pro Fonteio* c. 13. *sagt:* tanta virtute atque integritate fuit, ut etiam illis optimis temporibus, cum hominem invenire nequam neminem posses, solus tamen Frugi nominaretur.

short of attainable happiness. The rule is so certain, and the means so sufficient, that they who deviate from them are self-condemned at the time they do so; for he, who breaks the laws of nature, or of his country, will concur to preserve them inviolate from others. As a member of society, he acknowledges the general rule. As an individual, he endeavours to be a particular exception to it. He is determined in both cases by self-love. That active principle, inflaming and inflamed by his passions, presses on to the apparent good which is the object of them: and if reason, a less active principle, which, instead of impelling, requires to be impelled, and to whom it belongs to be consulted in the choice, as well as in the pursuit, of an object, is called in, it is called in too late, and is made the drudge of the will, predetermined by passion. Thus it happens, that self-love and social are divided, and set in opposition to one another in the conduct of particular men, whilst, in the making laws, and in the regulation of government, they continue to be the same. As long as they do so, the happiness of mankind is abundantly provided for and secured, in their several societies; and, notwithstanding the physical evils to which the members of these societies may stand sometimes exposed, every reasonable man, every man who is not a disciple of such a whining philosopher as Wollaston*), nor such a presumptuous divine as Clarke**), will confess that such a state is as happy not only as human eye ever saw, or human ear ever heard, but as the heart of man can conceive to belong to humanity: and much more happy than creatures, but one degree above those whom they despise, could expect to be.

It is true, indeed, that governments shift and change not only their administrations, but their forms. Good princes and magistrates carry on the work of God, and by making men better make them happier. When these are corrupt, the infection spreads. They corrupt the people, the people them, social love is extinguished, and passion divides those whom

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*) *Wilhelm Wollaston, geb. 1659, gest. 1724, ein Englischer Geistlicher, vorzüglich bekannt durch sein Werk über die natürliche Religion.* **) *Samuel Clarke, geb. 1675, gest. 1729, gleichfalls ein Englischer Geistlicher. Er ist als Verfasser mehrerer theologischer und philosophischer Schriften bekannt; auch zeichnete er sich als Philolog durch die Herausgabe des Homer aus.*

reason united. When the abuse is confined within certain bounds, the condition of many men may be happy, and that of all may be still tolerable: and when the abuse exceeds such degrees, and when confusion or oppression becomes intolerable, we are to consider that they who suffer deserve to suffer. Good government cannot grow excessively bad, nor liberty be turned into slavery, unless the body of a people co-operate to their own ruin. The laws, by which societies are governed regard particulars, and individuals are rewarded, or punished, by men. But the laws by which the moral as well as the physical world is governed, regard generals: and communities are rewarded or punished by God, according to the nature of things in the ordinary course of his providence, and even without any extraordinary interposition. Look round the world antient and modern, you will observe the general state of mankind to increase in happiness, or decline to misery, as virtue or vice prevails in their several societies. Thus the author of nature has been pleased to constitute the human system, and he must be mad who thinks that any of the atheistical, theological, or philosophical makers, and menders of worlds, could have constituted it better. The saying of Alphonsus, king of Castile, who found so many faults in the construction of the material world that he pronounced himself able to have given the supreme architect a better plan, has been heard with horror by every theist. Shall we hear without horror the men spoken of here, when they find fault with the moral, as well as physical plan, when they found accusations against the goodness, justice, and wisdom of God, merely on their pride, when they assume, on no other foundation, that man is or ought to have been the final cause of the creation, and rail as heartily at providence as Plutarch represents Epicurus to have done; in short, when they go so far as to impute to God the introduction or permission of those very evils which neither God is answerable for, if I may use such an expression, nor nature, nor reason, but our own perverse wills, and the wrong elections we make?

I cannot hear any part of this without horror; and therefore if I had walked with Wollaston in some retired field, my meditations would have been very different from his, more just, and more reverential toward the Supreme Being. I should have been very sure that neither lifeless matter nor the vegetative tribe have any reflex thoughts, nor any thoughts at

all. I should have been convinced that the faculty of thinking is given to sensitive animals, as we call them, in a lower degree than to man. But I should not have been convinced that they have the power of excercising it in respect of present objects only. The contrary would appear to me, on some occasions, as manifest in them, or in some of them, as it appears on others, and on more, in the man who is born dumb. I should feel the superiority of my species, but I should acknowledge the community of our kind. I should rouze in my mind a grateful sense of these advantages above all others, that I am a creature capable of knowing, of adoring, and worshiping my creator, capable of discovering his will in the law of my nature, and capable of promoting my happiness by obeying it. I should acknowledge thankfully, that I am able, by the superiority of my intellectual faculties, much better than my fellow creatures, to avoid some evils and to soften others, which are common to us and to them. I should confess, that as I proved myself more rational than they by employing my reason to this purpose, so I should prove myself less rational by repining at my state here, and by complaining that there are any unavoidable evils. I should confess that neither perfect virtue, nor perfect happiness are to be found among the sons of men: and that we ought to judge of the continuance of one, as we may judge of our perseverance in the other, according to a maxim in the ethics of Confucius; not by this, that we never fall from either, since in that sense there would be no one good nor no one happy man in the world; but by this, that when we do fall, we rise again, and pursue the journey of life, in the same road. Let us pursue it contentedly, and learn that, as the softest pillow on which we can lay our heads has been said by Montagne to be ignorance, we may say more properly that it is resignation. He alone is happy, and he is truly so, who can say: Welcome life whatever it brings! Welcome death whatever it is! „*Aut transfert, aut finit.*"*) If the former, we change our state, but we are still the creatures of the same God. He made us to be happy here. He may make us happier in another system of being. At least, this we are sure of, we shall be dealed with according to the perfections of his nature, not according to the imperfections

*) *Entweder versetzt er uns anders wohin oder macht ein Ende.*

of our own. Resignation in this instance cannot be hard to one who thinks worthily of God, nor in the other, except to one who thinks too highly of man. That you, or I, or even Wollaston himself should return to the earth from whence we came, to the dirt under our feet, or be mingled with the ashes of those herbs and plants, from which we drew nutrition whilst we lived, does not seem any indignity, offered to our nature, since it is common to all the animal kind: and he, who complains of it as such, does not seem to have been set, by his reasoning faculties, so far above them in life, as to deserve not to be levelled with them at death. We were like them before our birth, that is nothing. So we shall be on this hypothesis like them too after our death that is nothing. What hardship is done us? None, unless it be an hardship, that we are not immortal, because we wish to be so, and flatter ourselves with that expectation. As well might that emperor of China have complained of his disappointment, when he imagined, he had bought immortality of a certain impostor, who pretended to give it, and then died. If this hypothesis were true, which I am far from assuming, I should have no reason to complain, tho' having tasted existence, I might abhor non-entity. Since then the first cannot be demonstrated by reason, nor the second be reconciled to my inward sentiment, let me take refuge in resignation at the last, as in every other act of my life. Let others be solicitous about their future state, and frighten, or flatter themselves as prejudice, imagination, bad health, or good health, nay a lowering day, or a clear sunshine shall inspire them to do. Let the tranquillity of my mind rest on this immoveable rock, that my future, as well as my present, state are ordered by an Almighty and Allwise Creator; and that they are equally foolish, and presumptuous, who make imaginary excursions into futurity, and who complain of the present.

These reflections, on the general and usual state of mankind, may be carried much further, and more may be added. But these are sufficient.

Livy, however, whose candor made Augustus call him a Pompeian, while out of complaisance to the times he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, that to praise him as he deserved, required the eloquence of Cicero himself. Augustus too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the Emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and said: this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country.

In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper lustre; and in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent senator and historian, Cremutius Cordus, was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death:*) „Thou hast done nothing Antony; hast done nothing, „I say, by setting a price on that divine and illustrious head, „and by a detestable reward, procuring the death of so great „a Consul and preserver of the republic. Thou hast snatched „from Cicero a troublesome being; a declining age: a life „more miserable under thy dominion, than death itself; but „so far from diminishing the glory of his deeds and sayings, „thou hast increased it: He lives and will live in the me-„mory of all ages; and as long as this system of nature, „whether by chance or providence or what way soever „formed, which he alone, of all the Romans, comprehended in „his mind, and illustrated by his eloquence**), shall remain „entire, it will draw the praises of Cicero along with it; and „all posterity will admire his writings against thee, curse thy „act against him." —

Besser kämpft vor dem Richter ihr Wort, und die Bahnen des Himmels
Zeichnet genauer ihr Stab, und verkündiget Sternen den Aufgang:
Du, o Römer, beherrsche des Erdreichs Völker mit Obmacht. —

*) Hist. Rom. II. 66. **) *Wahrscheinlich ist die Stelle* Cicero de Natura Deorum II. 37 seq., *welche erhabene Begriffe über das Weltall enthält, gemeint.*

From this period, all the Roman writers, whether poets or historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the most illustrious of all their patriots, and the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence; who had done more honour to his country by his writings than all their conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of his learning beyond those of their empire. So that their very emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior deities; a rank, which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in papal Rome, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from the innocence of his life, of obtaining the honour and title of a saint.

As to his person, he was tall and slender with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of chearfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care that he employed upon his body, consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreshment of his voice from the labour of the bar: yet in the summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villas in different parts of Italy. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance: by these he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting.

In his clothes and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed what he prescribes in his book of offices, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence and foppish delicacy, both of which are equally contrary to true dignity: the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

In his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable; he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the senate and the forum. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves, when by their fidelity and services they had recommended themselves to favor. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro; whose case was no otherwise different from the rest, than as it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his letters to Atticus, I have nothing more, says he, to write; and my mind indeed is something ruffled at present, for Socitheus, my reader, is dead, a hopeful youth: which has afflicted me more than one would imagine the death of a slave ought to do.

He entertained very high notions of friendship, and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even slighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend in both fortunes; but more zealous only in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but a sordid traffic and merchandize of benefits, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss. He calls gratitude the mother of virtue; reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, grateful and good, as terms synonymous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with examples of them; so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested, but claimed a right to command him.

Yet he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries, upon the slightest submission; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability; and laid it down for a natural duty, to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing; and held repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it: and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, that his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal.

His manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; splendid and noble: his house was open to all the learned strangers and philosophers of Greece and Asia; several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him. His levee was perpetually crowded with multitudes of all ranks: even Pompey himself not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not only to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the senate or the forum; where upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again; but on ordinary days, when these morning-visits were over, as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leisure. His supper was his greatest meal; and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light: and never used to sleep again at noon, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in Rome to this day.

But though he was so temperate and studious, yet when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid, and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reser-

vedness. But he was really a lover of chearful entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery: a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary; relieve the satiety of a tedious cause; divert the minds of the judges; and mitigate the rigor of a sentence, by making both the bench and audience merry at the expense of the accuser.

This use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private conversations, he was charged sometimes with pushing his raillery too far; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted. Yet of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; such as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

It is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence; and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about in Rome in his life-time; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been Consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed to Cicero himself. Cæsar likewise, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the apophthegms or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring him every thing of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company. But Tiro, Cicero's freedman, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings in three books: where Quintilian however, wishes, that he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the same judicious critic observes, through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave

the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold then, and insipid must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular character and stories, to which they relate, as well as the peculiar fashions, humor and taste of wit in that age? Yet even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find what they might reject, than what they could add to them.

He had a great number of fine houses, in different parts of Italy; some writers reckon up eighteen; which, excepting the family-seat at Arpinum, seem to have been all purchased, or built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between Rome and Pompeii, which was about four leagues beyond Naples; and for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their situation are called by him the eyes, or the beauties of Italy. Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum; his Formian, Cuman, Puteolan and Pompeian Villas; all of them large enough for the reception, not only of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests; many of whom of the first quality used to pass several days with him in their excursions from Rome. But besides these, that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had several little Inns, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accommodation in passing from one house to another.

His Tusculan house had been Sylla's, the dictator's; and in one of its apartments had a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marsic war, in which Cicero had served under him as a volunteer: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful hill, covered with the villas of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the city, and the country around it; with plenty of water flowing through his grounds in a large stream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the corporation of Tusculum*). Its neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the se-

*) Contra Rull. 3. 2.

nate, to breathe a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family; so that this was the place in which he took the most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and for that reason improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses.

When a greater satiety of the city, or a longer vacation in the forum disposed him to seek a calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to Antium or Astura. At Antium he placed his best collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from Rome, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the city. Astura was a little island, at the mouth of a river of the same name, about two leagues farther towards the south, between the promontories of Antium and Circæum, and in the view of them both: a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude, and a severe retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks, in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

In the height of summer, the mansion-house at Arpinum, and the little island adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats: where in the greatest, that he had ever remembered, we find him refreshing himself, as he writes to his brother *), with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his Fibronus.

His other villas were situated in the more public parts of Italy, where all the best company of Rome had their houses of pleasure. He had two at Formiæ, a lower and upper villa, the one near to the port of Cajeta, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of Bajæ, between the lake Avernus and Puteoli, which he calls his Puteolan; a fourth on the hills of old Cumæ called his Cuman villa; and a fifth at Pompeii, four leagues beyond Naples, in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its soil, and delicacy of its fruits. His Puteolan house was built after the plan of the academy of Athens, and called by that name; being adorned with a portico and a grove, for the same use of philosophical conferences. — —

*) Ad Quint. III. 1.

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice, but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age of all others the most licentious and profligate. His mind was superior to all the sordid passions which engross little souls; avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit wherever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in Greeks or Romans; and verifying a maxim which he had declared in a speech to the senate, that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own. —

His failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his constitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too sanguine in prosperity, too desponding in adversity: and apt to persuade himself in each fortune, that it would never have an end. This is Pollio's account of him; which seems in general to be true: Brutus touches the first part of it in one of his letters to him; and when things were going prosperously against Antony, put him gently in mind, that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes: and he himself allows the second, and says, that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst, rather than hoping the best, he was the man; and if that was a fault, confesses himself not to be free from it; yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was such, he tells us, as showed itself rather in foreseeing dangers, than in encountering them: an explication, which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution.

But the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was the love of glory and thirst of praise: a passion, that he

not only avowed, but freely indulged; and sometimes, as he himself confesses, to a degree even of vanity. This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance; while the forwardness that he showed to celebrate his own merits in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures; and since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down implicitly from age to age, without ever being fairly examined or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the source from which the passion itself flowed, and explain the nature of that glory, of which he professes himself so fond.

True glory then, according to his own definition of it, is a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind: it is not, he says, the empty blast of popular favour, or the applause of a giddy multitude which all wise men had ever despised, and none more than himself; but the consenting praise of all honest men, and the incorrupt testimony of those who can judge of excellent merit, which resounds always to virtue, as the echo to the voice; and since it is a general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to his glory, were not to expect ease or pleasure or tranquillity of life for their pains; but must give up their own peace to secure the peace of others; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good; sustain many battles with the audacious and the wicked, and some even with the powerful: in short, must behave themselves so, as to give their citizens cause to rejoice that they had ever been born. This is the notion that he inculcates everywhere of true glory: which is surely one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds: and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that history has to offer to us, through all the ages of the heathen world. There is not an instance, says Cicero, of a man's exerting himself ever with praise, and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to posterity. Give me a boy, says Quintilian, whom praise excites, whom glory warms; for such a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do

credit to his discipline. Whether posterity will have any respect for me, says Pliny, I know not; but am sure that I have deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it.

It will not seem strange, to observe the wisest of the ancient pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory as the amplest reward of a well-spent life, when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish, than a well-grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that which seemed to be within their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence; and had no small comfort in imagining, that though the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend at least to others; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts, as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a succession of infinite ages: nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end; but as long as the name of Rome subsists, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preserve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from his boasting so frequently of himself in his speeches both to the senate and the people, though it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not only excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of Rome was now brought to a crisis; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it: Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty; which entirely depended on the influence

of his counsels: he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malice of all who were aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the senate and people, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity; so, that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counsels; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those, who were employing all arts to subvert them. The frequent commemoration of his acts, says Quintilian, was not made so much for glory, as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindicate his measures when they were attacked: and this is what Cicero himself declares in all his speeches; „that no man ever heard „him speak of himself but when he was forced to it: that „when he was urged with fictitious crimes, it was his custom „to answer them with his real services; and if ever he said „any thing glorious of himself, it was not through a fondness „of praise, but to repel an accusation: that no man who „had been conversant in great affairs, and treated with par„ticular envy, could refute the contumely of an enemy, „without touching upon his own praises; and after all his „labours for the common safety, if a just indignation had „drawn from him at any time what might seem to be vain„glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to him: that when „others were silent about him, if he could not then forbear „to speak of himself, that indeed would be shameful; but „when he was injured, accused, exposed to popular odium, „he must certainly be allowed to assert his liberty, if they „would not suffer him to retain his dignity." This then was the true state of the case, and it is evident from the facts of his history: he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of praise: was pleased, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more still with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a passion, which for the reasons already hinted, had always the greatest force on the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our contempt and indignation, to see every conceited pedant, and trifling declaimer, who know little of Cicero's real character, and less still of their own, presuming to call him the vainest of mortals.

But there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or satisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the surprising extent of his knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even lessens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the senator; and by considering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greatest magistrate also of Rome. We learn our latin from him at school; our style and sentiments at the college: here the generality take their leave of him, and seldom think of him more, but as of an orator, a moralist, or philosopher of antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on its proportion and relation to the rest; while, in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, considered separately, will appear admirable; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first statesman of a mighty empire: his abilities as a statesman are glorious; yet surprise us still more, when they are observed in the ablest scholar and philosopher of his age; but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature.

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; in oratory, poetry, philosophy, law, history, criticism, politics, ethics; in each of which he equalled the greatest masters of his time; in some of them excelled all men of all times. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published; and though many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity; and like the Sibylline books, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even the conception of our days: this was the secret by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be

file, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to the public shows, to pleasures, to feasts, nay even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his scribes, who attended him. We find many of his letters dated before day-light; some from the senate; others from his meals, and the crowd of his morning levee — —

FIELDING.

HENRY FIELDING, Esq.*) *Sohn eines verdienstvollen, unter Marlborough bis zum Grade eines Generallieutenants gestiegenen Officiers, wurde* 1707 *zu Sharpham-Park bei Glastonbury in Somersetshire geboren. Im Eaton College erzogen, begab er sich, um die Rechte zu studiren, nach Leyden. Allein er sah sich bald genöthigt, nach seinem Vaterlande zurückzukehren, weil die Anzahl seiner Geschwister zu groſs war, als daſs sein sonst wohlhabender Vater ansehnliche Summen auf seine Bildung verwenden konnte. Er ging nun nach London, um in den* Inns of Court *seine juristischen Studien fortzusetzen, legte aber durch diesen Schritt den Grund zu dem Ungemach, womit er sein Leben hindurch*

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*) Esq. *Abkürzung statt* Esquire. *Es ist schwer zu sagen, (heiſst es in Küttner's Beiträgen, 5tem Stück S. 32.) wer alle diejenigen sind, denen dieser Titel eigentlich d. h. nach den Gesetzen zukommt. Die Söhne der Baronets, die* barristers *(Advokaten oder plaidirende Rechtsgelehrte) sind* Esquires, *und so manche andere in verschiedenen öffentlichen Aemtern haben diesen Titel von Rechtswegen; aber man giebt ihn auch vielen aus Höflichkeit, denen er eigentlich nicht gehört. Ein Gelehrter, ein Künstler erwartet auf Briefen das* Esq. *hinter seinem Namen; das bekommt er denn auch gewöhnlich. Der Besitz liegender Gründe giebt ihn nicht, ob man gleich diejenigen, die liegende Gründe haben, durchaus und vorzugsweise so nennt. — Die Englischen Bauern nennen ihren Gutsherrn vorzugsweise* Esquire.

kämpfen hatte. Der eben so unerfahrene als feurige [Jün]gling liefs sich in dieser gefährlichen Stadt zu Aus[schw]eifungen aller Art hinreifsen, und gerieth dadurch bald [in] die hülflosesten Umstände. In dieser Verlegenheit fing [er a]n, für das Theater zu schreiben. Seine beiden ersten [Stü]cke, Love in several masques, und the Temple beau [wur]den mit Beifall aufgenommen. Weniger gefielen die fol[gen]den, nicht weil sie schlechter waren, denn sie verrathen [ziem]lich viele Menschenkenntnifs, und eine ächte vis co[mic]a (s. Murphy's Essay on the life and genius of Henry [Fie]lding), sondern weil seine Feinde das Publikum gegen ihn [ein]zunehmen wufsten. 1736 endigte er seine theatralische [La]ufbahn, nachdem er 18 Stücke geliefert hatte, die man in [den] vollständigen Sammlungen seiner Werke in chronologi[sch]er Ordnung aufgeführt findet. Works of Henry Fielding, [Lo]ndon 1767, VIII Vols. 8. 1775, XII Vols. 8. Edinburgh 1767, XII Vols. 8. London 1808, 14 Vols. 8. (von Murphy besorgt). Er arbeitete indessen nicht blofs für die Bühne. Sein Essay on conversation, Knowledge of the characters of men, Journey from this world to the next und History of Jonathan Wild würden bekannter seyn, wenn sie nicht durch seine später erschienenen Meisterstücke verdunkelt worden wären. In dem gedachten Jahre verliefs er London, um mit einem schönen, aber armen Frauenzimmer, das er um diese Zeit geheirathet hatte, zu Stower in Dorsetshire, einem ihm durch den Tod seiner Mutter zugefallenen Landgute, zu leben. Seine Einkünfte, hinreichend, seine Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen, konnten seinem Hange zur Üppigkeit kein Genüge leisten. In weniger als 3 Jahren war ihm nichts als seine Talente übrig. In den elendesten Umständen kehrte er gegen 1740 nach London zurück, um sein Glück als Rechtsgelehrter zu versuchen. Er trat auch wirklich in Westminsterhall mit Beifall auf. Da aber die Ausschweifungen seiner Jugend seine sonst dauerhafte Gesundheit dergestalt untergraben hatten, dafs er ununterbrochen am Podagra litt, so ward es ihm unmöglich, auf diesem Wege seinen Unterhalt zu erwerben. Er griff also von neuem zur Feder, und arbeitete einige Zeit an einer periodischen Schrift, politischen Inhalts, the Champion, die vorzüglich ihm ihre Aufnahme verdankte. Unter diesen Umständen, die jedes andere Genie seiner Schnellkraft beraubt haben würden, schrieb er seine ro-

trefflichen Romane Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones*) *und* Amelia, *Zierden der Englischen Literatur. Da ihn jedoch auch diese Werke nicht vor Dürftigkeit zu sichern vermochten, so nahm er* 1750 *das Amt eines Friedensrichters in der Grafschaft Middlesex an, verwaltete es aber nicht lange. Seine Ärzte riethen ihm, zur Wiederherstellung seiner Gesundheit eine Reise nach dem milden Klima von Lissabon zu unternehmen. Er that es, und starb 2 Monate nach seiner Ankunft daselbst, im 47sten Jahre seines Alters. Das Tagebuch dieser Reise erschien* 1755. The journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, by Henry Fielding, Esq. London, 8. *Das Leben dieses merkwürdigen Schriftstellers war eine Kette von Zerstreuungen, Ausschweifungen, und daraus entspringenden Unfällen. Er war unglücklich, sagt Murphy, oft unbesonnen, aber nie lasterhaft. Daſs er ein Mann von groſsem Verstande, wohlgeordneter Einbildungskraft und gründlichen Kenntnissen gewesen ist, bezeugen seine Schriften, besonders sein* Tom Jones, *der in den Händen eines jeden Freundes geschmackvoller Lektüre ist.* Joseph Andrews, *zufolge der Vorrede eine Nachahmung des Stils und der Manier des Cervantes, erreicht sein Original nicht, und* Amelia, *das letzte Produkt Fielding's, steht dem* Tom Jones *eben so weit nach, als die Odyssee der Iliade.* Joseph Andrews *erschien* London 1750. 2 Vols. 8. Tom Jones ib. 1750, 4 Vols. 8. Amelia ib. 1752, 2 Vols. 8. *Die vorzüglichste Quelle über Fielding's Leben ist* the Companion to the Play-house, *wovon das vor der oben erwähnten Edinburger Ausgabe der sämmtlichen Werke stehende und hier benutzte Leben ein Auszug ist.*

History of the Man of the Hill**).

I was born in a village of Somersetshire, called Mark, in the year 1657; my father was one of those whom they call gentlemen-farmers***). He had a little estate of about 300 l.

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*) *Ein Buchhändler hatte ihm für das Manuskript des* Tom Jones *fünf und zwanzig Pfund geboten, und Fielding war schon ziemlich geneigt, das Werk um diesen Preis zu verkaufen, als er zum Glück den berühmten Buchhändler Andreas Millar kennen lernte, der ihm zweihundert Pfund gab.* — **) Tom Jones, Book VIII. chapt. 11 — 14. ***) gentleman farmer. *Mit diesem Na-*

a year of his own, and rented another estate of near the same value. He was prudent and industrious, and so good a husbandman, that he might have led a very easy and comfortable life, had not an arrant vixen of a wife soured his domestic quiet. But though this circumstance perhaps made him miserable, it did not make him poor: for he confined her almost entirely at home, and rather chose to bear eternal upbraidings in his own house, than to injure his fortune by indulging her in the extravagances she desired abroad.

By this Xanthippe he had two sons, of which I was the younger. He designed to give us both a good education; but my elder brother, who, unhappily for him, was the favourite of my mother, utterly neglected his learning; insomuch that after having been five or six years at school with little or no improvement, my father being told by his master, that it would be to no purpose to keep him longer there, at last complied with my mother in taking him home from the hands of that tyrant, as she called his master; though indeed he gave the lad much less correction than his idleness deserved, but much more it seems, than the young gentleman liked, who constantly complained to his mother of his severe treatment, and she as constantly gave him a hearing.

My brother now, at the age of fifteen, bid adieu to all learning, and to every thing else but to his dog and gun, with which latter he became so expert, that, though perhaps you may think it incredible, he could not only hit a standing mark with great certainty but hath actually shot a crow as it was flying in the air. He was likewise excellent at finding a hare sitting, and was soon reputed one of the best sportsmen in the country. A reputation which both he and his mother enjoyed as much as if he had been thought the finest scholar.

The situation of my brother made me at first think my lot the harder, in being continued at school: but I soon changed my opinion, for as I advanced pretty fast in learning,

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men benennt man solche Männer, welche liegende Gründe haben, die sie nicht verpachten, sondern selbst verwalten und anbauen. Diese sind ein Mittelding zwischen unserm Deutschen Landjunker und reichem Bauer. Manche von diesen gentlemen-farmers *pachten außerdem oft noch Ländereien von größern Güterbesitzern, und so grenzen sie sehr nahe an die eigentlichen* farmers.

my labours became easy, and my exercise so delightful, the holidays were my most unpleasant time: for my mother, who never loved me, now apprehending that I had the greater share of my father's affection, and finding, or at least thinking that I was more taken notice of by some gentlemen of learning, and particularly by the parson of the parish, than my brother, she now hated my sight, and made home so disagreeable to me, that what is called by schoolboys Black Monday *), was to me the whitest in the whole year.

Having, at length, gone through the school at Taunton **), I was thence removed to Exeter College in Oxford, where I remained four years; at the end of which an accident took me off entirely from my studies; and hence I may truly date the rise of all which happened to me afterwards in life.

There was at the same college with myself one Sir ***) George Gresham, a young fellow who was entitled to a very considerable fortune; which he was not, by the will of his father, to come into full possession of, till he arrived at the age of twenty-five. However, the liberality of his guardians gave him little cause to regret the abundant caution of his father: for they allowed him five hundred pound a year while he remained at the university, where he kept his horses and his whore, and lived as wicked and as profligate a life, as he could have done, had he been never so entirely master of his fortune; for besides the five hundred a year which he received from his guardians, he found means to spend a thousand more. He was above the age of twenty-one, and had no difficulty in gaining what credit he pleased.

This young fellow, among many other tolerable bad qualities, had one very diabolical. He had a great delight in destroying and ruining the youth of inferior fortune, by drawing them into expences which they could not afford *so* well as himself; and the better, and worthier, and soberer any young man was, the greater pleasure and triumph had he in his destruction, thus acting the character which is recorded of the devil, and going about seeking whom he might devour.

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*) Black-Monday, *der erste Montag nach den Schulferien.* **) *Taunton, ein Marktflecken in Somersetshire.* ***) *Siehe die Anmerkung S. 14.*

It was my misfortune to fall into an acquaintance and intimacy with this gentleman. My reputation of diligence in my studies made me a desirable object of his mischievous intention; and my own inclination made it sufficiently easy for him to effect his purpose; for though I had applied myself with much industry to books, in which I took great delight, there were other pleasures in which I was capable of taking much greater: for I was highmettled, had a violent flow of animal spirits, was a little ambitious, and extremely amorous.

I had not long contracted an intimacy with Sir George, before I became a partaker of all his pleasures, and when I was once entered on that scene, neither my inclination, nor my spirit, would suffer me to play an under-part. I was second to none of the company in any acts of debauchery; nay, I soon distinguished myself so notably in all riots and disorders, that my name generally stood first in the roll of delinquents; and, instead of being lamented as the unfortunate pupil of Sir George, I was now accused as the person who had misled and debauched that hopeful young gentleman; for though he was the ringleader and promoter of all the mischief, he was never so considered. I fell at last under the censure of the vice-chancellor, and very narrowly escaped expulsion.

You will easily believe, Sir, that such a life as I am now describing, must be incompatible with my further progress in learning; and that in proportion as I addicted myself more and more to loose pleasure, I must grow more and more remiss in application to my studies. This was truly the consequence; but this was not all. My expences now greatly exceeded not only my former income, but those additions which I extorted from my poor generous father, on pretences of sums being necessary for preparing for my approaching degree of bachelor of arts. These demands, however, grew at last so frequent and exorbitant, that my father, by slow degrees, opened his ears to the accounts which he received from many quarters of my present behaviour: and which my mother failed not to echo very faithfully and loudly, adding: „Ay, this is the fine gentleman, the scholar „who doth so much honour to his family, and is to be the „making of it. I thought what all this learning would come „to. He is to be the ruin of us all, I find, after his elder

„brother had been denied necessaries, for his sake, to per-
„fect his education forsooth, for which he was to pay us
„such interest: I thought what the interest would come to;"
with much more of the same kind; but I have, I believe,
satisfied you with this taste.

My father, therefore, began now to return remonstrances,
instead of money, to my demands, which brought my affairs
perhaps a little sooner to a crisis; but had he remitted me
his whole income, you will imagine it could have sufficed a
very short time to support one who kept pace with the ex-
pences of Sir George Gresham.

It is more than possible, that the distress I was now in
for money, and the impracticability of going on in this man-
ner, might have restored me at once to my senses and to my
studies, had I opened my eyes, before I became involved in
debts, from which I saw no hopes of ever extricating myself.
This was indeed the great art of Sir George, and by which
he accomplished the ruin of many, whom he afterwards
laughed at as fools and coxcombs, for vying, as he called it,
with a man of his fortune. To bring this about, he would
now and then advance a little money himself, in order to
support the credit of the unfortunate youth with other
people; till, by means of that very credit, he was irretrievably
undone.

My mind being, by these means, grown as desperate as
my fortune, there was scarce a wickedness which I did not
meditate, in order for my relief. Self-murder itself became
the subject of my serious deliberation; and I had certainly
resolved on it, had not a more shameful, though perhaps less
sinful thought expelled it from my head. I protest, so many
years have not washed away the shame of this fact, and I
shall blush while I relate it. I had a chum, a very prudent,
frugal young lad, who, though he had no very large allow-
ance, had by his parsimony heaped up upwards of forty
guineas *), which I knew he kept in his escritore. I took

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*) *In Ansehung der Englischen Münzen bemerken wir hier im Allgemeinen folgendes: es giebt in England* vier *Hauptarten von* Silbermünzen: *die* Krone, *welche 5 Schillinge enthält, die* halbe Krone, *den* Schilling *und den* halben Schilling. *Der Schilling beträgt etwa acht Groschen Sächsisch. Zwanzig Schillinge machen ein* Pfund (pound), *welches eine Englische*

therefore an opportunity of purloining his key from his breeches pocket while he was asleep, and thus made myself master of all his riches. After which I again conveyed his key into his pocket, and counterfeiting sleep, though I never once closed my eyes, lay in bed till after he arose and went to prayers, an exercise to which I had long been unaccustomed.

Timorous thieves, by extreme caution, often subject themselves to discoveries, which those of a bolder kind escape. Thus it happened to me; for had I boldly broke open his escritore, I had, perhaps, escaped even his suspicion, but as it was plain that the person who robbed him had possessed himself of his key, he had no doubt, when he first missed his money, but that his chum was certainly the thief. Now as he was of a fearful disposition, and much my inferior in strength, and I believe, in courage, he did not dare to confront me with my guilt, for fear of worse bodily consequences, which might happen to him. He repaired therefore immediately to the vice-chancellor, and, upon swearing to the robbery *), and to the circumstances of it, very easily obtained a warrant against one who had now so bad a character through the whole university.

Luckily for me, I lay out of the college the next evening; for that day I attended a young lady in a chaise to Whitney **), where we staid all night; and in our return the next morning to Oxford, I met one of my cronies, who acquainted me with sufficient news concerning myself to make turn my horse another way.

Having now abandoned all thoughts of returning to Oxford, the next thing which offered itself was a journey to London. I imparted this intention to my female companion, who at first remonstrated against it; but upon producing my wealth, she immediately consented. We then struck across the country into the great Cirencester road***), and made

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Rechnungsmünze ist; ein und zwanzig Schillinge machen eine Guinee, eine wirkliche Goldmünze. An Kupfermünzen hat man den penny *(etwa 8 Pfennige nach unserm Gelde),* halfpenny *(4 Pfennige), und den* farthing *(2 Pfennige).* *) *Der Kläger ist nach den Englischen Gesetzen genöthigt, den Klagepunkt zu beschwören, ehe seine Anklage angenommen wird.* **) *Ein Flecken, nicht weit von Oxford.* ***) *Eine grosse Landstrasse, die nach dem Flecken Cirencester in Gloucestershire führt.*

such haste, that we spent the next evening (save one) in London.

I was now reduced to a much higher degree of distress than before; the necessaries of life began to be numbered among my wants; and what made my case still the more grievous, was, that my paramour, of whom I was now grown immoderately fond, shared the same distresses with myself. To see a woman you love in distress; to be unable to relieve her, and, at the same time, to reflect that you have brought her into this situation, is, perhaps, a curse of which no imagination can represent the horrors to those who have not felt it.

This circumstance so severely aggravated the horrors of my present situation, that they became absolutely intolerable. I could with less pain endure the raging of my own natural unsatisfied appetites, even hunger or thirst, than I could submit to leave ungratified the most whimsical desires of a woman, on whom I so extravagantly doated, that, though I knew she had been the mistress of half my acquaintance, I firmly intended to marry her. But the good creature was unwilling to consent to an action which the world might think so much to my disadvantage. And, as possibly, she compassionated the daily anxieties which she must have perceived me suffer on her account, she resolved to put an end to my distress. She soon indeed found means to relieve me from my troublesome and perplexed situation: for while I was distracted with various inventions to supply her with pleasures, she very kindly — betrayed me to one of her former lovers at Oxford, by whose care and diligence I was immediately apprehended and committed to gaol.

Here I first began seriously to reflect on the miscarriages of my former life, on the errors I had been guilty of; on the misfortunes which I had brought on myself; and on the grief which I must have occasioned to one of the best of fathers. When I added to all these the perfidy of my mistress, such was the horror of my mind, that life, instead of being longer desirable, grew the object of my abhorrence; and I could have gladly embraced death, as my dearest friend, if it had offered itself to my choice unattended by shame.

The time of the assizes *) soon came, and I was re-

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*) *Auf dem platten Lande in England werden jährlich zweimal*

moved by Habeas Corpus*) to Oxford, where I expected certain conviction and condemnation; but, to my great surprise, none appeared against me, and I was, at the end of the sessions, discharged for want of prosecution. In short, my chum had left Oxford, and whether from indolence, or from what other motive, I am ignorant, had declined concerning himself any farther in the affair.

I had now regained my liberty, but I had lost my reputation: for there is a wide difference between the case of a man who is barely acquitted of a crime in a court of justice, and of him who is acquitted in his own heart, and in the opinion of the people. I was conscious of my guilt, and ashamed to look any one in the face, so resolved to leave Oxford the next morning, before the day-light discovered me to the eyes of any beholders.

When I had got clear of the city, it first entered into my head to return home to my father, and endeavour to obtain his forgiveness; but as I had no reason to doubt his knowledge of all which had past, and as I was well assured of his great aversion to all acts of dishonesty, I could entertain no hopes of being received by him, especially since I was too certain of all the good offices in the power of my mother: nay, had my farther's pardon been as sure, as I conceived his resentment to be, I yet question whether I could

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des Jahrs im Sommer und während der Fastenzeit in jeder Grafschaft Kriminal-Gerichte gehalten. Die 12 königl. Richter reisen in den Distrikten, die sie unter sich vertheilt haben, zur Haltung derselben herum. Man nennt sie lent- *und* summer-assizes.

*) Habeas corpus *Akte, oder das Recht, das jeder Engländer hat, die Ursache seiner Gefangennehmung zu wissen, innerhalb 24 Stunden ein vorläufiges Verhör, und nach demselben, wenn es kein Kapitalverbrechen ist, augenblickliche Loslassung gegen Stellung eines Bürgen, daſs er seine Sache nach den Gesetzen ausmachen will, zu verlangen: Diese Akte ist von sehr groſsem Werth, und setzt die Person und das Eigenthum eines Engländers in die gröſste Sicherheit. Zur Zeit einer Rebellion, oder wenn der Staat in äuſserster Gefahr ist, wird dem Könige durch Aufhebung dieser Akte auf eine gewisse Zeit, die Macht vom Parliament gegeben, verdächtige Personen, ohne weitere Umstände, festsetzen zu lassen; allein dies geschieht nur im äuſsersten Nothfall, und immer nur auf eine kurze, vom Parliament bestimmte Zeit. Wendeborn's Zustand des Staats etc. in Groſsbritannien, gegen Ende des 18ten Jahrhunderts, Theil I. S. 4.*

have had the assurance to behold him, or whether I could, upon any terms, have submitted to live and converse with those, who, I was convinced, knew me to have been guilty of so base an action.

I hastened therefore back to London, the best retirement of either grief or shame, unless for persons of a very public character; for here you have the advantage of solitude without its disadvantage, since you may be alone and in company at the same time; and while you walk or sit unobserved, noise, hurry, and a constant succession of objects, entertain the mind, and prevent the spirits from preying on themselves, or rather on grief or shame, which are the most unwholesome diet in the world; and on which (though there are many who never taste either but in public) there are some who can feed very plentifully, and very fatally, when alone.

But as there is scarce any human good without its concomitant evil, so there are people who find an inconvenience in this unobserving temper of mankind; I mean persons who have no money; for as you are not put out of countenance, so neither are you clothed or fed by those who do not know you. And a man may be as easily starved in Leadenhall-market, as in the deserts of Arabia.

It was at present my fortune to be destitute of that great evil, as it is apprehended to be by several writers, who, I suppose, were over-burthened with it, namely, money. One evening, as I was passing through the Inner Temple*) very hungry, and very miserable, I heard a voice on a sudden hailing me with great familiarity by my christian name: and upon my turning about, I presently recollected the person who so saluted me, to have been my fellow-collegiate; one who had left the university above a year, and long before any of my misfortunes had befallen me. This gentleman, whose name was Watson, shook me heartily by the hand, and expressing great joy at meeting me, proposed our immediately drinking a bottle together. I first declined the proposal, and pretended business; but as he was very earnest and pressing, hunger at last overcame my pride, and I fairly confessed to him I had no money in my pocket; yet not

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*) *So heissen gewisse Gebäude in London, die ehemals die Tempelherrn inne hatten, jetzt aber von jungen Leuten bewohnt werden, die sich der Rechtswissenschaft widmen.*

without framing a lie for an excuse, and imputing it to my having changed my breeches that morning. Mr. Watson answered: „I thought, Jack, you and I had been too old „acquaintance for you to mention such a matter." He then took me by the arm, and was pulling me along; but I gave him very little trouble, for my own inclinations pulled me much stronger than he could do.

We then went into the Friars*), which you know is the scene of all mirth and jollity. Here, when we arrived at the tavern, Mr. Watson applied himself to the drawer only, without taking the least notice of the cook; for he had no suspicion but that I had dined long since. However, as the case was really otherwise, I forged another falsehood, and told my companion, I had been at the further end of the city on business of consequence, and had snapt up a mutton-chop in haste; so that I was again hungry and wished he would add a beef-steak to his bottle.

I began now to feel myself extremely happy. The meat and wine soon revived my spirits to a high pitch, and I enjoyed much pleasure in the conversation of my old acquaintance, the rather as I thought him entirely ignorant of what had happened at the university since his leaving it.

But he did not suffer me to remain long in this agreeable delusion; for taking a bumper in one hand, and holding me by the other: „here, my boy," cries he, „here's wishing „you joy of your being honourably acquitted of that affair „laid to your charge." I was thunder-struck with confusion at those words, which Watson observing, proceeded thus — „Nay, never be ashamed, man; thou hast been ac„quitted, and no one now dares call thee guilty; but prithee „do tell me, who am thy friend, I hope thou didst really „rob him; for rat me, if it was not a meritorious action „to strip such a sneaking pitiful rascal: and instead of the „two hundred guineas, I wish you had taken as many thou„sands. Come, come, my boy, don't be shy of confessing to „me; you are not now brought before one of the pimps. „D—n me, if I don't honour you for it; for, as I hope for „salvation, I would have made no manner of scruple of doing „the same thing."

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*) *Name eines Wirthshauses unweit des oben erwähnten Tempelgebäudes.*

This declaration a little relieved my abashment; and as wine had now somewhat opened my heart, I very freely acknowledged the robbery, but acquainted him, that he had been misinformed as to the sum taken, which was little more than a fifth part of what he had mentioned.

„I am sorry for it with all my heart," quoth he, „and „I wish thee better success another time. Though, if you „will take my advice, you shall have no occasion to run any „such risk. Here, said he, (taking some dice out of his pocket) „here's the stuff. Here are the little doctors which „cure the distempers of the purse. Follow but my counsel, „and I will shew you a way to empty the pocket of a queer „cull,*) without any danger of the nubbing cheat**)."

We had now each drank our bottle, when Mr. Watson said, the board was sitting, and that he must attend, earnestly pressing me, at the same time, to go with him and try my fortune. I answered, he knew that was at present out of my power, as I had informed him of the emptiness of my pocket. To say the truth, I doubted not, from his many strong expressions of friendship, but that he would offer to lend me a small sum for that purpose; but he answered: „never mind „that, man, e'en boldly run a levant***), but be circumspect „as to the man. I will tip you the proper person, which „may be necessary, as you do not know the town, nor can „distinguish a rum cull†) from a queer one."

The bill was now brought, when Watson paid his share, and was departing. I reminded him, not without blushing, of my having no money. He answered: „that signifies „nothing, score it behind the door, or make a bold brush,††) „and take no notice. — Or — stay, says he, I will go down „stairs first, and then do you take up my money, and score „the whole reckoning at the bar, and I will wait for you at

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*) cull, *nach der Erklärung des* Dictionary of the vulgar tongue: a man, honest or otherwise, *also unser Kerl. Queer erklärt dasselbe durch:* base, roguish, worthless. **) nubbing cheat, a cant phrase for the gallows, *wie es der Erzähler selbst erklärt.* ***) run a levant, *auch eine* cant phrase, *sein Glück versuchen, eigentlich, wie es scheint, mit dem Morgenwind segeln.* †) rum cull *heisst nach jenem Dictionary:* a rich fool, easily cheated. ††) to brush *erklärt dasselbe durch:* to run away.

the corner. I expressed some dislike at this, and hinted my expectation that he would have deposited the whole; but he swore he had not another six-pence in his pocket.

He then went down, and I was prevailed on to take up the money and follow him, which I did close enough to hear him tell the drawer the reckoning was upon the table. The drawer passed by me up stairs; but I made such haste into the street, that I heard nothing of his disappointment, nor did I mention a syllable at the bar, according to my instructions.

We now went directly to the gaming table, where Mr. Watson to my surprize, pulled out a large sum of money, and placed it before him, as did many others; all of them, no doubt, considering their own heaps as so many decoy birds, which were to intice and draw over the heaps of their neighbours.

Here it would be tedious to relate all the freaks which fortune; or rather the dice, played in this her temple. Mountains of gold were in a few moments reduced to nothing at one part of the table, and rose as suddenly in another. The rich grew in a moment poor, and the poor as suddenly became rich, so that it seemed a philosopher could nowhere have so well instructed his pupils in the contempt of riches, at least he could nowhere have better inculcated the incertainty of their duration.

For my own part, after having considerably improved my small estate, I at last entirely demolished it. Mr. Watson too, after much variety of luck, rose from the table in some heat, and declared he had lost a cool hundred, and would play no longer. Then coming up to me, he asked me to return with him to the tavern; but I positively refused, saying, I would not bring myself a second time into such a dilemma; and especially as he had lost all his money, and was now in my own condition. „Pooh," says he, „I have „just borrowed a couple of guineas of a friend, and one of „them is at your service." He immediately put one of them into my hand, and I no longer resisted his inclination.

I was at first a little shocked at returning to the same house whence we had departed in so unhandsome a manner; but when the drawer, with very civil address, told us, „he „believed we had forgot to pay our reckoning," I became perfectly easy, and very readily gave him a guinea, bid him

pay himself, and acquiesced in the unjust charge which had been laid on my memory.

Mr. Watson now bespoke the most extravagant supper he could well think of; and though he had contented himself with simple claret before, nothing now but the most precious Burgundy would serve his purpose.

Our company was soon encreased by the addition of several gentlemen from the gaming-table: most of whom, as I afterwards found, came not to the tavern to drink, but in the way of business; for the true gamesters pretended to be ill, and refused their glass, while they plied heartily two young fellows, who were to be afterwards pillaged, as indeed they were without mercy. Of this plunder I had the good fortune to be a sharer, though I was not yet let into the secret.

There was one remarkable incident attended this tavern play; for the money, by degrees, totally disappeared, so that though at the beginning the table was half covered with gold, yet before the play ended, which it did not till the next day, being Sunday, at noon, there was scarce a single guinea to be seen on the table; and this was the stranger, as every person present, except myself, declared he had lost; and what was become of the money, unless the devil himself carried it away, is difficult to determine.

My fellow collegiate had now entered me in a new scene of life. I soon became acquainted with the whole fraternity of sharpers, and was let into their secrets; I mean into the knowledge of those gross cheats which are proper to impose upon the raw and inexperienced: for there are some tricks of a finer kind, which are known only to a few of the gang, who are at the head of their profession; a degree of honour beyond my expectation: for drink, to which I was immoderately addicted and the natural warmth of my passions, prevented me from arriving at any great success in an art, which requires as much coolness as the most austere school of philosophy.

Mr. Watson, with whom I now lived in the closest amity, had unluckily the former failing to a very great excess; so that instead, of making a fortune by his profession, as some others did, he was alternately rich and poor, and was often obliged to surrender to his cooler friends, over a bottle which they never tasted, that plunder which he had taken from culls at the public table.

However, we both made a shift to pick up an uncomfortable livelihood, and for two years I continued of the calling, during which time I tasted all the varieties of fortune; sometimes flourishing in affluence, and at others being obliged to struggle with almost incredible difficulties. To-day wallowing in luxury, and to-morrow reduced to the coarsest and most homely fare; my fine clothes being often on my back in the evening, and at the pawn-shop the next morning.

One night, as I was returning pennyless from the gaming-table, I observed a very great disturbance, and a large mob gathered together in the street. As I was in no danger from pick-pockets, I ventured into the croud, where, upon enquiry, I found that a man had been robbed and very ill used by some ruffians. The wounded man appeared very bloody, and seemed scarce able to support himself on his legs. As I had not therefore been deprived of my humanity by my present life and conversation, though they had left me very little of either honesty or shame, I immediately offered my assistance to the unhappy person, who thankfully accepted it, and putting himself under my conduct, begged me to convey him to some tavern, where he might send for a surgeon, being, as he said, faint with loss of blood. He seemed indeed highly pleased at finding one who appeared in the dress of a gentleman: for as to all the rest of the company present, their outside was such that he could not wisely place any confidence in them.

I took the poor man by the arm, and led him to the tavern where we kept our rendez-vous, as it happened to be the nearest at hand. A surgeon happening luckily to be in the house, immediately attended, and applied himself to dressing his wounds, which I had the pleasure to hear were not likely to be mortal.

The surgeon having very expeditiously and dextrously finished his business, began to enquire in what part of the town the wounded man lodged; who answered, „that he „was come to town that very morning; that his horse was „at an inn in Piccadilly*), and that he had no other lodging, „and very little or no acquaintance in town."

*) *Name einer der volkreichsten und schönsten Strafsen Londons.*

This surgeon, whose name I have forgot, though I remember it began with an R, had the first character in his profession and was serjeant-surgeon to the king. He had moreover many good qualities, and was a very generous, good-natured man, and ready to do any service to his fellow-creatures. He offered his patient the use of his chariot to carry him to his inn, and at the same time whispered in his ear, that if he wanted any money, he would furnish him.

The poor man was not now capable of returning thanks for this generous offer: for having had his eyes for some time stedfastly on me, he threw himself back in his chair, crying: „O, my son! my son!" and then fainted away.

Many of the people present imagined this accident had happened through his loss of blood; but I, who at the same time began to recollect the features of my father, was now confirmed in my suspicion, and satisfied that it was he himself who appeared before me. I presently ran to him, raised him in my arms, and kissed his cold lips with the utmost eagerness. Here I must draw a curtain over a scene which I cannot describe: for though I did not lose my being, as my father for a while did, my senses were however so overpowered with affright and surprise, that I am a stranger to what passed during some minutes, and indeed till my father had again recovered from his swoon; and I found myself in his arms, both tenderly embracing each other, while the tears trickled apace down the cheeks of each of us.

Most of those present seemed affected by this scene, which we, who might be considered as the actors in it, were desirous of removing from the eyes of all spectators as fast as we could; my father therefore accepted the kind offer of the surgeon's chariot, and I attended him in it to his inn.

When we were alone together, he gently upbraided me with having neglected to write to him during so long a time; but entirely omitted the mention of that crime which had occasioned it. He then informed me of my mother's death, and insisted on my returning home with him, saying: „that „he had long suffered the greatest anxiety on my account; „that he knew not whether he had most feared my death or „wished it; since he had so many more dreadful apprehen-„sions for me. At last he said, a neighbouring gentleman, „who had just recovered a son from the same place, in-„formed him were I was; and that to reclaim me from this

„course of life, was the sole cause of his journey to London." He thanked heaven he had succeeded so far as to find me out by means of an accident which had like to have proved fatal to him; and had the pleasure to think he partly owed his preservation to my humanity, with which he professed himself to be more delighted than he should have been with my filial piety, if I had known that the object of all my care was my own father.

Vice had not so depraved my heart, as to excite in it an insensibility of so much paternal affection, though so unworthily bestowed. I presently promised to obey his commands in my return home with him, as soon as he was able to travel, which indeed he was in a very few days, by the assistance of that excellent surgeon who had undertaken his cure.

The day preceding my father's journey (before which time I scarce ever left him) I went to take my leave of some of my most intimate acquaintance, particularly of Mr. Watson, who dissuaded me from burying myself, as he called it, out of a simple compliance with the fond desires of a foolish old fellow. Such solicitations, however, had no effect, and I once more saw my own home. My father now greatly solicited me to think of marriage; but my inclinations were utterly averse to any such thoughts. I had tasted of love already, and perhaps you know the extravagant excesses of that most tender and most violent passion.

Being now provided with all the necessaries of life, I betook myself one again to study, and that with a more ordinate application than I had ever done formerly. The books which now employed my time solely were those, as well ancient as modern, which treat of true philosophy, a word which is by many thought to be the subject only of farce and ridicule. I now read over the works of Aristotle and Plato, with the rest of those inestimable treasures which ancient Greece hath bequeathed to the world. —

To this I added another study, compared to which all the philosophy taught by the wisest heathens is little better than a dream, and is indeed as full of vanity as the silliest jester ever pleased to represent it. This is that divine wisdom which is alone to be found in the holy scriptures: for those impart to us the knowledge and assurance of thinks much more worthy our attention, than all which this world can

offer to our acceptance; of things which heaven itself hath condescended to reveal to us, and to the smallest knowledge of which the highest human wit unassisted could never ascend. I began now to think all the time I had spent with the best heathen writers, was little more than labour lost: for however pleasant and delightful their lessons may be, or however adequate to the right regulation of our conduct with respect to this world only, yet, when compared with the glory revealed in scripture, their highest documents will appear as trifling, and of as little consequence as the rules by which children regulate their childish little games and pastime. True it is, that philosophy makes us wiser, but christianity makes us better men. Philosophy elevates and steels the mind, christianity softens and sweetens it: The former makes us the objects of human admiration, the latter of divine love. That insures us a temporal, but this an eternal happiness. —

I had spent about four years in the most delightful manner to myself, totally given up to contemplation, and entirely unembarrassed with the affairs of the world, when I lost the best of fathers, and one whom I so entirely loved, that my grief at his loss exceeds all description. I now abandoned my books, and gave myself up for a whole month to the efforts of melancholy and despair. Time, however, the best physician of the mind, at length brought me relief. I then betook myself again to my former studies, which I may say perfected my cure: for philosophy and religion may be called the exercises of the mind, and, when this is disordered, they are as wholesome as exercise can be to a distempered body. They do indeed produce similar effects with exercise: for they strengthen and confirm the mind; till man becomes, in the noble strain of Horace,

Fortis, et in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per læve morari:
In quem manca ruit semper Fortuna *). —

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*) — — — *Der Weise, der*
Sich selbst beherrscht, — der ganz aus Einem Stück,
Und rund und glatt ist, so dafs nichts von aufsen
An ihn sich hängen, und kein Fall des Glückes ihn
Sein Gleichgewicht verlieren machen kann

Horat. Sat. II. 7. 88. ff.

My circumstances were now greatly altered by the death of that best of men: for my brother, who was now become master of the house, differed so widely from me in his inclinations, and our pursuits in life had been so very various, that we were the worst of company to each other; but what made our living together still more disagreeable, was the little harmony which could subsist between the few who resorted to me, and the numerous train of sportsmen who often attended my brother from the field to the table: for such fellows, besides the noise and nonsense with which they persecute the ears of sober men, endeavour always to attack them with affront and contempt. This was so much the case, that neither I myself, nor my friends, could ever sit down to a meal with them, without being treated with derision, because we were unacquainted with the phrases of sportsmen. For men of true learning, and almost universal knowledge, always compassionate the ignorance of others; but fellows who excel in some little, low, contemptible art, are always certain to despise those who are unacquainted with that art.

In short, we soon separated, and I went by the advice of a physician to drink the Bath*) waters: for my violent affliction, added to a sedentary life, had thrown me into a kind of paralytic disorder, for which those waters are accounted an almost certain cure. The second day after my arrival, as I was walking by the river, the sun shone so intensely hot, (though it was early in the year) that I retired to the shelter of some willows, and sat down by the river-side. Here I had not been seated long, before I heard a person on the other side of the willows, sighing and bemoaning himself bitterly. On a sudden, having uttered a most impious oath, he cried: „I am resolved to bear it no longer," and directly threw himself into the water. I immediately started, and ran towards the place, calling at the same time as loudly as I could for assistance. An angler happened luckily to be a fishing a little below me, though some very high hedge had hid him from my sight. He immediately came up, and both of us together, not without some hazard of our lives, drew the body to the shore. At first we perceived no sign of life remaining; but having held

*) *Bekannte und wegen ihrer warmen Bäder berühmte Stadt in Somersetshire.*

the body up by the heels, (for we soon had assistance enough) it discharged a vast quantity of water at the mouth, and at length began to discover some symptoms of breathing, and a little afterwards to move both its hands and its legs.

An apothecary, who happened to be present among others, advised that the body, which seemed now to have pretty well emptied itself of water, and which began to have many convulsive motions, should be directly taken up, and carried into a warm bed. This was accordingly performed; the apothecary and myself attending.

As we were going towards an inn, for we knew not the man's lodgings, luckily a woman met us, who after some violent screamings, told us, that the gentleman lodged at her house.

When I had seen the man safely deposited there, I left him to the care of the apothecary, who, I suppose, used all the right methods with him; for the next morning I heard he had perfectly recovered his senses.

I then went to visit him, intending to search out, as well as I could, the cause of his having attempted so desperate an act, and to prevent, as far as I was able, his pursuing such wicked intentions for the future. I was no sooner admitted into his chamber, than we both instantly knew each other; for who should this person be but my good friend Mr. Watson! Here I will not trouble you with what past at our first interview; for I would avoid prolixity as much as possible.

Mr. Watson very freely acquainted me, that the unhappy situation of his circumstances, occasioned by a tide of ill-luck, had in a manner forced him to a resolution of destroying himself.

I now began to argue very seriously with him, in opposition to this heathenish, or indeed diabolical principle of the lawfulness of self-murder; and said every thing which occurred to me on the subject; but, to my great concern, it seemed to have very little effect on him. He seemed not at all to repent of what he had done, and gave me reason to fear, he would soon make a second attempt of the like horrible kind.

When I had finished my discourse, instead of endeavouring to answer my arguments, he looked me steadfastly in the face, and with a smile said: You are strangely altered,

„my good friend, since I remember you. I question whether „any of our bishops could make a better argument against „suicide than you have entertained me with; but unless you „can find somebody who will lend me a cool hundred, I must „either hang, or drown, or starve; and in my opinion the „last death is the most terrible of the three."

I answered him very gravely, that I was indeed altered since I had seen him last; that I had found leisure to look into my follies, and to repent of them. I then advised him to pursue the same steps; and at last concluded with an assurance, that I myself would lend him a hundred pounds, if it would be of any service to his affairs, and he would not put it into the power of a die to deprive him of it.

Mr. Watson, who seemed almost composed in slumber by the former part of my discourse, was roused by the latter. He seized my hand eagerly, gave me a thousand thanks, and declared I was a friend indeed; adding that he hoped I had a better opinion of him, than to imagine he had profited so little by experience, as to put any confidence in those damned dice, which had so often deceived him. „No, no," cries he, „let me but once handsomely be set up again, and if „ever fortune makes a broken merchant of me afterwards, „I will forgive her."

I very well understood the language of *setting up*, and *broken merchant*. I therefore said to him with a very grave face: Mr. Watson, you must endeavour to find out some business, or employment, by which you may procure yourself a livelihood: and I promise you, could I see any probability of being repaid hereafter, I would advance a much larger sum than what you have mentioned, to equip you in any fair and honourable calling; but, as to gaming, besides the baseness and wickedness of making it a profession, you are really, to my own knowledge, unfit for it, and it will end in your certain ruin.

„Why now, that's strange," answered he, „neither you, „nor any of my friends, would ever allow me to know any „thing of the matter, and yet, I believe, I am as good a hand „at every game as any of you all; and I heartily wish I was „to play with you only for your whole fortune; I should „desire no better sport, and I would let you name your „game into the bargain: but come, my dear boy, have you „the hundred in your pocket?"

I answered I had only a bill for 80 l. which I delivered him, and promised to bring him the rest next morning; and, after giving him a little more advice, took my leave.

I was indeed better than my word: for I returned to him that very afternoon. When I entered the room, I found him sitting up in his bed at cards with a notorious gamester. This sight, you will imagine, shocked me not a little; to which I may add the mortification of seeing my bill delivered by him to his antagonist, and thirty guineas only given in exchange for it.

The other gamester presently quitted the room, and then Watson declared he was ashamed to see me: „but," says he, „I find luck runs so damnably against me, that I will re„solve to leave off play for ever. I have thought of the „kind proposal you made me ever since, and I promise you „there shall be no fault in me, if I do not put it in exe„cution."

Though I had no great faith in his promises, I produced him the remainder of the hundred in consequence of my own; for which he gave me a note, which was all I ever expected to see in return for my money.

We were prevented from any further discourse at present, by the arrival of the apothecary, who, with much joy in his countenance, and without even asking his patient how he did, proclaimed there was great news arrived in a letter to himself, which he said would shortly be public: „that the Duke of „Monmouth *) was landed in the west with a vast army of „Dutch; and that another vast fleet hovered over the coast „of Norfolk, and was to make a descent there, in order to „favour the Duke's enterprize with a diversion on that side."

This apothecary was one of the greatest politicians of his time. He was more delighted with the most paltry packet, than with the best patient; and the highest joy he was capable of, he received from having a piece of news in his possession an hour or two sooner than any other person in the town. His advices, however, were seldom authentic, for he would swallow almost any thing as a truth, a humour which many made use of to impose upon him.

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*) *Ein natürlicher Sohn Carls des 2ten, der dem Bruder seines Vaters, Jakob dem 2ten, den Thron streitig zu machen suchte.*

Thus it happened with what he at present communicated; for it was known within a short time afterwards, that the Duke was really landed; but that his army consisted only of a few attendants; and as to the diversion in Norfolk, it was entirely false.

The apothecary staid no longer in the room than while he acquainted us with his news; and then, without saying a syllable to his patient on any other subject, departed to spread his advices all over the town.

Events of this nature in the public are generally apt to eclipse all private concerns. Our discourse, therefore, now became entirely political. For my own part, I had been for some time very seriously affected with the danger to which the protestant religion was so visibly exposed, under a popish prince*): and thought the apprehension of it alone sufficient to justify that insurrection: for no real security can ever be found against the persecuting spirit of popery, when armed with power, except the depriving it of that power, as woeful experience presently shewed. 'You know how King James behaved after getting the better of this attempt; how little he valued either his royal word, or coronation-oath or the liberties and rights of his people. But all had not the sense to foresee this at first, and therefore the Duke of Monmouth was weakly supported; yet all could feel when the evil came upon them; and therefore all united, at last, to drive out that king, against whose exclusion a great party among us had so warmly contended, during the reign of his brother, and for whom they now fought with such zeal and affection.

As mankind in those days was not yet arrived to that pitch of madness, which I find they are capable of now, and which, to be sure, I have only escaped by living alone, and at a distance from the contagion, there was a considerable rising in favour of Monmouth; and, my principles strongly inclining me to take the same part, I determined to join him; and Mr. Watson, from different motives concurring in the same resolution, (for the spirit of a gamester will carry a man as far upon such an occasion as the spirit of patriotism) we soon provided ourselves with all necessaries, and went to the Duke at Bridgewater**).

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*) *Jakob dem 2ten.* **) *Ein Burgflecken mit einem guten Hafen am Flusse Parret in Somersetshire.*

The unfortunate event of this enterprize you are, I conclude, as well acquainted with as myself. I escaped, together with Mr. Watson, from the battle at Sedgmore*), in which action I received a slight wound. We rode near forty miles together on the Exeter road**), and, then abandoning our horses, scrambled as well as we could through the fields and bye-roads, till we arrived at a little wild hut on a common, where a poor old woman took all the care of us she could, and dressed my wound with salve, which quickly healed it.

Here Mr. Watson left me the next morning, in order, as he pretended, to get us some provision from the town of Cullumpton***); — but — can I relate it? or can you believe it? — This Mr. Watson, this friend, this base, barbarous, treacherous villain, betrayed me to a party of horse belonging to King James, and, at his return, delivered me into their hands.

The soldiers, being six in number, had now seized me, and were conducting me to Taunton gaol: but neither my present situation, nor the apprehensions of what might happen to me, were half so irksome to my mind, as the company of my false friend, who, having surrendered himself, was likewise considered as a prisoner, though he was better treated, as being to make his peace at my expence. He at first endeavoured to excuse his treachery; but when he received nothing but scorn and upbraiding from me, he soon changed his note, abused me as the most atrocious and malicious rebel, and laid all his own guilt to my charge, who, as he declared, had solicited, and even threatened him, to make him take up arms against his gracious, as well as lawful sovereign.

This false evidence, (for in reality, he had been much the forwarder of the two), stung me to the quick, and raised an indignation scarce conceivable by those who have not felt it. However, fortune at length took pity on me: for as we were got a little beyond Wellington†), in a narrow lane, my guards received a false alarm, that near fifty of the enemy

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*) *In Somersetshire, nördlich vom Parret. Hier wurden die Truppen des Herzogs von Monmouth geschlagen.* **) *Eine Heerstraſse, die nach Exeter, einer Stadt in Devonshire, führt.* ***) *Flekken in Devonshire.* †) *Gleichfalls ein Flecken in Devonshire.*

were at hand, upon which they shifted for themselves, and left me and my betrayer to do the same. That villain immediately ran from me, and I am glad he did; or I should have certainly endeavoured, though I had no arms, to have executed vengeance on his baseness.

I was now once more at liberty, and immediately withdrawing from the highway into the fields, I travelled on, scarce knowing which way I went, and making it my chief care to avoid all public roads, and all towns, nay, even the most homely houses; for I imagined every human creature whom I saw, desirous of betraying me.

At last, after rambling several days about the country, during which the fields afforded me the same bed, and the same food, which nature bestows on our savage brothers of the creation, I at length arrived at this place, where the solitude and wildness of the country invited me to fix my abode. The first person with whom I took up my habitation, was the mother of this old woman, with whom I remained concealed, till the news of the glorious Revolution*) put an end to all my apprehensions of danger, and gave me an opportunity of once more visiting my own home, and of enquiring a little into my affairs, which I soon settled as agreeably to my brother as to myself; having resigned every thing to him, for which he paid me the sum of a thousand pounds, and settled on me an annuity for life.

His behaviour in this last instance, as in all others, was selfish and ungenerous. I could not look on him as my friend, nor indeed did he desire that I should; so I presently took my leave of him, as well as of my other acquaintance; and from that day to this, my history is little better than a blank.

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*) *Worin Wilhelm III. den Thron seines Schwiegervaters, Jakobs des 2ten, zur Freude der Englischen Nation, bestieg.*

RICHARDSON.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON, *der Shakspeare unter den Romanschreibern, oder, wie ihn andere mit grösserm Recht genannt haben, der Rousseau der Engländer, stammte aus einer guten, aber armen Familie, und wurde* 1689 *in Derbyshire, man weiſs nicht genau, an welchem Orte, geboren. Er besuchte eine der Schulen dieser Grafschaft, fand aber weniger Vergnügen an den alten Sprachen (dem fast einzigen Gegenstande des öffentlichen Unterrichts in England), als an Beobachtung der Natur, am Umgange mit einsichtsvollen Personen und an moralischer Lektüre. Zu arm, als daſs er zu einem gelehrten Fache erzogen werden konnte, bestimmte er sich zum Buchdrucker, aus keinem andern Grunde, als weil er auf diesem Wege seine Lesebegierde am besten befriedigen zu können glaubte.* 1706 *trat er seine Lehrjahre zu London an. Er lernte seine Kunst gründlich, und wandte dabei eine jede, von seinen Mitarbeitern den geräuschvollern Vergnügungen gewidmete Stunde, zur Veredlung seines Herzens an. Besonders übte er sich fleiſsig im Briefstyl, und erreichte hierin, wie seine Schriften bezeugen, eine seltene Vollkommenheit. Nachdem er mehrere Jahre in einer Druckerei als Korrektor gearbeitet hatte, wurde er* 1715 *zu London ansäſsig, und trieb die Buchdruckerkunst mit vielem Ruhm. So wenig er der Gunst der Buchhändler leben durfte (denn er druckte gewöhnlich für das Parliament), so häufig wurde er gesucht, weil er in Anfertigung von Registern, Vorreden und Zueignungsschriften eine ganz vorzügliche Fertigkeit hatte. Und wirklich versah er viele zu seiner Zeit erschienene Werke mit diesem nöthigen Zubehör. Das ansehnliche Vermögen, welches er sich bald durch seine Thätigkeit zu erwerben wuſste, verwandte er gröſstentheils auf die Unterstützung Nothleidender und auf gastfreundliche Aufnahme gebildeter Personen aus allen Ständen. Er hatte deren beständig sowohl in seinem Hause zu London, als auf seinem Landsitze zu Parsons-Green in der Nähe der Hauptstadt, eine grofse Anzahl um sich. Besonders fand er viel Vergnügen an der Unterhaltung mit dem zweiten Geschlecht, und stand in einem fortdauernden Briefwechsel mit vielen der geistreichsten Damen seiner Zeit.* 1740 *erschienen die beiden ersten Bände seiner* Pamela, or virtue rewarded, in a series of familiar

letters, London, 8. *Die Geschichte gründet sich auf eine Thatsache. Der Vater des Grafen von* Gainsborough *belohnte die geprüfte Tugend der* Elisabeth Chapman, *Tochter seines Wildhüters, dadurch, daſs er sich mit ihr vermählte. Dieser Roman, in einer damals ganz neuen Manier geschrieben, wurde mit so groſser Begierde gelesen, daſs binnen einem Jahr 5 Auflagen vergriffen wurden. Weniger Beifall erhielt ein Anhang, den der Verfasser im folgenden Jahre unter dem Titel:* Pamela etc. the III and IV Volume; by the editor of the two first, *hinzufügte.* 1748 *traten die beiden ersten Bände der* Clarissa *ans Licht, denen bald noch 6 andere folgten.* Clarissa, or the History of a young Lady, comprehending the most important concerns of private life, and particularly shewing the distresses that may attend the misconduct both of parents and children, London, 8. *Dieser ebenfalls aus einer Reihe von Briefen bestehende Roman ist ohne Widerrede* Richardson's *Meisterstück.* 1753 *erschien* the History of Sir Charles Grandison, London, VII Volumes, 8. *Es wird uns hier ein Mann aufgestellt, der in Prüfungen mancher Art entschieden gut handelt, ein Mann von Religion, Tugend, Kraft und feinem Gefühl. Schade. daſs dieser belehrende Roman bis zu einer ermüdenden Weitschweifigkeit ausgesponnen ist. Wer übrigens den Charakter des* Grandison *ein unerreichbares Ideal nennt, verräth wenig Bekanntschaft mit dem edlen Verfasser. Während der Ausarbeitung dieses Werks wurden* Richardson's *Geisteskräfte oft so erschöpft, daſs er die Feder niederlegen muſste. Als ein Mann von den reizbarsten Nerven, die, wie* Pope *sagte, überall lebendig zitterten, wurde er von den Widerwärtigkeiten des wirklichen und des von ihm fingirten Lebens dergestalt angegriffen, daſs er mehrere Jahre vor seinem Tode an dem heftigsten Schwindel litt. Ein Schlagfluſs endigte sein musterhaftes Leben im Jahr 1761. Er war zweimal verheirathet, und hinterlieſs 4 Töchter *). Auſser den 3 angeführten gröſsern Werken, die 1783 von* William Richardson, *seinem Neffen und Nachfolger in der Druckerei, in 20 Octavbänden, nebst dem Leben des Verfassers und kritischen Bemerkungen über sein Genie und seine Schriften, vereint her-*

*) *Miſs* Anna Richardson, *nach einigen Nachrichten, die einzige Tochter* Richardson's, *starb* 1803 *zu London in ihrem 67sten Jahre.*

ausgegeben worden sind, hat man von ihm mehrere kleinere Schriften, als Äsops Fabeln nebst Betrachtungen, einen Band freundschaftlicher Briefe u. s. w. Wir können hier nicht füglich ein Probestück aus seinen gröſsern Werken liefern, da es, aus dem Zusammenhange getrennt, dem Leser unverständlich seyn würde; wir wählen dafür das 97ste Stück des Rambler, *einer von Johnson herausgegebenen Zeitschrift, dessen Verfasser unser Richardson ist. — Literarische Nachrichten von Richardson liefern der Brittische Plutarch Theil 7, und Bamberger in seinen biographischen und literarischen Anekdoten von den berühmtesten Groſsbritannischen Gelehrten des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Theil 1, S. 233 ff. Eine reichhaltige Quelle zu seinem Leben ist auch folgendes Werk:* The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson, selected from the original manuscripts bequeathed by him to his family, and now first published: to which are prefixed a biographical account of that author, and observations on his writings, by Anna Lætitia Barbauld, 6 Vol. 8. London, Philips, 1804. *Die Englischen Miszellen (16ter Band 3tes Stück, S. 141 u. ff.) liefern einen Auszug aus diesem Werke.*

On Coquetry *).

Fecunda culpae secula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, et genus et domos:
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit **).

Horat. Carm. III, 6. 17—20.

Fruitful of crimes, this age first stain'd
Their hapless offspring, and profan'd
The nuptial bed; from whence the woes,
Which various and unnumber'd rose
From this polluted fountain-head,
O'er Rome and o'er the nations spread.

Francis.

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*) The Rambler numb. 97. Tuesday, February 19, 1751.

**) *Nach der Uebersetzung von Ramler:*
Schon längst hat unser missethatschwangeres
Jahrhundert Ehen, Häuser und Stamm befleckt:
Aus dieser Quelle floſs Verderben
Ueber das Vaterland und die Völker.

The reader is indebted for this day's entertainment to an author from whom the age has received greater favours, who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue*).

To the Rambler**).

Sir,

When the Spectator was first published in single papers, it gave me so much pleasure, that it is one of the favourite amusements of my age to recollect it; and when I reflect on the foibles of those times, as described in that useful work, and compare them with the vices now reigning among us, I cannot but wish, that you would oftener take cognizance of the manners of the better half of the human species, that if your precepts and observations be carried down to posterity, the Spectators may shew to the rising generation what were the fashionable follies of their grandmothers, the Rambler of their mothers, and that from both they may draw instruction and warning.

When I read those Spectators which took notice of the misbehaviour of young women at church, by which they vainly hope to attract admirers, I used to pronounce such forward young women *Seekers*, in order to distinguish them by a mark of infamy from those who had patience and decency to stay till they were sought.

But I have lived to see such a change in the manners of women, that I would now be willing to compound with them for that name, although I then thought it disgraceful enough, if they would deserve no worse; since now they are too generally given up to negligence of domestick business, to idle amusements, and to wicked rackets, without any settled view at all but of squandering time.

In the time of the Spectator, excepting sometimes an appearance in the ring, sometimes at a good and chosen play, sometimes on a visit at the house of a grave relation, the young ladies contented themselves to be found employed

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*) *Diese zur Einleitung dienenden Zeilen rühren von Johnson her.* **) *Name der Zeitschrift, welche Johnson herausgab; siehe weiter unten den Artikel Johnson.*

in domestick duties; for then routes*), balls, assemblies, and such like markets for women were not known.

Modesty and diffidence, gentleness and meekness, were looked upon as the appropriate virtues and characteristic graces of the sex. And if a forward spirit pushed itself into notice, it was exposed in print as it deserved.

The churches were almost the only places where single women were to be seen by strangers. Men went thither expecting to see them, and perhaps too much for that only purpose.

But some good often resulted, however improper might be their motives. Both sexes were in the way of their duty. The man must be abandoned indeed, who loves not goodness in another; nor were the young fellows of that age so wholly lost to a sense of right, as pride and conceit has since made them affect to be. When, therefore, they saw a fair-one, whose decent behaviour and cheerful piety shewed her earnest in her first duties, they had the less doubt, judging politically only, that she would have e conscientious regard to her second.

With what ardour have I seen watched for, the rising of a kneeling beauty; and what additional charms has devotion given to her recommunicated features?

The men were often the better for what they heard. Even a Saul was once found prophesying among the prophets whom he had set out to destroy. To a man thus put into good-humour by a pleasing object, religion itself looked more amiable. The *men-seekers* of the Spectator's time loved the holy place for the object's sake, and loved the object for her suitable behaviour in it.

Reverence mingled with their love, and they thought that a young lady of such good principles must be addressed

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*) Rout *bedeutet fast eben das, was* assembly *heifst; vielleicht besteht der Unterschied nur darin, dafs* rout *eine grofse und gemischte,* assembly *aber eine mehr gewählte Gesellschaft bezeichnet. Man versammelt sich etwa gegen 10 Uhr des Abends, und die Gesellschaft dauert bis etwa 1 Uhr des Nachts, wenn keine Tafel gegeben wird. Die Hauptsache ist hier das Zusammentreffen mehrerer Personen. Uebrigens werden allerhand Erfrischungen umhergereicht. — Nach Küttner im Journal London und Paris (1ster Jahrgang 2tes Stück S. 16.) nennt man gegenwärtig so die Assembleen, wozu die Damen ausschliefsend das Einladungsrecht haben.*

only by the man who at least made a shew of good principles, whether his heart was yet quite right or not.

Nor did the young lady's behaviour, at any time of the service, lessen this reverence. Her eyes were her own, her ears the preacher's. Women are always most observed when they seem themselves least to observe, or to lay out for observation. The eye of a respectful lover loves rather to receive confidence from the withdrawn eye of the fair-one, than to find itself obliged to retreat.

When a young gentleman's affection was thus laudably engaged, he pursued its natural dictates; keeping then was a rare, at least a secret and scandalous vice, and a wife was the summit of his wishes. Rejection was now dreaded, and pre-engagement apprehended. A woman whom he loved, he was ready to think must be admired by all the world. His fears, his uncertainties increased his love.

Every enquiry he made into the lady's domestick excellence, which, when a wife is to be chosen, will surely not be neglected, confirmed him in his choice. He opens his heart to a common friend, and honestly discovers the state of his fortune. His friend applies to those of the young lady, whose parents, if they approve his proposals, disclose them to their daughter.

She perhaps is not an absolute stranger to the passion of the young gentleman. His eyes, his assiduities, his constant attendance at a church, whither, till of late, he used seldom to come, and a thousand little observances that he paid her, had very probably first forced her to regard, and then inclined her to favour him.

That a young lady should be in love, and the love of the young gentleman undeclared, is an heterodoxy which prudence, and even policy, must not allow. But thus applied to, she is all resignation to her parents. Charming resignation, which inclination opposes not.

Her relations applaud her for her duty; friends meet; points are adjusted, delightful perturbations, and hopes, and a few lover's fears, fill up the tedious space, till an interview is granted; for the young lady had not made herself cheap at publick places.

The time of interview arrives. She is modestly reserved; he is not confident. He declares his passion; the consciousness of her own worth, and his application to her parents,

take from her any doubt of his sincerity, and she owns her self obliged to him for his good opinion. The enquiries of her friends into his character, have taught her that his good opinion deserves to be valued.

She tacitly allows of his future visits; he renews them; the regard of each for the other is confirmed; and when he presses for the favour of her hand, he receives a declaration of an entire acquiescence with her duty, and a modest acknowledgment of esteem for him.

He applies to her parents therefore for a near day; and thinks himself under obligation to them for the cheerful and affectionate manner with which they receive his agreeable application.

With this prospect of future happiness, the marriage is celebrated. Gratulations pour in from every quarter. Parents and relations on both sides, brought acquainted in the course of the courtship, can receive the happy couple with countenances illumined, and joyful hearts.

The brothers, the sisters, the friends of one family, are the brothers, the sisters, the friends of the other. Their two families thus made one, are the world to the young couple.

Their home is the place of their principal delight, nor do they ever occasionally quit it but they find the pleasure of returning to it augmented in proportion to the time of their absence from it.

Oh, Mr. Rambler! forgive the talkativeness of an old man! When I courted and married my Lætitia, then a blooming beauty, every thing passed just so! But how is the case now? The ladies, maidens, wives, and widows are engrossed by places of open resort and general entertainment, which fill every quarter of the metropolis, and being constantly frequented, make home irksome. Breakfasting-places, dining-places; routes, drums, concerts, balls, plays, operas, masquerades for the evening, and even for all night, and lately, publick sales of the goods of broken housekeepers, which the general dissoluteness of manners has contributed to make very frequent, come in as another seasonable relief to these modern time-killers.

In the summer there are in every country-town assemblies; Tunbridge, Bath, Cheltenham, Scarborough*)! What

*) *Tunbridge, ein Städtchen in Kent, am Flusse Tun, bekannt*

pence of dress and equipage is required to qualify the frequenters for such emulous appearance.

By the natural infection of example, the lowest people have places of six-penny resort, and gaming tables for pence. Thus servants are now induced to fraud and dishonesty, to support extravagance, and supply their losses.

As to the ladies who frequent those publick places, they are not ashamed to shew their faces wherever men dare go, nor blush to try who shall stare most impudently, or who shall laugh loudest on the publick walks.

The men who would make good husbands, if they visit these places, are frighted at wedlock, and resolve to live single, except they are bought at a very high price. They can be spectators of all that passes, and, if they please, more than spectators, at the expence of others. The companion of an evening, and the companion for life require very different qualifications.

Two thousand pounds in the last age, with a domestick wife, would go farther than ten thousand in this. Yet settlements are expected, that often, to a mercantile man especially, sink a fortune into uselessness; and pin-money is stipulated for, which makes a wife independent, and destroys love, by putting it out of a man's power to lay any obligation upon her, that might engage gratitude, and kindle affection. When to all this the card-tables are added, how can a prudent man think of marrying?

And when the worthy men know not where to find wives, must not the sex be left to the foplings, the coxcombs, the libertines of the age, whom they help to make such? And need even these wretches marry to enjoy the conversation of those who render their company so cheap?

And what, after all, is the benefit which the gay coquette obtains by her flutters? As she is approachable by every man, without requiring, I will not say incense or adoration, but even common complaisance, every fop treats her as upon the level, looks upon her light airs as invitations, and is on the watch to take the advantage: she has companions indeed, but no lovers, for love is respectful, and timo-

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wegen seiner mineralischen Wasser. — Von Bath siehe Seite 182. — Cheltenham in Gloucestershire und Scarborough in Yorkshire, sind gleichfalls bekannte Bade- und Brunnenörter.

rous; and where among all her followers will she find a husband?

Set, dear Sir, before the youthful, the gay, the inconsiderate, the contempt as well as the danger to which they are exposed. At one time or other, women not utterly thoughtless, will be convinced of the justice of your censure, and the charity of your instruction.

But should your expostulations and reproofs have no effect upon those who are far gone in fashionable folly, they may be retailed from their mouths to their nieces, (marriage will not often have intitled these to daughters), when they, the meteors of a day, find themselves elbowed off the stage of vanity by other flutterers; for the most admired women cannot have many Tunbridge, many Bath seasons to blaze in; since even fine faces, often seen, are less regarded than new faces, the proper punishment of showy girls, for rendering themselves so impoliticklу cheap.

I am, Sir, Your sincere admirer.

MARY WORTHLEY MONTAGUE.

Lady Mary Pierrepont, *die Tochter des ersten Herzogs von* Kingston, *wurde im Jahr* 1693 *geboren. Sie vermählte sich mit dem Lord* Worthley Montague, *einem Abkömmling des unter* Carl's II. *Regierung so berühmten Grafen von* Sandwich, *und begleitete im Jahre* 1716 *ihren Gemahl, welcher zum Botschafter bei der Pforte unter* Achmet III. *ernannt worden war, nach dem Orte seiner Bestimmung. Auf dieser Reise sah sie Deutschland, Ungarn, die Türkei, Nord-Afrika, Italien und Frankreich. In Constantinopel liess sie ihrem dreijährigen Sohne — dem nachmals so berühmten Sonderling* Eduard Worthley Montague — *die Blattern einimpfen, führte nach ihrer* 1718 *erfolgten Rückkehr die Impfung in England ein, und wurde so eine Wohlthäterinn des menschlichen Geschlechts.* 1739 *verliess sie, ihrer schwächlichen Gesundheit halber, ihr Vaterland, lebte grösstentheils in Italien und kehrte von hier erst* 1751 *zurück. Sie starb* 1762. *Im Jahre* 1763 *erschienen*

die Briefe, welche sie während ihres Aufenthalts in der Türkei und auf ihrer Reise dahin geschrieben hatte, unter dem Titel: Letters of the right honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e, written during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters etc. in different parts of Europe; which contain among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks: drawn from sources that have been inaccessible to other travellers, London 1763, 3 Vols. 12. An additional Volume to the letters of Lady Montague *kam London* 1768 *in* 8. *heraus. Diese interessanten Briefe empfehlen sich durch Lebendigkeit der Darstellung und Schönheit des Stils in einem hohen Grade, und wurden bald in die meisten gebildeten lebenden Sprachen übersetzt. Einige bezweifeln indessen die Glaubwürdigkeit ihres Inhalts (man sehe Lüdekens Beschreibung des Türkischen Reichs Theil I. S.* 419); *sie können im Ganzen Recht haben, jedoch scheinen die Nachrichten, welche unsere Lady vom Türkischen Frauenzimmer, das sie näher als irgend ein anderer kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit hatte, das Gepräge der Wahrheit an sich zu tragen. Sie hatte selbst in das Serail des Groſsherrn Zutritt. — Späterhin hat ihr Enkel, der Marquis Bute, eine vollständige, durch viele, bisher ungedruckte, Briefe bereicherte Sammlung herausgegeben, welche den Titel führt:* the Letters and other works of the right honourable Lady Mary Worthley Montague; now first published from her original manuscripts, under the direction of the most noble the Marquis of Bute, with memoirs of her life, interspersed with original letters of many distinguished persons by the Rev. James Dallaway *(ein durch seine Reisen in der Türkei bekannter Schriftsteller)*, 5 Vols. 8. *oder* 5 Vols. 12. London, Philips, 1803. *Die alten Briefe nehmen in dieser Sammlung kaum den dritten Theil ein. Die neuern, nun zuerst bekannt gemachten, sind von den Jahren* 1739 *bis* 1760 *geschrieben, an ihren Gemahl und ihre Tochter gerichtet, und enthalten neben vielen unbedeutenden Dingen auch manches Anziehende. Überall verräth sich die Frau von gebildetem, und man kann sagen, von männlichem Geiste, überall fället sie scharfe und bestimmte Urtheile. Daſs es ihr an gelehrten Kenntnissen nicht fehlte, beweisen die meisten ihrer Briefe, aber nie prunkt sie mit ihrer Gelehrsamkeit. Daſs der Umgang einer solchen Frau gesucht wurde, ist wohl natürlich; sie stand auch wirklich mit den schönen Geistern ihrer Zeit, vorzüglich*

mit Pope, in genauen Verhältnissen. Doch dieser Bekanntschaft folgte bald eine bittere Feindschaft. Die eigentliche Veranlassung dazu ist nicht genau bekannt, und selbst Dallaway's Biographie, die übrigens nach Art vieler Englischen Lebensbeschreibungen, an mikrologischen Details sehr reich ist, giebt hierüber keine Auskunft; wahrscheinlich lag wohl ein Hauptgrund in Pope's kleinlicher, sehr reizbaren Eitelkeit, und in der Verschiedenheit der politischen Parteien, zu der sich beide bekannten (Lady Mary gehörte zu den Whigs).— Übrigens enthält diese, mit vielen fac similes *von den Handschriften berühmter Männer gezierte Ausgabe, auch mehrere Briefe von Pope, die aber, so wie überhaupt die Briefe dieses in anderer Hinsicht vorzüglichen Schriftstellers, tief unter denen unserer Lady stehen, welche die ihrigen gar nicht einmal zum Drucke bestimmt hatte. Dagegen sind die Gedichte der letztern, und alles das, was die andere Hälfte des 5ten Bandes in der neuen Sammlung ausmacht, von keiner Bedeutung.*

To the Abbot of —

Tunis, July 31. O. S. 1718*).

I left Constantinople the sixth of the last month, and this is the first post from whence I could send a letter, though I have often wished for the opportunity, that I might impart some of the pleasure I found in this voyage, through the most agreeable part of the world, where every scene presents me some poetical idea.

Warm'd with poetic transport, I survey
Th'immortal islands, and the well known sea;
For here so oft the muse her harp has strung,
*That not a mountain rears its head unsung***).

I beg your pardon for this sally, and will, if I can, continue the rest of my account in plain prose. The second day after we set sail, we passed Gallipolis, a fair city, situated in the bay of Chersonesus, and much respected by the Turks, being the first town they took in Europe. At five the next morning, we anchored in the Hellespont, between the castles of Sestos

*) *S. oben die Anmerkung zu Seite 30.* **) *Die beiden letzten Verse sind aus Addison's schöner Epistel an den Lord Halifax entlehnt; s. den zweiten Theil dieses Handbuchs.*

and Abydos, now called the Dardanelli. These are now two little ancient castles, but of no strength, being commanded by a rising ground behind them, which I confess I should never have taken notice of, if I had not heard it observed by our captain and officers, my imagination being wholly employed by the tragic story, that you are well acquainted with:

The swimming lover, and the nigthly bride,
How Hero lov'd, and how Leander died.

Verse again! — I am certainly infected by the poetical air I have passed through. That of Abydos is indoubtedly very amorous since that soft passion betrayed the castle into the hands of the Turks who besieged it in the reign of Orchanes. The governour's daughter imagining to have seen her future husband in a dream (though I don't find she had either slept upon bride-cake, or kept St. Agnes's fast)*) fancied she saw the dear figure in the form of one of her besiegers; and, being willing to obey her destiny, tossed a note to him over the wall, with the offer of her person and the delivery of the castle. He shewed it to his general, who consented to try the sincerity of her intentions, and withdrew his army, ordering the young man to return with a select body of men at midnight. She admitted him at the appointed hour, he destroyed the garrison, took the father prisoner, and made her his wife. This town is in Asia, first founded by the Milesians. Sestos is in Europe, and was once the principal city of Chersonesus. Since I have seen this strait, I find nothing improbable in the adventure of Leander, or very wonderful in the bridge of boats of Xerxes. 'Tis so narrow, 'tis not surprising a young lover should attempt so swim, or an ambitious king try to pass his army over it. But then, 'tis so subject to storms, 'tis no wonder the lover perished, and the bridge was broken. From hence we had a full view of mount Ida,

Where Juno once caress'd her am'rous Jove,
And the world's master lay subdu'd by love.

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*) slept upon bride-cake. *Nach dem Volksglauben der Engländer sieht jemand, welcher sich auf ein, durch einen Trauring gezogenes, Stück vom Hochzeitkuchen mit dem Ohre legt, im Schlafe seinen künftigen Geliebten; oder seine dereinstige Geliebte.* To keep St. Agnes's fast *geht wahrscheinlich auf einen ähnlichen, uns aber unbekannten, Volkswahn.*

Not many leagues sail from hence, I saw the point of land where poor old Hecuba was buried, and about a league from that place is cape Janizary, the famous promontory of Sigæum, where we anchored. My curiosity supplied me with strength to climb to the top of it, to see the place where Achilles was buried, and where Alexander ran naked round his tomb, in honour of him, which, no doubt, was a great comfort to his ghost. I saw there the ruins of a very large city, and found a stone, on which Mr. W — y plainly distinguished the words of Sigæn Polin. We ordered this on board the ship, but where shewed others much more curious, by a Greek priest, tho' a very ignorant fellow, that could give no tolerable account of any thing. On each side the door of this little church ly two large stones, about ten feet long each, five in breadth, and three in thickness. That on the right is a very fine white marble, the side of it beautifully carved in bas-relief; it represents a woman, who seems to be designed for some deity, sitting on a chair with a footstool, and before her another woman, weeping, and presenting to her a young child that she has in her arms, followed by a procession of women with children in the same manner. This is certainly part of a very ancient tomb; but I dare not pretend to give the true explanation of it. On the stone, on the left side, is a very fair inscription; but the Greek is too ancient for Mr. W — y's interpretation. I am very sorry not to have the original in my possession, which might have been purchased of the poor inhabitants for a small sum of money. But our captain assured us, that without having machines made on purpose, 'twas impossible to bear it to the sea-side, and, when it was there, his long-boat would not be large enough to hold it.

The ruins of this great city are now inhabited by poor Greek peasants, who wear the Sciote habit*), the women being in short petticoats, fastened by straps round their shoulders, and large smock sleeves of white linnen, with neat shoes and stockings, and on their heads a large piece of muslin, which falls in large folds on their shoulders. — One of my countrymen, Mr. Sandys**) (whose book I doubt not you

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*) *Die Tracht der Scioten, der Bewohner von Chio oder Scio, bekanntlich eine der größten Inseln des Griechischen Archipelagus.*

**) George Sandys, one of the most valuable travellers into

have read, as one of the best of its kind) speaking of these ruins, supposes them to have been the foundation of a city begun by Constantine, before his building Byzantium; but I see no good reason for that imagination, and am apt to believe them much more ancient.

We saw very plainly from this promontory the river Simois rolling from mount Ida, and running through a very spacious valley. It is now a considerable river, and is called Simores; it is joined in the vale by the Scamander, which appeared a small stream half choked with mud, but is perhaps large in the winter. This was Xanthus amongst the gods, as Homer tells us; and 'tis by that heavenly name, the nymph Oenone*) invokes it, in her epistle to Paris. The Trojan virgins used to offer their first favours to it by the name of Scamander, till the adventure, which Monsieur de la Fontaine**) has told so agreeably, abolish'd that heathenish ceremony. When the stream is mingled with the Simois, they run together to the sea.

All that is now left of Troy is the ground on which it stood; for, I am firmly persuaded, whatever pieces of antiquity may be found round it, are much more modern, and I think Strabo says the same thing. However, there is some pleasure in seeing the valley where I imagined the famous duel of Menelaus and Paris had been fought, and where the greatest city in the world was situated. 'Tis certainly the noblest situation that can be found for the head of a great empire, much to be preferred to that of Constantinople, the harbour here being always convenient for ships from all parts of the world, and that of Constantinople inaccessible almost six months in the year, while the north-wind reigns.

North of the promontory of Sigæum we saw that of Rhæteum, famed for the sepulchre of Ajax. While I viewed these celebrated fields and rivers, I admired the exact geography of Homer, whom I had in my hand. Almost every epithet he gives to a mountain or plain, is still just for it; and I spent several hours here in as agreeable cogitations, as ever Don Quixote had on mount Montesinos***). We

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the Levant, whose work has reached four editions in the reign of Charles the first. *) *Oenone, eine Nymphe, die erste Gemahlinn des Paris.* **) *Siehe die Erzählung:* le fleuve Scamandre *in den* Contes et Nouvelles en vers par M. de la Fontaine. ***) *S. Leben und Thaten des scharfsinnigen Edlen Don Quixote de la Mancha*

sailed next night to the shore, where 'tis vulgarly reported Troy stood; and I took the pains of rising at two in the morning to view coolly those ruins which are commonly shewed to strangers, and which the Turks call Esky Stamboul, i. e. Old Constantinople. For that reason, as well as some others, I conjecture them to be the remains of that city begun by Constantine. I hired an ass (the only voiture to be had there) that I might go some miles into the country, and take a tour round the ancient walls, which are of a vast extent. We found the remains of a castle on a hill, and of another in a valley, several broken pillars and two pedestals. —

I do not doubt but the remains of a temple near this place are the ruins of one dedicated to Augustus; and I know not why Mr. Sandys calls it a Christian temple, since the Romans certainly built hereabouts. Here are many tombs of fine marble, and vast pieces of granite, which are daily lessened by the prodigious balls that the Turks make from them for their cannon. We passed that evening the isle of Tenedos, once under the patronage of Apollo, as he gave it in, himself, in the particulars of his estate, when he courted Daphne*). It is but ten miles in circuit, but in those days very rich and well peopled, still famous for its excellent wine. I say nothing of Tenes, from whom it was called;**) but naming Mytilene, where we passed next, I cannot forbear mentioning Lesbos, where Sappho sung, and Pittacus reigned, famous for the birth of Alcæus, Theophrastus and Arion, those masters in poetry, philosophy, and music. This was one of the last islands that remained in the Christian dominion after the

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übersetzt von L. Tieck, 3ter B. S. 324.

*) ——— *„Nicht weiſst Du es, Thörinn, Du weiſst nicht,*
Welchen Du fliehst; das macht Dich entfliehen. Mir huldiget Delfos,
Klaros und Tenedos mir, und die pataräische Hauptstadt!“
Sagt Apollo beim Ovid (*s.* Metamorph. lib. I. v. 514 — 516) *zur Daphne, als er sie um Gegenliebe anfleht. Die hier mitgetheilte Uebersetzung ist von Voſs.* **) *Tenes, Sohn des Cycnus, Königs von Tenedos, wurde, weil seine Stiefmutter sich in ihn verliebt, und, da er ihre Liebe nicht erwiedern wollte, ihn bei seinem Vater einer unkeuschen Gesinnung gegen sie beschuldigt hatte, auf Befehl desselben ins Meer geworfen. Er entkam und wurde nachher König in Tenedos, wo er sehr gerecht regierte und nach seinem Tode göttlich verehrt wurde.*

conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. But need I talk to you of Cantucuzeno*), etc. princes that you are as well acquainted with as I am? 'Twas with regret I saw us sail from this island into the Aegean sea, now the Archipelágo, leaving Scio (the ancient Chios) on the left, which is the richest and most populous of these islands, fruitful in cotton, corn and silk, planted with groves of orange and lemon trees, and the Arvisian mountain, still celebrated for the nectar that Virgil mentions**). Here is the best manufacture of silks in all Turkey. The town is well built, the women famous for their beauty, and shew their faces as in Christendom. There are many rich families; though they confine their magnificence to the inside of their houses, to avoid the jealousy of the Turks, who have a Bassa here: however, they enjoy a reasonable liberty, and indulge the genius of their country:

And eat, and sing, and dance away their time,
Fresh as their groves, and happy as their clime.

Their chains hang lightly on them, tho' 'tis not long since they were imposed, not being under the Turk till 1566. But perhaps 'tis as easy to obey the grand signior as the state of Genoa, to whom they were sold by the Greek emperor. But I forget myself in these historical touches, which are very impertinent when I write to you. Passing the strait between the islands of Andros and Achaia, now Livadia, we saw the promontory of Sunium, now called Cape Colonna, where are yet standing the vast pillars of a temple of Minerva. This venerable sight made me think, with double regret, on a beautiful temple of Theseus, which I am assured, was almost entire at Athens, till the last campaign in the Morea, that

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*) *Johann Cantacuzen nöthigte den Griechischen Kaiser Johann Palaeologus, den Thron mit ihm zu theilen, und auch Matthaeus, Cantacuzens Sohn, wurde zum Kaiser ernannt. Allein Cantacuzen legte zur Vermeidung eines Bürgerkrieges die Krone nieder, und Matthaeus wurde im Jahre 1355 dazu gezwungen.* **) *Es ist die Stelle aus Virgils fünfter Ekloge v. 71 gemeint;*

Vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.

welche Voſs so übersetzt:

Gieſs ich Wein aus Schalen, den Ariusischen Nektar.

Der Ariusier war ein Wein, der in der felsigen Gegend Ariusa auf der Insel Chios wuchs. — Nektar ist bekanntlich der Name des balsamischen Göttertranks; man nannte indessen auch den süſsen Wein also.

the Turks filled it with powder, and it was accidentally blown up. You may believe I had a great mind to land on the fam'd Peloponnesus, tho' it were only to look on the rivers of Asopus, Peneus, Inachus and Eurotas, the fields of Arcadia, and other scenes of ancient mythology. But instead of demi-gods and heroes, I was credibly informed, 'tis now over-run by robbers, and that I should run a great risque of falling into their hands, by undertaking such a journey through a desert country, for which, however, I have so much respect, that I have much ado to hinder myself from troubling you with its whole history, from the foundation of Nycanæ and Corinth, to the last campaign there; but I check the inclination, as I did that of landing. We sailed quietly by Cape Angelo, once Malea, where I saw no remains of the famous temple of Apollo. We came that evening in sight of Candia: it is very mountainous; we easily distinguished that of Ida. — We have Virgil's authority, that here were a hundred cities —

Centum urbes habitant magnas — *)

The chief of them — the scene of monstrous passions. — Metellus first conquered this birth-place of Jupiter; it fell afterwards into the hands of — I am running on to the very siege of Candia; and I am so angry with myself, that I will pass by all the other islands with this general reflection, that 'tis impossible to imagine any thing more agreeable than this journey would have been two or three thousand years since, when, after drinking a dish of tea with Sappho, I might have gone, the same evening, to visit the temple of Homer in Chios, and passed this voyage in taking plans of magnificent temples, and conversing with the most polite and most gay of mankind. Alas! art is extinct here; the wonders of nature alone remain; and it is with vast pleasure I observed those of mount Aetna, whose flame appears very bright in the night many leagues off at sea, and fills the head with a thousand conjectures. However, I honour philosophy too

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*) *Eine Stelle aus dem 3ten Buche der Aeneide, v. 106.*
Hundert mächtige Städte bewohnen sie —
Mit den folgenden Worten deutet die Verfasserinn auf die bekannte Erzählung hin, nach welcher sich Pasiphae, die Gemahlinn des Minos, in einen schönen Stier verliebte, und mit demselben den Minotaurus, ein Ungeheuer, zeugte, welchen Virgil Veneris monumenta nefandae *nennt.*

much, to imagine it could turn that of Empedocles*), and Lucian shall never make me believe such a scandal of a man, of whom Lucretius says:

*Vix humana videtur stirpe creatus***). —

We passed Trinacria without hearing any of the Syrens that Homer describes, and, being thrown on neither Scylla nor Charybdis, came safe to Malta, first called Melita, from the abundance of honey. It is a whole rock covered with very little earth. The grand-master lives here in the state of a sovereign prince; but his strength at sea now is very small. The fortifications are reckoned the best in the world, all cut in the solid rock with infinite expence and labour. — Off this island we were tossed by a severe storm, and were very glad, after eight days, to be able to put into Porta Farine on the African shore, where our ship now rides. At Tunis we were met by the English consul who resides here. I readily accepted of the offer of his house there for some days, being very curious to see this part of the world, and particularly the ruins of Carthage. I set out in his chaise at nine at night, the moon being at full. I saw the prospect of the country almost as well as I could have done by daylight, and the heat of the sun is now so intolerable, 'tis impossible to travel at any other time. The soil is, for the most part, sandy, but every where fruitful of date, olive, and fig-trees, which grow without art, yet afford the most delicious fruit in the world. Their vineyards and melon-fields are inclos'd by hedges of that plant we call Indian fig, which is an admirable fence, no wild beast being able to pass it. It grows a great height, very thick, and the spikes or thorns are as long and sharp as bodkins; it bears a fruit much eaten by the peasants, and which has no ill taste.

It being now the season of the Turkish Ramadan, or Lent, and all here professing, at least, the Mahometan religion, they fast till the going down of the sun, and spend the night in feasting. We saw, under the trees, companies of the country-people, eating, singing, and dancing to their wild music. They are not quite black, but all mulattoes, and the most frightful creatures that can appear in a human figure.

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*) *Empedocles, der sich, der Sage nach, in den Aetna stürzte, um die Natur dieses Vulkans zu erforschen.* **) *Kaum scheint er aus menschlichem Stamm entsprossen zu seyn.*

They are almost naked, only wearing a piece of coarse serge wrapped about them. — But the women have their arms, to their very shoulders, and their necks and faces, adorned with flowers, stars, and various sorts of figures impressed by gun-powder; a considerable addition to their natural deformity; which is, however, esteemed very ornamental amongst them; and I believe they suffer a good deal of pain by it.

About six miles from Tunis, we saw the remains of that noble aqueduct, which carried the water to Carthage, over several high mountains, the length of forty miles. There are still many arches entire. We spent two hours viewing it with great attention, and Mr. W—y assured me that of Rome is very much inferior to it. The stones are of a prodigious size, and yet all polished, and so exactly fitted to each other, very little cement has been made use of to join them. Yet they may probably stand a thousand years longer if art is not made use of to pull them down. Soon after day-break I arrived at Tunis, a town fairly built of very white stone, but quite without gardens, which, they say, were all destroyed when the Turks first took it, none having been planted since. The dry sand gives a very disagreeable prospect to the eye; and the want of shade contributing to the natural heat of the climate, renders it so excessive that I have much ado to support it. 'Tis true here is, every noon, the refreshment of the sea-breeze, without which it would be impossible to live; but no fresh water but what is preserved in the cisterns of the rains that fall in the month of September. The women of the town go veiled from head to foot under a black crape, and being mix'd with a breed of renegadoes, are said to be many of them fair and handsome. This city was besieged in 1270, by Lewis King of France*), who died under the walls of it, of a pestilential fever. After his death, Philip, his son, and our prince Edward, son of Henry III. raised the siege on honourable terms. It remained under its natural African kings, till betrayed into the hands of Barbarossa, admiral of Solyman Magnificent. The emperor Charles V. expelled Barbarossa, but it was recovered by the Turks, under the conduct of Sinan Bassa, in

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*) *Ludwig IX. (der Heilige) geb. 1215, belagerte 1270 Tunis, und starb am 15ten August desselben Jahrs an einer epidemischen Krankheit.*

the reign of Selim II. From that time till now, it has remained tributary to the grand signior, governed by a Bey, who suffers the name of subject to the Turk, but has renounced the subjection, being absolute, and very seldom paying any tribute. The great city of Bagdad is, at this time, in the same circumstances; and the grand signior connives at the loss of these dominions, for fear of losing even the titles of them.

I went very early yesterday morning (after one night's repose) to see the ruins of Carthage. — I was, however, half broiled in the sun, and overjoyed to be led into one of the subterranean apartments, which they called, the stables of the elephants, but which I cannot believe were ever designed for that use. I found in many of them broken pieces of columns of fine marble, and some of porphyry. I cannot think any body would take the insignificant pains of carrying them thither, and I cannot imagine such fine pillars were designed for the use of stables. I am apt to believe they were summer apartments under their palaces, which the heat of the climate rendered necessary. They are now used as granaries by the country-people. While I sat here, from the town of Tents not far off, many of the women flocked in to see me, and we were equally entertained with viewing one another. Their posture in sitting, the colour of their skin, their lank black hair falling on each side of their faces, their features, and the shape of their limbs, differ so little from their country-people, the baboons, 'tis hard to fancy them a distinct race; I could not help thinking, there had been some ancient alliances between them.

When I was a little refreshed by rest, and some milk and exquisite fruit they brought me, I went up the little hill where once stood the castle of Byrsa, and from thence I had a distinct view of the situation of the famous city of Carthage, which stood on an isthmus, the sea coming on each side of it. 'Tis now a marshy ground on one side, where there are salt ponds. Strabo calls Carthage forty miles in circumference. There are now no remains of it, but what I have described, and the history of it is to well known to want any abridgement of it. You see, Sir, that I think you esteem obedience better than compliments. I have answered your letter, by giving you the accounts you desired, and have

reserved my thanks to the conclusion. I intend to leave this place to-morrow, and continue my journey through Italy and France. In one of those places I hope to tell you, by word of mouth, that I am,

Your humble servant, etc. etc.

MALLET.

David Malloch *wurde vermuthlich* 1700 *in Schottland geboren. Johnson (im 4ten Theile der* Lives of the most eminent english poets) *giebt, aus Mangel an Quellen, weder von der Familie, noch von den ersten Jugendjahren dieses Schriftstellers Nachrichten, und sagt blofs, dafs er sich wegen seiner geringen Vermögensumstände genöthigt gesehen hätte, eine sehr niedrige Stelle zu Edinburgh anzunehmen. Als der Herzog von Montrose sich nach einem Erzieher seiner Söhne umsah, ward ihm unser Malloch als ein taugliches Subjekt empfohlen, und er entsprach auch den Erwartungen, die man von ihm hegte. Er begleitete seine Zöglinge auf ihrer Reise, und hatte bei seiner Rückkehr durch die Familie des Grafen Zutritt zu den besten Häusern in London, und Umgang mit den gebildetsten Männern dieser Stadt. Sein erstes Produkt war die Ballade* William and Margaret, *zuerst im Jahre* 1724 *gedruckt, wodurch er den Grund zu seinem Ruhme legte. Dieser folgte* 1728 *ein Gedicht,* Excursion *betitelt, dessen wesentlicher Inhalt eine Schilderung schöner Naturscenen ist. Wie Johnson bemerkt, ahmt Malloch darin seines Freundes Thomson Manier nach, fällt aber zugleich auch in dessen Fehler.* 1733 *machte er sein* „Verbal criticism" *bekannt, gegen Pope gerichtet, zu dessen Abfassung es ihm an der nöthigen Einsicht fehlte.* Eurydice, *sein erstes Trauerspiel, wurde* 1731 *auf dem Theater zu Drury-Lane aufgeführt; Prolog und Epilog rühren von einem andern Verfasser her. Um diese Zeit etwa änderte er seinen Namen Malloch in Mallet; vielleicht um ihn wohlklingender zu machen. Als man im Jahre* 1740 *eine neue Ausgabe von Baco's Werken veranstaltete, ward unser Mallet ersucht, eine Biographie dieses Schriftstellers zu verfertigen. Er unterzog sich diesem Geschäft mit glücklichem*

Erfolg, und arbeitete eine Lebensbeschreibung aus, der gewiſs jeder unbefangene Leser, sowohl wegen der eleganten Schreibart, als auch wegen der seltenen historischen Kenntnisse, welche der Verfasser darin an den Tag legt, eine Stelle unter den besten Biographien der Engländer anweisen wird. Johnson, der so oft lieblos urtheilt, sagt spöttisch: Mallet habe in diesem Werke so unverhältniſsmäſsig mehr Kenntniſs der Geschichte, als der Philosophie bewiesen, daſs als dieser nachmals das Leben Marlborough's habe schreiben wollen, man befürchtet hätte, er möchte vergessen, daſs Marlborough ein General gewesen, so wie er nicht daran gedacht hätte, daſs Bacon zu den Philosophen gehört habe. Als der Prinz von Wales sich an die Spitze der Opposition stellte, und einen eigenen Hofstaat bildete, suchte er sich unter andern auch dadurch Popularität zu erwerben, daſs er den Patron der Gelehrsamkeit machte. Bei dieser Gelegenheit ward Mallet Unter-Sekretär desselben mit 200 l. Gehalt; Thomson erhielt gleichfalls eine Pension, und beide Dichter arbeiteten das Schauspiel „the Masque of Alfred*)" aus, welches zuerst 1740 aufgeführt, nachmals aber von Mallet allein, sehr verändert, und in dieser Gestalt mit vielem Beifall auf dem Theater zu Drury-Lane 1751 gegeben wurde. Während er in den Diensten des Prinzen stand, arbeitete er auch sein Trauerspiel Mustapha aus, zu welchem Thomson einen Prolog verfertigte. Es ward 1739 auf dem Drury-Lane Theater mit Beifall gegeben. Nach einem langen Zwischenraume gab er (1747) sein Gedicht Amyntor und Theodora heraus, dem es nicht an Fülle und Eleganz der Sprache, so wie an Kraft und schönen Bildern fehlt, und an dem selbst Johnson nur den Umstand zu tadeln findet, daſs es in blank verse (reimlosen Jamben) geschrieben sey. — Mallet ward um diese Zeit mit Bolingbroke bekannt, der ihm seine Papiere vermachte (s. oben die Biographie von Bolingbroke S. 135). Wir übergehen einige seiner minder

*) Mask (Masque), ein gewisses dramatisches Stück von tragischer Art, ohne Beobachtung der Regeln oder der Wahrscheinlichkeit. Nach Blankenburg, in den Zusätzen zu Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste Theil II. S. 569. heiſsen Masques die Stücke, in welchen allegorische oder mythologische Personen auftreten, wahrscheinlich, weil zu der Vorstellung derselben eine andere als die gewöhnliche Bekleidung nothwendig ist.

erheblichen Werke, und bemerken nur noch, daſs sein Trauerspiel Elvira 1763 *aufgeführt ward. Er selbst erhielt in eben dem Jahre die Stelle eines Registrators der in den Hafen von London einlaufenden Schiffe. Gegen das Ende seines Lebens machte er noch eine Reise nach Frankreich; aber, da er fand, daſs seine Gesundheitsumstände sich verschlimmerten, so kehrte er wieder nach England zurück, und starb hier 1765. Nach Johnson zeichnete sich Mallet in keiner Dichtungsart vorzüglich aus. Dies mag von seinen Dramen gelten; gewiſs aber wird jeder Leser von Geschmack seine Ballade* William and Margaret, *vorzüglich aber sein Meisterstück* Edwin and Emma, *mit Vergnügen lesen. Beide Stücke befinden sich in dem zweiten Theile dieser Sammlung. Bei dem letztern soll eine wirkliche Begebenheit, die sich in der letzten Hälfte des 17ten Jahrhunderts zu Bowes in Yorkshire ereignete, zum Grunde liegen. Mallet's Werke erschienen 1759 in 3 Bänden in 8.; auch stehen seine Gedichte im 53sten Bande der Johnsonschen Sammlung S. 327. Das Leben Bacon's, aus dem hier ein Probestück folgt, erschien auch einzeln unter dem Titel:* the Life of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England by Mr. Mallet, London 1740. *Was die hier aufgenommene Stelle betrifft, so schickt der Verfasser dieselbe in der Absicht voraus, um den Leser in den Stand zu setzen, zu beurtheilen, was Bacon eigentlich für die Philosophie that.*

A short view of the state of learning in Europe from the dark period of Gothicism down to the sixteenth century*).

Altho' the great era of ignorance has been fixed, justly enough, to those times when the northern nations, like a mighty inundation, overspread the face of Europe; yet it is no less certain that barbarism and corruption were entered into arts and sciences ere the savages had made any impression on the Roman Empire. Under them indeed, that darkness which had been long growing on the world, and gradually extinguishing every light of knowledge, soon became total, and threatened to be perpetual. In the eighth century, we find that the highest ambition of the clergy was to vie with one another in chanting the public service, which yet

*) The Life of Francis Bacon.

they hardly understood. This important emulation run so high between the Latin and French priesthood, that Charlemagne, who was then at Rome, found it necessary to interpose, and decide the controversy in person (787). The monk, who relates this affair with a most circumstantial exactness, adds that the Emperor entreated Pope Adrian to procure him certain persons, who might teach his subjects the first principles of grammar and arithmetic; arts that were then utterly unknown in his dominions. This warlike Monarch, tho' his own education had been so far neglected, that he had never learned to write, discovered, by his natural good sense, the value of knowledge, and set himself to be its promoter and patron. He even allowed a public school to be opened in the imperial palace, under the direction of our famous countryman Alcuin; on whom he chiefly relied for introducing into France some tincture of that philosophy which was still remaining in Britain. But how slow and ineffectual the progress of any learning must have been, we may guess from an edict of the Council of Challons, in the next century (813), which earnestly exhorts all monasteries to be careful in having their manuals of devotion correctly transcribed: lest, while they piously mean to ask of God one thing, some inaccurate manuscript may betray them into praying for the quite contrary.

As to Britain, if learning had still some footing there in the eighth century, it was so totally exterminated from thence in the ninth, that, throughout the whole kingdom of the West-Saxons, no man could be found who was scholar enough to instruct our King Alfred, then a child, even in the first elements of reading: so that he was in his twelfth year before he could name the letters of the alphabet. When that renowned Prince ascended the throne, he made it his study to draw his people out of the sloth and stupidity in which they lay: and became, as much by his own example, as by the encouragement he gave to learned men, the great restorer of arts in his dominions. And here we are called upon to observe, that as France had been formerly obliged to England in the person of Alcuin, who planted the sciences there under Charlemagne (879): our Island now received the same friendly assistance from thence by Grimbald, whom King Alfred had invited hither, and made Chancellor of Oxford. Such events as these are too considerable, in the literary history of the

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ninth age, to be passed over unobserved. The rise of a noted grammarian, the voyage of an applauded doctor, are recorded, by the chroniclers of that century, with the same reverence that an ancient writer would mention the appearance of a Lycurgus, or a Timoleon; of a law-giver who new-models a state, or a hero who rescues a whole people from slavery.

But these fair appearances were of short duration. A night of thicker darkness quickly overspread the intellectual world: and in the moral, followed a revolution still more deplorable. To common sense and piety, succeeded dreams and fables, visionary legends and ridiculous penances. The Clergy, now utter strangers to all good learning, instead of guiding a rude and vitious Laity by the precepts of the gospel, which they no longer read, amused them with forged miracles, or overawed them by the ghostly terrors of demons, spectres and chimeras. This was more easy, and more profitable too, than the painful example of a virtuous life. The profound depravity that was spread thro' all conditions of men, ecclesiastic and secular, appears in nothing more plain than in the reasons assigned for calling several councils about this time. In one, new canons were to be made, forbidding adultery, incest, and the practice of pagan superstitions: as if these things had not till then been accounted criminal. In another, it was found necessary to declare, that a number of angels worshipped universally under certain names were altogether unknown: and that the church could not warrant the particular invocation of more than three. Another, which the Empress Irene had summoned for the reformation of discipline, ordained, that no Prelate should thenceforth convert his episcopal palace into a common inn; nor, in consideration only of any sum of money given him by one man, curse and excommunicate another. A fourth and fifth censure the indecency of avowed concubinage, and enjoin that Fryars and Nuns should no longer converse or live promiscuously in the same convent.

The see of Rome, which should have been a pattern to the rest, was of all christian churches the most licentious; and the pontifical chair often filled with men, who, instead of adorning their sacred character, made human nature itself detestable: a truth by many catholic writers acknowledged and lamented. Several Popes were, by their successors ex-

communicated, their acts abrogated, and the sacraments administred by them pronounced invalid. No less than six were expelled by others who usurped their seat; two were assassinated: and the infamous Theodora, infamous even in that age, by her credit in the holy city obtained the triple crown for the most avowed of her gallants; who assumed the name of John the Tenth. Another of the same name*) was called to govern the Christian world at the age of twenty one; a bastard son of Pope Sergius who died eighteen years before. If such were the men who arrogated to themselves titles and attributes peculiar to the Deity, can we wonder at the greatest enormities among lay-men? Their stupidity kept pace with the dissolution of their manners, which was extreme: they still preserved, for the very clergy we have been speaking of, a reverence they no longer had for their God. The most abandoned among them, miscreants, familiar with crimes that humanity startles at, would yet, at the hazard of their lives, defend the immunities of a church, a consecrated utensil, or a donation made to a convent. In such times as those, it were in vain to look for useful learning and philosophy. Not only the light of science, but of reason, seems to have been wellnigh extinguished.

It was not till late, after the sack of Constantinople**) by the Turks, that the writings of Aristotle began to be universally known and studied. They were then, by certain fugitive Greeks, who had escaped the fury of the Ottoman arms, brought away and dispersed thro' the Western parts of Europe. Some particular treatises of his, it is true, had been long made public: but chiefly in translations from the Arabic, done by men who, far from rendering faithfully the author's sense, hardly unterstood his language. These however gave birth to the scholastic philosophy; that motley offspring of error and ingenuity: and to speak freely, the features of both parents were all along equally blended in the complexion of the daughter. To trace at length the rise, progress, and variations of this philosophy, would be an undertaking not only curious but instructive; as it would unfold to us all the mazes in which the force, the subtlety, the extravagance of human wit can lose themselves: till not only profane learning

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*) John XI. **) An. 1453.

but divinity itself was at last, by the refined frensy of those who taught both, subtilized into mere notion and air.

Their philosophy was neither that of Aristotle entirely nor altogether differing from his. Whatever opinions the first founders of it had been able to draw, from Boëtius, his Latin commentator, or from the wretched translations above-mentioned, these they methodised and illustrated, each according to his several talent, and the genius of the age, he lived in. But this, instead of producing one regular and consistent body of science, even from wrong principles, ended in a monster, made up of parts every where misshapen and dissimilar. Add to this, that they left natural knowledge wholly incultivated; to hunt after occult qualities, abstract notions, and questions of impertinent curiosity: by which they rendered the very logic, their labours chiefly turned upon, intricate, useless, unintelligible.

Alstedius, in his chronology of the Schoolmen, has divided their history into there principal periods or successions: the first beginning with Lanfranc*), Archbishop of Canterbury, who flourished about the middle of the eleventh century; and ending**) with Albert the great two ages later: the second, that commences from him, determining in Durand; as the third and last ended in Luther, at the reformation. Morhoff, however, strenuously contends, that Rucelinus an Englishman, was properly the father of the Schoolmen: and that to him the sect of the Nominalists owed its rise and credit. He adds, that it revived afterwards in the person of Occam, another of our countrymen, and the perpetual antagonist of Duns Scotus, who had declared for the Realists, and was reckoned their ablest champion. The learned reader needs not be told, that the scholastic doctors were all distinguished into these two sects; formidable partynames, which are now as little known or mentioned as the controversies that once occasioned them. It is sufficient to say, that, like all other parties, they hated each other as heretics in logic: and that their disputes were often sharp and bloody; ending not only in the metaphorical destruction of common sense and language, but in the real mutilation and death of the combatants. For, to the disgrace of human reason, mankind in all their controversies, whether about a nation or a thing,

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*) An. 1050. **) An. 1320.

a predicament or a province, have made their last appeal to brute force and violence. The titles *) with which these leaders were honoured by their followers, on account of the sublime reveries they taught, are at once magnificent and absurd: and prove rather the superlative ignorance of those times than any transcendent merit in the men to whom they were applied. From this censure we ought nevertheless to except one, who was a prodigy of knowledge for the age he lived in, and is acknowledged as such by the age to which I am writing. I mean the renowned fryar Bacon, who shone forth singly thro' the profound darkness of those times; but rather dazzled than enlightened the weaker eyes of his contemporaries. As if the name of Bacon were auspicious to philosophy, this man, not only without assistance or encouragement, but insulted and persecuted, by the unconquerable force of his genius penetrated far into the mysteries of nature: and made so many new discoveries in astronomy and perspective, in mechanics and chimistry, that the most sober writers even now cannot mention them without some marks of emotion and wonder. It is Dr. Friend's observation, that he was almost the only astronomer of his age: and the reformation of the calendar, by him attempted and in a manner perfected is a noble proof of his skill in that science. The construction of spectacles, of telescopes, of all sorts of glasses that magnify or diminish objects, the composition of gunpowder (which Bartholdus Swartz is thought to have first hit upon almost a century later) are some of the many inventions with justice ascribed to him. For all which he was in his life-time calumniated, imprisoned, oppressed; and after his death wounded in his good name, as a magician who had dealt in arts, infernal and abominable. He tells us, that there were but four persons then in Europe who had made any progress in the mathematics; and in chimistry yet fewer: that those who undertook to translate Aristotle were every way unequal to the task; and that his writings, which, rightly understood, Bacon considered as the fountain of all knowledge, had been lately condemned and burned, in a synod held at Paris.

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*) The profound, the subtile, the marvelous, the indefatigable, the irrefragable, the angelic, the seraphic, the fountain of life, light of the world, etc.

The works of that celebrated antient have, in truth, more exercised the hatred and admiration of mankind than those of all the other philosophers together. Launoy*) enumerates no less than thirty seven Fathers of the Church who have stigmatised his name, and endeavoured to reprobate his doctrines. Morhoff has reckoned up a still greater number of his commentators, who were at the same time implicitely his disciples: and yet both these authors are far from having given a complete list either of his friends or enemies. In his life-time he was suspected of irreligion, and, by the pagan priesthood, marked out for destruction: the successors of those very men were his partisans and admirers. His works met with much the same treatment from the christian clergy: sometimes proscribed for heretical; sometimes triumphant and acknowledged the great bulwark of orthodoxy. Launoy has written a particular treatise on the subject, and mentioned eight different revolutions in the fortune and reputation of Aristotle's philosophy. To pass over the intermediate changes, I will just mention two, that make a full and ridiculous contrast. In the above-mentioned council held at Paris about the year 1209, the bishops there censured his writings, without discrimination, as the pestilent sources of error and heresy; condemned them to the flames, and commanded all persons, on pain of excommunication, not to read, transcribe, or keep any copies of them. They went farther, and delivered over to the secular arm no less than ten persons, who were burned alive, for certain tenets, drawn, as those learned prelates had heard, from the pernicious books in question. Those very books, in the sixteenth century, were not only read with impunity, but every where taught with applause: and whoever disputed their orthodoxy, I had almost said their infallibility, was persecuted as an infidel and miscreant. Of this the sophister Ramus is a memorable instance. Certain animadversions of his on the peripatetic philosophy occasioned a general commotion in the learned world. The university of Paris took the alarm hotly, and cryed out against this attempt as destructive of all good learning, and of fatal tendency to religion itself. The affair was brought before the parlia-

*) Jean de Launoy, (*gestorben* 1678.) *Verfasser der Schrift* de varia Aristotelis in Acad. Paris. fortuna. Paris 1653. 4.

ment: and appeared of so much consequence to Francis the First, that he would needs take it under his own immediate cognisance. The edict is still extant, which declares Ramus insolent, impudent, and a lyar*). His books are thereby for ever condemned, suppressed, abolished: and, what is a strain of unexampled severity, the miserable author is solemnly interdicted from transcribing, even from reading, his own compositions**)!

We might from hence be led to imagine, that when the authority of an antient philosopher was held so sacred, philosophy itself must have been thoroughly understood, and cultivated with uncommon success. But the attachment of these doctors was to a name, not to truth, or valuable science: and our Author***) very justly compares them to the Olympic wrestlers, who abstained from necessary labours, that they might be fit for such as were not so. Under their management, it was a philosophy of words and notions, that seemed to exclude the study of nature; that instead of enquiring into the properties of bodies, into the laws of motion by which all effects are produced, was conversant only in logical definitions, distinctions, and abstractions, utterly barren and unproductive of any advantage to mankind. The great aim of those solemn triflers was rather to perplex a dispute than to clear up any point of useful disquisition: to triumph over an enemy, than to enlarge the knowledge, or better the morals of their followers. So that this captious philosophy was a real obstacle to all advances in sound learning, human and divine. After it had been adopted into the christian theology, far from being of use to explain and ascertain mysteries, it served only to darken and render doubtful the most necessary truths; by the chicanery of argumentation with which it supplied each sect, in defence of their peculiar and favourite illusions. To so extravagant a height did they carry their idolatry of Aristotle, that some of them discovered, or imagined they discovered in his writings, the doctrine of the Trinity; that others published formal dissertations to prove

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*) 10 th. of May. An. 1543. **) *Peter Ramus wurde 1572 in der Pariser Bluthochzeit das Opfer des Hasses, den er sich Seitens der Verehrer der scholastischen Disputirkunst zu Paris zugezogen hatte.* ***) Bacon's Apophthegms.

the certainty of his salvation, tho' a heathen: and that a patriarch of Venice is said to have called up the devil expressly in order to learn from him the meaning of a hard word in Aristotle's physics. But the crafty demon, who perhaps did not understand it himself, answered in a voice so low and inarticulate, that the good Prelate knew not a word he said. This was the famous Hermolaus Barbaro*). The Greek word, that occasioned his taking so extraordinary a step, is the Entelèchia**) of the Peripatetics: from whence the Schoolmen raised their substantial forms, and which Leibnitz, towards the end of the last century, attempted to revive in his Theory of motion.

The Reformation itself, that diffused a new light over Europe, that set men upon enquiring into errors and prepossessions of every kind, served only to confirm the dominion of this philosophy; protestants as well as papists entrenching themselves behind the authority of Aristotle, and defending their several tenets by the weapons with which he furnished them. This unnatural alliance of theology with the peripatetic doctrines, rendered his opinions not only venerable but sacred: they were reckoned as the land-marks of both faith and reason, which to pull up or remove would be daring and impious. Innovations in philosophy, it was imagined, would gradually sap the very foundations of religion, and in the end lead to downright atheism. If that veil of awful obscurity, which then covered the face of nature, should be once drawn; the rash curiosity of mankind would lead them to account for all appearances in the visible world, by second causes, by the powers of matter and mechanism: and thus they might come insensibly to forget or neglect the

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*) *Hermolaus Barbaro, geboren zu Venedig 1398, gestorben 1493, unter andern bekannt durch eine Paraphrase der Aristotelischen Schriften.* **) *In der Physik nahm Aristoteles zu den Gründen der Erscheinungen in den Körpern nicht allein die Ausdehnung, oder ihre Materie, sondern auch eine thätige Kraft, ihre Form an. Diese Form oder thätige Kraft nannte er Entelechie. So lange die Materie und Form das Ding nicht wirklich darstellt, ist die thätige Kraft noch in dem bloſsen Vermögen (εντελεχεια κατα δυναμιν); wenn sie es wirklich darstellt, ist sie kein bloſses Vermögen mehr (εντελεχεια καθ'εξιν). (S. Eberhard's allgem. Geschichte der Philosophie 1796. S. 160.)*

great original cause of all. This kind of reasoning convinced the multitude, overawed the wiser few, and effectually put a stop to the progress of useful knowledge.

Such in general were the dispositions of mankind when Sir Francis Bacon came into the world. — —

STERNE.

Laurence Sterne, *Sohn eines Officiers, wurde* 1713 *zu Clonwell im südlichen Irland geboren. Nach einer Schulerziehung, die zur Entwickelung seiner Talente wenig beigetragen hatte, ging er, um sich zu dem geistlichen Stande vorzubereiten, nach Cambridge, wo er mehr lachte als studirte, und sich durch den eigenthümlichen Gang seiner Ideen so auffallend auszeichnete, dafs ihn die Akademie bei seiner Entlassung ein zwar harmloses; aber höchst seltsames Subjekt nannte. Er erhielt darauf ein Vicariat in Yorkshire, bei dessen mäfsigen Einkünften er vielleicht unbemerkt sein Leben beschlossen haben würde, wenn er nicht durch einen Zufall mit seinen Kräften bekannt geworden wäre. Es hatte sich nämlich einer seiner Freunde um eine Pfründe beworben, die der damalige Besitzer durch Kabalen auf seine Frau und Kinder zu vererben suchte. Sterne griff zur Geifsel, und schrieb seine Geschichte eines Wachtmantels, womit der Besitzer nicht zufrieden seyn wollte, wenn er nicht noch daraus einen Unterrock für seine Frau und ein Paar Hosen für seinen Sohn schneiden könnte;* (History of a watchcoat, with explanatory notes, *unter andern gedruckt London* 1788. 8.) *Die Satyre hatte die gewünschte Wirkung, und erregte die gröfsten Erwartungen, die auch bald durch die 4 ersten Theile des* Life and opinions of Tristram Shandy *befriediget wurden; das planloseste, aber launigste aller Bücher, dessen feine Anspielungen jedoch nur Sterne's vertrauteste Freunde ganz aufzufassen im Stande seyn mogten. Es erwarb seinem Verfasser den Ruhm des witzigsten Kopfes seiner Zeit, und den Besitz einer der einträglichsten Pfründen an der Kathedralkirche zu York. Wahrscheinlich hatte die Lektüre der Werke des Rabelais, wovon damals eine prächtige*

Folio-Ausgabe erschienen war, unserm **Sterne** *zuerst Veranlassung zu diesem humoristischen Werke gegeben; wenigstens beschäfftigte er sich damals blofs mit der Lektüre dieses Schriftstellers, und entzog sich fast allen Gesellschaften.* 1759 *erschienen die 4 letzten Theile des* Tristram, *wofür die Buchhändler, die sich mit den erstern für keinen Preis hatten befassen wollen, die ansehnlichsten Summen boten.* 1760 *traten die beiden ersten, und* 1766 *die beiden letzten Bände der Predigten an's Licht. Sie sind nachmals öfters gedruckt worden; die Ausgabe, welche wir vor uns haben, ist die zehnte, und führt den Titel:* The sermons of Mr. Yorick, 4 Vols. (London) 1790. *Sie tragen die reinste Moral in einem klassischen Stil vor, und werden bis auf die oft sonderbaren Wendungen, die sie mit allem, was aus der Feder dieses launigen Schriftstellers geflossen ist, gemein haben, von den Kunstrichtern für Meisterstücke gehalten. Nur tadelt man, dafs sie den Namen des bekannten Hofnarren aus Hamlet an der Stirn tragen.* 1765 *trat er eine Reise nach Italien an, in der Hoffnung seine Gesundheit wiederherzustellen.* 1767 *erschien sein* Sentimental Journey through France and Italy, London 2 Vols. 8. *Dafs diese, leider unvollendete Reisebeschreibung zu den vorzüglichsten Produkten der Englischen Literatur gehört, bedarf keiner Erwähnung. Die Nervenschwäche, woran der Verfasser seit mehreren Jahren gelitten hatte, nahm während seiner Reise so überhand, dafs sie bald nachher sein Leben endigte* (1768). *Seine heitere Laune begleitete ihn bis zum letzten Augenblick; er starb lächelnd über die Thorheiten der Menschen, und voll Gefühls für seine Freunde. Ein schwarzes Kleid, ein Paar sammetne Beinkleider und etwas Wäsche war alles, was er hinterliefs. Denn da er die letztern Jahre seines Lebens in London zubrachte, so war seine Pfründe in die Hände ungetreuer Verwalter gerathen, die seine Abneigung gegen die Ökonomie kannten und zu benutzen wufsten. Der Buchhändler* **Cadell**, *Verleger seiner Schriften, liefs ihn beisetzen, da die erwähnten Effekten zu einer anständigen Beerdigung nicht hinreichend waren. Nach seinem Tode erschienen die* Letters from Yorick to Eliza. **Sterne** *lernte diese Frau, eine Ostindierinn von Geburt, welche eigentlich* **Eliza Draper** *hiefs, und Gattinn* **Daniel Draper's**, *Esq. damaligen Raths in Bombay war, während ihres Aufenthalts in England, wohin sie sich ihrer schwächlichen Gesundheit wegen begeben hatte, kennen. Er*

gewann sie wegen ihres gebildeten Verstandes und ihres feinen, ganz dem seinigen ähnlichen Gefühls ungemein lieb, und hegte die zärtlichste Freundschaft für sie. Diese Bekanntschaft veranlaßte eine Reihe von Briefen, die er mit ihr wechselte, und die durchaus die reinste Platonische Liebe athmen. Die scherzhafte Überschrift ihrer Briefe an Sterne: My Bramin! *erklärt sich aus dem oben Angegebenen von selbst. Eliza Draper starb übrigens den 3ten August* 1778, *in einem Alter von* 35 *Jahren*). Ein anderes, erst nach seinem Tode herausgekommenes Werk führt den Titel:* The Koran, or the life, characters and sentiments of tria juncta in uno, M. N. A., or master of no arts, *und enthält humoristische Memoires über sein Leben. In der Zuschrift an einen Freund erklärt sich der Verfasser über den Titel seiner Schrift also:* Pray don't be alarmed at the word *Koran,* which I have chosen to make the title of these papers. I am not turned Mussulman; but I hate *appropriated names;* because they restrain the language too much, and are apt to lead to superstition. And I see no reason why my vision and vagaries have not as good a right to be called *Al Koran* or *The Koran,* as the inventions and impositions of Mahomet, which were styled so, merely as being *a collection of chapters* — for so the word in Arabic signifies. *Über die Benennung* tria juncta in uno *sagt Sterne im ersten Kapitel des* Koran: *Chance* has ever been my *fate.* My father never designed me any manner of education. He was a *brave soldier,* and despised it. What a power of courage must he have had! So I learned to read and write, by *chance.* I *miched* once to school; and picked up a little literature by *chance.* I never meant to marry, and yet it was my *luck* to get a wife. I never had any patron, but was provided for by *fortune.* — Chance, Luck and Fortune, then, have been my *Clotho, Atropos* and *Lachesis,* — and so I have assumed the cognomen of *Tria juncta in uno* — which is another chance also: as I never once thought of such a derivation, before this very instant. — *Die vollständigste Ausgabe von Sterne's sämmtlichen Werken ist unter dem Titel:* the Works

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*) *Siehe Wendeborn's Reise nach einigen westlichen und südlichen Theilen Englands 1ster Theil S.* 251 *und* 252. *Der berühmte Bildhauer John Bacon (geb.* 1740, *gest.* 1799) *verfertigte ihr Denkmal im Jahre* 1778. *Es befindet sich im Dom zu Manchester.*

of Laurence Sterne, A. M. in eight Volumes, (London?) 1795 *erschienen. Der erste, zweite und dritte Band enthält den* Tristram Shandy, *der vierte und fünfte die* Sermons; *im sechsten ist außer dem* Koran, *noch* a political Romance addressed to — — Esq. of York, *und* a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Sterne to Eugenius *enthalten. Im siebenten Theile findet man* a Sentimental Journey through France and Italy, *und eine ungemein wohl gelungene Fortsetzung dieser Reise* (Yorick's sentimental Journey continued by Eugenius) *von einem uns unbekannten Verfasser, der aber der Vorrede nach ein vertrauter Freund unsers Sterne gewesen seyn will. Der achte Theil endlich begreift die von Sterne's Tochter, der nachmaligen Mrs. Medalle* (1775) *herausgegebenen Briefe ihres Vaters an seine vertrautesten Freunde, in sich; diesen folgen einige in demselben Jahre von einem Ungenannten bekannt gemachte Briefe unsers Verfassers, und die Briefe von* Yorick to Eliza. *In der Einleitung zu diesen Briefen findet man einige Nachrichten von diesem merkwürdigen Frauenzimmer. Den Beschluß dieses Theils macht* a Fragment in the manner of Rabelais. — *Bekanntlich hat Bode die meisten Schriften von Sterne in's Deutsche übersetzt. Der* Tristram Shandy, *erschien Hamburg* 1776, *(2te Aufl.) in* 9 *Bänden in kl.* 8., *die empfindsame Reise zuerst Hamburg und Bremen* 1768, 2 *Bände kl.* 8., *und Sterne's Briefe gleichfalls von Bode Hamburg* 1775. 8. *Eine neue Übersetzung des* Tristram Shandy *ist zu Leipzig* 1801 *herausgekommen. Sterne war eben so sehr Menschenfreund, als unterhaltender Gesellschafter und witziger Schriftsteller. Er schildert uns seinen Charakter mit liebenswürdiger Naivität in der Person Yorick's, seines Lieblingsnamens* (Tristram Shandy, Vol. I. chapt. 11.) *Seine Gestalt und Tracht waren so originell, daß man sich beim ersten Anblick nur mit Mühe des Lächelns enthalten konnte. Er war verheirathet, aber nicht lange. Seine Frau trennte sich von ihm, und ging in ein Französisches Kloster. Weitläuftigere biographische Nachrichten von ihm findet man unter andern in der vor der vorhin angeführten Ausgabe seiner sämmtlichen Werke befindlichen Biographie, desgleichen in dem Brittischen Plutarch (Band* 7 *und* 8*) mit literarischen Anmerkungen von Meusel. Züllichau* 1794. 8. *Die Berlinische Monatsschrift (Februar* 1795*) enthält eine sehr lesenswerthe Abhandlung über die Quellen, woraus Sterne schöpfte, nach einem Englischen Aufsatze des Dr. Ferriar, der sich in dessen*

Illustrations of Sterne with other essays and verses, London 1798 *befindet. Ein Dr. Whyte hat zu beweisen gesucht, dass Sterne's Werke irreligiös und unmoralisch wären. Seine Schrift führt den Titel:* the Fallacy of french freedom and dangerous tendency of Sterne's writings. *Übrigens existiren auch Auszüge von Sterne's Schriften unter dem Titel:* Beauties of Sterne.

1) Letter from Yorick to Eliza.

My dear Eliza,

I have been within the verge of the gates of death. — I was ill the last time, I wrote to you; and apprehensive of what would be the consequence. — My fears were but too well founded; for in ten minutes after I dispatched my letter, this poor, fine-spun frame of Yorick's gave way, and I broke a vessel in my breast, and could not stop the loss of blood till four this morning. I have filled all thy India handkerchiefs with it. — It came, I think, from my heart! I fell asleep, through weakness. At six I awoke, with the bosom of my shirt steeped in tears. I dreamt I was sitting under the canopy of Indolence, and that thou camest into the room with a shaul in thy hand, and toldst me, my spirit had flown to thee in the Downs*), with tidings of my fate; and that you were come to administer what consolation filial affection could bestow, and to receive my parting breath and blessing. — With that you folded the shaul about my waist, and, kneeling, supplicated my attention. I awoke; but in what a frame! Oh! my God! my God! „But thou wilt number my tears, and put them all into thy bottle." — Dear girl, I see thee, — thou art for ever present to my fancy, embracing my feeble knees, and raising thy fine eyes to bid me be of comfort: and when I talk to Lydia, the words of Esau, as uttered by thee, perpetually ring in my ears, — „Bless me even also, my father!" — Blessing attend thee, thou child of my heart!

My bleeding is quite stopped, and I feel the principle of life strong within me; so be not alarmed, Eliza — I know I shall do well. I have eat my breakfast with hunger, and

*) *S. Seite 87.*

I write to thee with a pleasure arising from that prophetic impression in my imagination, that „all will terminate to our heart's content." Comfort thyself eternally with this persuasion, „that the best of beings, as thou hast sweetly expressed it, could not, by a combination of accidents, produce such a chain of events, merely to be the source of misery to the leading person engaged in them." The observation was very applicable, very good, and very elegantly expressed. I wish my memory did justice to the wording of it. — Who taught you the art of writing so sweetly, Eliza? — You have absolutely exalted it to a science! When I am in want of ready cash, and ill health will permit my genius to exert itself, I shall print your letters, as finished essays „by an unfortunate Indian lady." The style is new; and would almost be a sufficient recommendation for their selling well, without merit — but their sense, natural ease, and spirit, is not to be equalled, I believe, in this section of the globe; nor, I will answer for it, by any of your country-women in your's. — I have shewed your letter to Mrs. B—, and to half the literati in town. — You shall not be angry with me for it, because I meant to do you honour by it. — You cannot imagine, how many admirers your epistolary productions have gained you, that never viewed your external merits. I only wonder where thou could'st acquire thy graces, thy goodness, thy accomplishments — so connected! so educated! Nature has surely studied to make thee her peculiar care, — for thou art, and not in my eyes alone, the best and fairest of all her works.

And so, this is the last letter thou art to receive from me, because the Earl of Chatham*), I read in the papers, is got to the Downs**); and the wind, I find, is fair. If so — blessed woman! take my last, last farewell! Cherish the remembrance of me; think how I esteem, nay, how affectionately I love thee, and what a price I set upon thee! Adieu, adieu! and with my adieu — let me give thee one streight rule of conduct, that thou hast heard from my lips in a thousand forms — but I concenter it in one word:

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*) *Name des Schiffs.* **) *Den 7ten April* 1767.

Reverence Thyself!

Adieu, once more, Eliza! May no anguish of heart plant a wrinkle upon thy face, till I behold it again! May no doubt or misgivings disturb the serenity of thy mind, or awaken a painful thought about thy children — for they are Yorick's — and Yorick is thy friend for ever! — Adieu, adieu, adieu!

P. S. Remember, that Hope shortens all journies, by sweetening them; — so sing my little stanza on the subject, with the devotion of an hymn, every morning, when thou arisest, and thou wilt eat thy breakfast with more comfort for it.

Blessings, rest, and Hygeia go with thee! May'st thou soon return, in peace and affluence to illumine my night! I am, and shall be, the last to deplore thy loss, and will be the first to congratulate, and hail thy return. —

Fare thee well!

ELIZA TO YORICK.

My Bramin,

This is the last letter thou wilt receive from me, while I am within sight of the British shore — the land of freedom, and benevolence — the land, which — to its own glory be it spoken — gave my Yorick being.

I was terrified when I opened your last letter; — your illness gave me the most genuine concern.

To break a blood-vessel in thy breast — dreadful! — I was alarmed at the intelligence, and my blood thrilled in my veins, and curdled near my heart, when I read it.

O that my India handkerchiefs had been styptic, to give thee ease. — I was happy to read you had slept — but your dream — heaven render it improphetic — heaven keep me from the painful office of administering to your dissolution.

Thy tears I will treasure in my bottle, or at least, I will weep for thee — fill it with my tears, and call them thine, as they are unfeignedly shed upon thy account.

Your imagination images to my feelings — you behold me in fancy in the very supplicating posture I should assume, were I near you — I should embrace! embrace! your knees, and look, as if I bade you be of comfort — for I should only look — I should be unable to speak.

I join with thee in blessing the child of thy heart — thy Lydia.

And all praise be given to that bountiful Being, who ha healed thy disorder, and stopped thy bleeding — who bad thee again „feel the principle of life strong within thee."

All will certainly terminate to our heart's content — to think otherwise, is to entertain an ill opinion of an omnipotent Being — who is all wise, all mercifull and all good whose benignity is equal to his power, and both are unbounded.

You may inquire, who taught me the art of writing — it was even my Yorick! — if I have any claim to merit, if my stile is, as you are pleased to say, new — if the ease and spirit of my compositions are not to be equalled — the praise is entirely due to yourself.

I have taken the utmost pains to steal your sentiments — your manner — the delicacy of your expressions — the easy flow of your thoughts — the purity of your diction — in fine, I have in my writings aimed as much as possible to be Yorick.

But I cannot think my stile equal to what your prejudice in my favour persuades you it is; — I can perceive manifest faults in my compositions myself. — I am not laying a trap for future plaudits, indeed I am not. — I beg that our correspondence may be from the heart, not of the heart — therefore no compliments.

I must, however, chide — I must, my Yorick, — for shewing my letters. — You tell me, you have shewn them to Mrs. B —, and to half the literati in town; — indeed you have been to blame — so to expose your Eliza's weakness.

She bares her heart to thee — she lays it entirely open — but she would not have it shewn so naked to every one in the fullness of her sincerity. — Many thinks may slip from her unsuspecting pen, which she would not have known to any one, who could not, like thee, make great allowances in her favour — and pardon the weakness of her nature.

You say, „you cannot imagine, how many admirers your epistolary productions have gained you."

False flattery! — their encomiums are illusive — it is to you their compliments are paid — they find you are blind to my errors — they perceive you implicitly admire all that

comes from me — they pretend to coincide with your opinion, not to give you any uneasiness — they admire — they reverence you — they will not mortify you, by declaring that any being you are pleased to think perfect, is not so.

It is the respect due to the merits of my Yorick, that occasions the many compliments paid to the trifling deserts of his Eliza.

We are in the Downs — the wind is fair — we shall sail this evening — the captain has just informed me so — I therefore took this opportunity to pour the effusions of my heart to thee in haste.

Farewell, worthiest of men — feeling being, thou art all sentiment — farewell — I will — I will cherish the remembrance of thee! — You tell me how you esteem me — how affectionately you love me — what a price you set upon me.

I esteem thee with equal ardour — I love thee with equal affection — I prize thee as ardently — let me be ever dear to thy heart, and an inhabitant of thy memory.

I will „reverence myself" for my Yorick's sake — I will, my Yorick, who is my friend for ever.

I will sing thy little stanza to Hope in my matin and evening orisons — yet I cannot help deploring our separation.

Farewell, my Bramin, my faithful monitor, farewell! May prosperity attend thee, and peace crown thy days with felicity!

Thine affectionately,
Thine everlastingly,
Adieu, adieu, adieu! Eliza.

P. S. I will, if possible, write by some ship bound to England.

2) The Story of Le Fevre*).

It was some time in the summer of that year in which Dendermond**) was taken by the allies***), — which was about seven years before my father came into the country, —

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*) Tristram Shandy, Volume VI. chap. 6. **) *Dendermonde, eine Festung im Königreich der Niederlande.* ***) *Im Jahre* 1706.

and about as many, after the time, that my uncle Toby and Trim had privately decamped from my fathers house in town, in order to lay some of the finest sieges to some of the finest fortified cities in Europe — when my uncle Toby was one evening getting his supper, with Trim sitting behind him at a small sideboard; — the landlord of a little inn in the village came into the parlour with an empty phial in his hand to beg a glass or two of sack; 'Tis for a poor gentleman, — I think, of the army, said the landlord, who has been taken ill at my house four days ago, and has never held up his head since, or had a desire to taste any thing, till just now, that he has a fancy for a glass of sack and a thin toast, — I think, says he, taking his hand from his forehead, it would comfort me. — —

— If I could neither beg, borrow, or buy such a thing, — added the landlord, — I would almost steal it for the poor gentleman, he is so ill. — I hope in God he will still mend, continued he — we are all of us concerned for him.

Thou art a good-natured soul, I will answer for thee, cried my uncle Toby; and thou shalt drink the poor gentleman's health in a glass of sack thyself, — and take a couple of bottles with my service, and tell him he is heartily welcome to them, and to a dozen more if they will do him good.

Though I am persuaded, said my uncle Toby, as the landlord shut the door, he is a very compassionate fellow — Trim, — yet I cannot help entertaining a high opinion of his guest too; there must be something more than common in him, that in so short a time should win so much upon the affections of his host; and of his whole family, added the corporal, for they are all concerned for him. — Step after him, said my uncle Toby, — do Trim, — and ask if he knows his name.

I have quite forgot it truly, said the landlord, coming back into the parlour with the corporal, — but I can ask his son again. — Has he a son with him then? said my uncle Toby. — A boy, replied the landlord, of about eleven or twelve years of age; — but the poor creature has tasted almost as little as his father; he does nothing but mourn and lament for him night and day: he has not stirred from the bed-side these two days.

My uncle Toby laid down his knife and fork, and thrust his plate from before him, as the landlord gave him the ac-

count; and Trim, without being ordered, took away without saying one word, and in a few minutes after brought him his pipe and tobacco.

— Stay in the room a little, said my uncle Toby. — Trim! — said my uncle Toby, after he lighted his pipe, and smoaked about a dozen whiffs. — Trim came in front of his master and made his bow; — my uncle Toby smoaked on, and said no more. — Corporal! said my uncle Toby — the corporal made his bow. — My uncle Toby proceeded no farther, but finished his pipe.

Trim! said my uncle Toby, I have a project in my head, as it is a bad night, of wrapping myself up warm in my roquelaure, and paying a visit to this poor gentleman. — Your honour's roquelaure, replied the corporal, has not once been had on, since the night before your honour received your wound, when we mounted guard in the trenches before the gate of St. Nicholas; — and besides it is so cold and rainy a night, that what with the roquelaure, and what with the weather, 'twill be enough to give your honour your death, and bring on your honour's torment in your groin. I fear so, replied my uncle Toby; but I am not at rest in my mind, Trim, since the account the landlord has given me. — I wish I had not known so much of this affair, — added my uncle Toby, — or that I had known more of it: — how shall we manage it? Leave it, an't please your honour*), to me, quoth the corporal; — I'll take my hat and stick, and go to the house and reconnoitre, and act accordingly; and I will bring your honour a full account in an hour. — Thou shalt go Trim, said my uncle Toby, and here's a shilling for thee to drink with his servant. — I shall get it all out of him, said the corporal, shutting the door.

My uncle Toby filled his second pipe; and had it not been, that he now and then wandered from the point, with considering whether it was not full as well to have the cur-

*) an't please your honour, *eine Redensart, welche der gemeine Mann in England etwa in dem Sinne gebraucht, wie bey uns das: Halten zu Gnaden; nichts für ungut u. dgl.;* an *steht für* if, *ist aber in diesem Sinne veraltet.* Your honour *war der Titel, den man sonst den vornehmsten Personen gab. Gegenwärtig bedienen sich dieser Anrede noch manche Bedienten gegen ihre Herren, geringe Leute gegen Vornehmere, die Matrosen gegen ihren Capitän u. s. w.*

tain of the tenaile a straight line, as a crooked one, — he might be said to have thought of nothing else but poor Le Fevre and his boy the whole time he smoaked it.

It was not till my uncle Toby had knocked the ashes out of his third pipe, that corporal Trim returned from the inn, and gave him the following account.

I despaired at first, said the corporal, of being able to bring back your honour any kind of intelligence concerning the poor sick lieutenant. — Is he in the army then? said my uncle, Toby. — He is; said the corporal. — And in what regiment? said my uncle Toby. — I'll tell your honour, replied the corporal, every thing straight forwards, as I learnt it. — Then, Trim, I'll fill another pipe, said my uncle Toby, and not interrupt thee till thou hast done; so sit down at thy ease, Trim, in the window-seat, and begin thy story again. The corporal made his old bow, which generally spoke as plain as a bow could speak it. — „Your honour is good:" — and having done that, he sat down, as he was ordered, and began the story to my uncle Toby over again in pretty near the same words.

I despaired at first, said the corporal, of being able to bring back any intelligence to your honour about the lieutenant and his son; for when I asked where his servant was, from whom I made myself sure of knowing every thing which was proper to be asked, — That's a right distinction, Trim, said my uncle Toby. — I was answered, an't please your honour, that he had no servant with him; — that he had come to the inn with hired horses, which, upon finding himself unable to proceed, (to join, I suppose, the regiment) he had dismissed the morning after he came. If I get better, my dear, said he, as he gave his purse to his son to pay the man, — we can hire horses from hence. — But alas! the poor gentleman will never get from hence, said the landlady to me, — for I heard the deathwatch all night long, — and when he dies, the youth, his son, will certainly die with him; for he is broken-hearted already.

I was hearing this account, continued the corporal, when the youth came into the kitchen, to order the thin toast the landlord spoke of; — but I will do it for my father myself, said the youth — Pray let me save you the trouble, young gentleman, said I, taking up a fork for the purpose, and offering him my chair to sit down upon by the fire, whilst

I did it. — I believe, Sir, said he, very modestly, I can please him best myself. — I am sure, said I, his honour will not like the toast the worse for being toasted by an old soldier. — The youth took hold of my hand, and instantly burst into tears. — Poor youth! said my uncle Toby, — he has been bred up from an infant in the army, and the name of a soldier, Trim, sounded in his ears like the name of a friend; — I wish I had him here. — I never, in the longest march, said the corporal, had so great a mind to my dinner, as I had to cry with him for company: — what could be the matter with me, an't please your honour? Nothing in the world, Trim, said my uncle Toby, blowing his nose; — but that thou art a good-natured fellow.

When I gave him the toast, continued the corporal, I thought it was proper to tell him I was captain Shandy's servant, and that your honour (though a stranger) was extremely concerned for his father; and that if there was any thing in your house or cellar — (and thou might'st have added my purse too, said my uncle Toby) — he was heartily welcome to it: — He made a very low bow, (which was meant to your honour) but no answer, — for his heart was full — so he went up stairs with the toast; I warrant you, my dear, said I, as I opened the kitchen-door, your father will be well again. — Mr. Yorick's curate *) was smoaking

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*) Curate *bezeichnet einen Substituten oder Amtsvertreter eines eigentlichen Pfarrers. Viele* Rectors *nämlich besuchen nur ein oder einige Male jährlich ihre Pfarren, und halten sich den übrigen Theil des Jahres in London, oder wo es ihnen sonst beliebt, auf. Der* Curate *muſs unterdessen alle Amtsverrichtungen besorgen. Auch die* Vicars, *welche indessen vom Bischofe zur Residenz d. i. zum Aufenthalt auf ihren Pfarren gezwungen werden können, halten sich* Curates. *Ein solcher Mann wurde sonst nur sehr kärglich bezahlt, und erhielt jährlich etwa 30 bis 40 Pfund; jetzt aber, seitdem die* Rectors *und* Vicars *sich nicht mehr allein mit den* Curates *abfinden, sondern auch der Bischof Theil an den Unterhandlungen nimmt, ist die Lage eines* Curate *etwas besser, und seine Einkünfte stehen mit denen des eigentlichen Pfarrers mehr im Verhältniſs. — Ein* Rector *und* Vicar *unterscheiden sich übrigens so von einander, daſs jener den ganzen Zehnten, d. h. den zehnten Theil von allem, was ein* Farmer *oder Landmann gewinnt oder erbaut, folglich die zehnte Garbe, das zehnte Schwein u. s. w. erhält, es sey denn, daſs einer dieser Artikel durch eine Parliamentsakte ausgenommen ist; die* Vicars *bekommen dagegen blos den kleinen Zehnten. Man theilt nämlich den Zehnten in den groſsen* (great tythes), *wohin man bloſs Getraide und*

a pipe by the kitchen fire, — but said not a word good or bad to comfort the youth. — I thought it was wrong, added the corporal. — I think so too, said my uncle Toby.

When the lieutenant had taken his glass of sack and toast, he felt himself a little revived, and sent down into the kitchen, to let me know, that in about ten minutes he should be glad if I would step up stairs. — I believe, said the landlord, he is going to say his prayers, — for there was a book laid upon the chair by his bed-side, and as I shut the door, I saw his son take up a cushion.

I thought, said the curate, that you gentlemen of the army, Mr. Trim, never said your prayers at all. — I heard the poor gentleman say his prayers last night, said the landlady, very devoutly, and with my own ears: or I could not have believed it. — Are you sure of it? replied the curate. — A soldier, an' please your reverence, said I, prays as often (of his own accord) as a parson; — and when he is fighting for his king, and for his own life, and for his honour too, he has the most reason to pray to God of any one in the whole world. — 'Twas well said of thee, Trim, said my uncle Toby. — But when a soldier, said I, an' please your reverence, has been standing for twelve hours together in the trenches, up to his knees in cold water, — or engaged, said I, for months together in long and dangerous marches; — harrassed, perhaps, in his rear to day, — harrassing others to-morrow; — detached here; — countermanded there; — resting this night out upon his arms; — beat up in his shirt the next; — benumbed in his joints; — perhaps without straw in his tent to kneel on; — must say his prayers how and when he can. — I believe, said I, — for I was piqued, quoth the corporal, for the reputation of the army. — I believe, an't please your reverence, said I, that when a soldier gets time to pray, — he prays as heartily as a parson*) — though not with all his fuss and hypocrisy. — Thou should'st not have said that, Trim, said my

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Wiesen rechnet, und in den ***kleinen*** (small tythes), *zu welchem alle übrigen Naturerzeugnisse gehören. (****Siehe Küttner's Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Innern von England und seiner Einwohner****, 15tes Stück, S. 10.)* *) parson, *ein aus dem Lateinischen* (persona publica) *abgekürztes Wort, ist nicht die ehrenvollste Benennung eines Geistlichen und entspricht so ziemlich unserm deutschen:* ***Pfaffe.***

uncle Toby, — for God only knows who is a hypocrite, and who is not: — At the great and general review of us all, corporal, at the day of judgment, (and not till then) — — it will be seen who has done his duties in this world — — and who has not; and we shall be advanced, Trim, accordingly. — — I hope we shall, said Trim — It is in the scripture, said my uncle Toby; and I will shew it thee to-morrow: — In the mean time we may depend upon it, Trim, for our comfort, said my uncle Toby, that God Almighty is so good and just a governor of the world, that if we have but done our duties in it, — it will never be enquired into, whether we have done them in a red coat or a black one: — I hope not, said the corporal. — But go on, Trim, said my uncle Toby, with thy story.

When I went up, continued the corporal, into the lieutenant's room, which I did not do till the expiration of the ten minutes — he was lying in his bed with his head raised upon his hand, with his elbow upon the pillow, and a clean white cambric handkerchief beside it; — the youth was just stooping down to take up the cushion, upon which I suppose he had been kneeling, — the book was laid upon the bed, and as he rose, in taking up the cushion with one hand, he reached out his other to take it away at the same time. — Let it remain there, my dear, said the lieutenant.

He did not offer to speak to me, till I had walked up close to his bedside: — If you are captain Shandy's servant, said he, you must present my thanks to your master, with my little boy's thanks along with them, for his courtesy to me; — if he was of Leven's*) — said the lieutenant. — I told him your honour was — Then, said he, I served three campaigns with him in Flanders, and remember him — but 'tis most likely, as I had not the honour of any acquaintance with him, that he knows nothing of me. — You will tell him, however, that the person his good-nature has laid under obligations to him, is one Le Fevre, a lieutenant in Angus's — but he knows me not — said he, a second time, musing; possibly he may my story — added he — pray tell the captain, I was the ensign at Breda, whose wife was most unfortunately killed with a musket shot, as she lay in my arms in my tent. — I remember the story, an't please your honour,

*) *Nämlich* regiment; *s. auch im folgenden*: of Angus's.

said I, very well, — Do you so? said he, wiping his eyes with his handkerchief, — then well may I. — In saying this, he drew a little ring out of his bosom, which seemed tied with a black ribband about his neck, and kissed it twice; — here, Billy, said he, — the boy flew across the room to the bedside, and falling down upon his knee, took the ring in his hand, and kissed it too, — then kissed his father, and sat down upon the bed and wept.

I wish, said my uncle Toby, with a deep sigh, — I wish, Trim, I was asleep.

Your honour, replied the corporal, is too much concerned; — shall I pour your honour out a glass of sack to your pipe? — Do, Trim, said my uncle Toby.

I remember, said my uncle Toby, sighing again, the story of the ensign and his wife, with a circumstance his modesty omitted; — and particularly well that he, as well as she, upon some account or other (I forget what) was universally pitied by the whole regiment; — but finish the story thou art upon: — 'Tis finish'd already, said the corporal, — for I could stay no longer, — so wished his honour a good night; young Le Fevre rose from off the bed, and saw me to the bottom of the stairs; and as we went down together, told me, they had come from Ireland, and were on their route to join the regiment in Flanders. — But alas! said the corporal, — the lieutenant's last day's march is over. — Then what is to become of his poor boy? cried my uncle Toby.

It was to my uncle Toby's eternal honour, — though I tell it only for the sake of those, who, when cooped in betwixt a natural and a positive law, know not for their souls, which way in the world to turn themselves — that notwithstanding my uncle Toby was warmly engaged at that time in carrying on the siege of Dendermond, parallel with the allies, who pressed theirs on so vigorously, that they scarce allowed him time to get his dinner — that nevertheless he gave up Dendermond, though he had already made a lodgement upon the counterscarp; and bent his whole thoughts towards the private distresses at the inn; and except that he ordered the garden-gate to be bolted up by which he might be said to have turned the siege of Dendermond into a blockade, — he left Dendermond to itself, — to be relieved or not by the French king, as the French king thought good; and only considered how he himself should relieve the poor lieutenant

and his son. — That kind Being, who is a friend to the friendless, shall recompense thee for this.

Thou hast left this matter short, said my uncle Toby to the corporal, as he was putting him to bed, — and I will tell thee in what, Trim. — In the first place, when thou madest an offer of my services to Le Fevre, — as sickness and travelling are both expensive, and thou knowest he was but a poor lieutenant, with a son to subsist as well as himself, out of his pay, — that thou didst not make an offer to him of my purse; because, had he stood in need, thou knowest, Trim, he had been as welcome to it as myself. — Your honour knows, said the corporal, I had no orders; — True, quoth my uncle Toby, — thou didst very right, Trim, as a soldier, — but certainly very wrong as a man.

In the second place, for which indeed, thou hast the same excuse, continued my uncle Toby, — when thou offeredst him whatever was in my house, — thou shouldst have offered him my house too: — A sick brother-officer*) should have the best quarters, Trim; and if we had him with us, — we could tend and look to him: — Thou art an excellent nurse, thyself, Trim, — and what with thy care of him, and the old woman's, and his boy's, and mine together, we might recruit him again at once, and set him upon his legs. —

In a fortnight or three weeks, added my uncle Toby, smiling, — he might march. — He will never march, an please your honour, in this world, said the corporal: — He will march; said my uncle Toby, rising up from the side of the bed, with one shoe off: — An' please your honour, said the corporal, he will never march but to his grave: — He shall march, cried my uncle Toby, marching the foot which had a shoe on, though without advancing an inch, — he shall march to his regiment. — He cannot stand it**), said the corporal. — He shall be supported, said my uncle Toby; — He'll drop at last, said the corporal; and what will become of his boy? — He shall not drop, said my uncle Toby, firmly. — A-well-o day, — do what we can for him said Trim, maintaining his point; — the poor soul will die — He shall not die, by G —, cried my uncle Toby.

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*) brother-officer. Brother *druckt die Mitgenossenschaft in allerlei Verhältnissen aus. So sagt man:* a brother-student, a brother-author, *u. s. w.* **) *So viel als:* he cannot bear it, *er kann es nicht aushalten.*

— The *Accusing Spirit* which flew up to heaven's chancery with the oath, blush'd as he gave it in — and the *Recording Angel* as he wrote it down, dropp'd a tear upon the word, and blotted it out for ever.

— My uncle Toby went to his bureau, — put his purse into his breeches-pocket, and having ordered the corporal to go early in the morning for a physician, he went to bed and fell asleep.

The sun looked bright the morning after, to every eye in the village, but Le Fevre's and his afflicted son's; the hand of dead press'd heavy upon his eye-lids, — and hardly could the wheel at the cistern turn round its circle*), — when my uncle Toby, who had rose up an hour before his wonted time, entered the lieutenant's room, and without preface or apology, sat himself down upon the chair by the bed-side, and independent of all modes and customs, opened the curtain in the manner an old friend and brother-officer would have done it, and asked him how he did, — how he had rested in the night, — what was his complaint, — where was his pain, — and what he could do to help him? — and without giving him time to answer any one of the inquiries, went on and told him of the little plan which he had been concerting with the corporal the night before for him. —

— You shall go home directly, Le Fevre, said my uncle Toby, to my house, — and we'll send for a doctor to see what's the matter, — and we'll have an apothecary, — and the corporal shall be your nurse; and I'll be your servant, Le Fevre.

There was a frankness in my uncle Toby, — not the effect of familiarity, — but the cause of it, — which let you at once into his soul, and shewed you the goodness of his nature; to this, there was something in his looks, and voice, and manner, superadded, which eternally beckoned to the unfortunate to come and take shelter under him; so that before my uncle Toby had half finished the kind offers he was making to the father, had the son insensibly pressed up close to his knees and had taken hold of the breast of his coat, and was pulling it towards him. — The blood and spirits of Le Fevre, which were waxing cold and slow within him, and were retreating to their last citadel, the heart —

*) *Vielleicht eine Anspielung auf Prediger Salomonis, Kap. 12, 6.*

rallied back, the film forsook his eyes for a moment — he looked up wishfully in my uncle Toby's face, — then cast a look upon his boy, — and that ligament, fine as it was, — was never broken. —

Nature instantly ebb'd again, — the film returned to its place, — the pulse fluttered — stopp'd — went on — throbb'd — stopp'd again — moved — stopp'd — shall I go on? — No.

3) Inquiry after Happiness*).

There be many that say, who will shew us any good? — Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.

Psalm IV. 6.**)

The great pursuit of man is after happiness: it is the first and strongest desire of his nature; — in every stage of his life, he searches for it, as for hid treasure; — courts it under a thousand different shapes, — and though perpetually disappointed, — still persists, runs after and enquires for it afresh — asks every passenger that comes in his way: *Who will shew him any good?* — who will assist him in the attainment of it, or direct him to the discovery of this great end of all his wishes?

He is told by one, to search for it among the more gay and youthful pleasures of life, in scenes of mirth and sprightliness, where happiness ever presides, and is ever to be known by the joy and laughter which he will see at once painted in her looks.

A second, with a graver aspect, points out to the costly dwellings which pride and extravagance have erected: — tells the enquirer that the object he is in search of inhabits there; — that happiness lives only in company with the great, in the midst of much pomp and outward state. That he will easily find her out by the coat of many colours she has on, and the great luxury and expence of equipage and furniture with which she always sits surrounded.

The miser blesses God! — wonders how any one would mislead, and wilfully put him upon so wrong a scent — convinces him that happiness and extravagance never inhabited under the same roof; — that if he would not be disappointed

*) Yorick's Sermons. **) *Nach Luthers Uebersetzung v. 7.*

in his search, he must look into the plain and thrifty dwelling of the prudent man, who knows and understands the worth of money, and cautiously lays it up against an evil hour: that it is not the prostitution of wealth upon the passions, or the parting with it at all, that constitutes happiness — but that it is the keeping it together, and the Having and Holding it fast to him and his heirs for ever, which are the chief attributes that form this great idol of human worship, to which so much incense is offered up every day.

The epicure, though he easily rectifies so gross a mistake, yet at the same time he plunges him, if possible, into a greater; for hearing the object of his pursuit to be happiness, and knowing of no other happiness than what is seated immediately in the senses — he sends the enquirer there; — tells him 'tis in vain to search elsewhere for it than where nature herself has placed it — in the indulgence and gratification of the appetites, which are given us for that end; and in a word — if he will not take his opinion in the matter, — he may trust the word of a much wiser man who has assured us — that there is nothing better in this world, than that a man should eat and drink and rejoice in his works, and make his soul enjoy good in his labour — for that is his portion.

To rescue him from this brutal experiment — ambition takes him by the hand and carries him into the world, — shews him all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them — points out the many ways of advancing his fortune and raising himself to honour, — lays before his eyes all the charms and bewitching temptations of power, and asks if there can be any happiness in this world like that of being caressed, courted, flattered and followed?

To close all, the philosopher meets him bustling in the full career of this pursuit — stops him — tells him, if he is in search of happiness, he is far gone out of his way.

That this deity has long been banished from noise and tumults, where there was no rest found for her, and was fled into solitude far from all commerce of the world; and in a word, if he would find her, he must leave this busy and intriguing scene, and go back to that peaceful scene of retirement and books, from which he at first set out.

In this circle too often does a man run, tries all experiments, and generally sits down weary and dissatisfied with

them all at last, in utter despair of ever accomplishing what he wants — nor knowing what to trust to after so many disappointments; or where to lay the fault, whether in the incapacity of his own nature, or the insufficiency of the enjoyments themselves.

In this uncertain and perplexed state — without knowledge which way to turn or where to betake ourselves for refuge — so often abused and deceived by the many who pretend thus to shew us any good — Lord! says the psalmist, lift up the light of thy countenance upon us. Send us some rays of thy grace and heavenly wisdom, in this benighted search after happiness, to direct us safely to it. O God! let us not wander for ever without a guide in this dark region in endless pursuit of our mistaken good, but enlighten our eyes that we sleep not in death — open, to us the comforts of thy holy word and religion — lift up the light of thy countenance upon us, — and make us know the joy and satisfaction of living in the true faith and fear of Thee, which only can carry us to this haven of rest where we would be — that sure haven where true joys are to be found, which will at length not only answer all our expectations — but satisfy the most unbounded of our wishes for ever and ever.

The words thus opened, naturally reduce the remaining part of the discourse under two heads. — The first part of the verse — „there be many that say, who will shew us any good?" — To make some reflections upon the insufficiency of most of our enjoyments towards the attainment of happiness, upon some of the most received plans on which 'tis generally sought.

The examination of which will lead us up to the source, and true secret of all happiness, suggested to us in the latter part of the verse — „Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us" — that there can be no real happiness without religion and virtue, and the assistance of God's grace and Holy Spirit to direct our lives in the true pursuit of it.

Let us inquire into the disappointments of human happiness, on some of the most received plans on which 'tis generally sought for and expected, by the bulk of mankind.

There is hardly any subject more exhausted, or which at one time or other has afforded more matter for argument and declamation, than this one, of the insufficiency of our

enjoyments. Scarce a reformed sensualist from Solomon down to our own days, who has not in some fits of repentance or disappointment uttered some sharp reflection upon the emptiness of human pleasure, and of the vanity of vanities which discovered itself in all the pursuits of mortal man. — But the mischief has been, that though so many good things have been said, they have generally had the fate to be considered either as the overflowings of disgust from sated appetites which could no longer relish the pleasures of life, or as the declamatory opinions of recluse and splenetic men who had never tasted them at all, and consequently where thought no judges of the matter. So that 'tis no great wonder, if the greatest part of such reflections, however just in themselves and founded on truth and on knowledge of the world, are found to leave little impression where the imagination was already heated with great expectations of future happiness; and that the best lectures that have been read upon the vanity of the world, so seldom stop a man in the pursuit of the object of his desire or give him half the conviction, that the possession of it will, and what the experience of his own life, or a careful observation upon the life of others, do at length generally confirm to us all.

Let us endeavour to try the cause upon this issue; and instead of recurring to the common arguments; or taking any one's word in the case, let us trust to matter of fact, and if upon enquiry, it appears that the actions of mankind are not to be accounted for upon any other principle, but this of the insufficiency of our enjoyments, 'twill go farther towards the etablishment of the truth of this part of the discourse, than a thousand speculative arguments, which might be offered upon the occasion.

Now, if we take a survey of the life of man from the time he is come to reason, to the latest decline of it in old age, — we shall find him engaged, and generally hurried on in such a succession of different pursuits, and different opinions of things, through the different stages of his life, as will admit of no explication but this, that he finds no rest for the sole of his foot, on any of the plans where he has been led to expect it.

The moment he is got loose from tutors and governors and is left to judge for himself, and pursue this scheme his own way — his first thoughts are generally full of the mighty

happiness which he is going to enter upon, from the free enjoyment of the pleasures in which he sees others of his age and fortune engaged.

In consequence of this — take notice, how his imagination is caught by every glittering appearance that flatters this expectation. — Observe what impressions are made upon his senses, by diversions, music, dress, and beauty — and how his spirits are upon the wing, flying in pursuit of them; that you would think he could never have enough.

Leave him to himself a few years, till the edge of appetite is worn down — and you will scarce know him again. You will find him entered into engagements, and setting up for a man of business and conduct, talking of no other happiness but what centers in projects of making the most of this world, and providing for his children and children's children after them. Examine his notions, he will tell you, that the gayer pleasures of youth are only fit for those who know not how to dispose of themselves and time to better advantage. That however fair and promising they might appear to a man unpractised in them — they were no better than a life of folly and impertinence and so far from answering your expectations of happiness, 'twas well if you escaped without pain. — That in every experiment he had tried, he had found more bitter than sweet, and for the little pleasure one could snatch —, it too often left a terrible sting behind it: Besides, did the balance lie on the other side, he would tell you there could be no true satisfaction where a life runs on in so giddy a circle, out of which a wise man should extricate himself as soon as he can, that he may begin to look forwards. — That it becomes a man of character and consequence to lay aside childish things, to take care of his interests, to establish the fortune of his family, and place it out of want and dependence, and in a word, if there is such a thing as happiness upon earth, it must consist in the accomplishment of this; — and, for his own part, if God should prosper his endeavours so as to be worth such a sum, or to be able to bring such a point to bear — he shall be one of the happiest of the sons of men. — In full assurance of this, on he drudges — plots — contrives — rises early — late takes rest, and eats the bread of carefulness, till at length, by hard labour and perseverance, he has reached, if not outgone the object he had first in view. — When he has

got thus far — if he is a plain and sincere man, he will make no scruple to acknowledge truly what alteration he has found in himself. — If you ask him, he will tell you that his imagination painted something before his eyes, the reality of which he has not yet attained to: that with all the accumulations of his wealth, he neither lives the merrier, sleeps the sounder, or has less care and anxiety upon his spirits then at his first setting out.

Perhaps, you'll say, some dignity, honour, or title only is wanting — Oh! could I accomplish that, as there would be nothing left then for me to wish, good God! how happy should I be! 'Tis still the same — the dignity or title — though they crown his head with honour — add not one cubit to his happiness. Upon summing up the account, all is found to be seated merely in the imagination — The faster he has pursued, the faster the phantom fled before him, and to use the Satyrist's comparison of the chariot wheels, haste as they will, they must for ever keep the same distance*).

But what? though I have been thus far disappointed in my expectations of happiness from the possession of riches — „Let me try whether I shall not meet with it, in the spending and fashionable enjoyment of them."

Behold! I will get me down, and make me great works, and build me houses, and plant me vineyards, and make me gardens and pools of water. And I will get me servants and maidens, and whatsoever my eyes desire, I will not keep from them.

In prosecution of this — he drops all gainful pursuits — withdraws himself from the busy part of the world — realizes — pulls down — builds up again. — Buys statues, pictures — plants — and plucks up by the roots — levels mountains — and fills up vallies — turns rivers into dry ground, and dry ground into rivers. — Says unto this man,

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*) *Anspielung auf die Stelle in der 5ten Satyre des Persius, wo dieser Dichter (nach der Uebersetzung von Fülleborn) sagt:*

— — — — — — so geht allmählig
Ein Theil des Lebens nach dem andern hin,
Es flieht vor Dir. Und wie das Hinterrad
Das vordre nie erreichet, ob sichs schon
An einer Achse dreht, und wenig Schritte
Nur vor ihm läuft: so wirst du nie die Zeit
Erhaschen. —

go, and he goeth, and unto another, do this; and he goeth; and unto another, do this, and he doeth it, — and whatsoever his soul lusteth after of this kind, he withholds not from it. When every thing is thus planned by himself, and executed according to his wish and direction, surely he is arrived to the accomplishment of his wishes, and has got to the summit of all human happiness? — Let the most fortunate adventurers in this way, answer the question for him, and say — how often it rises higher than a bare and simple amusement — and well, if you can compound for that — since 'tis often purchased at so high a price, and so soured by a mixture of other incidental vexations, as to become too often a work of repentance, which in the end will extort the same sorrowful confession from him, which it did from Solomon, in the like case, — Lo! I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do — and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit — and there was no profit to me under the sun.

To inflame this account the more — 'twill be no miracle, if upon casting it up he has gone farther lengths than he first intended, run into expences which have intangled his fortune, and brought himself into such difficulties as to make way for the last experiment he can try — and that is, to turn miser, with no happiness in view but what is to rise out of the little designs of a sordid mind, set upon saving and scraping up, all he has injudiciously spent.

In this last stage — behold him a poor trembling wretch, shut up from all mankind — sinking into utter contempt; spending careful days and sleepless nights in pursuit of what a narrow and contracted heart can never enjoy: — and let us here leave him to the conviction he will one day find — That there is no end of his labour — That his eyes will never be satisfied with riches, or will say — For whom do I labour and bereave myself of rest? — This is also a sore travel.

I believe this is no uncommon picture of the disappointments of human life — and the manner our pleasures and enjoyments slip from under us in every stage of our life. And though I would not be thought by it, as if I was denying the reality of pleasures, or disputing the being of them, any more, than one would the reality of pain — yet I must observe on this head, that there is a plain distinction to be

made betwixt pleasure and happiness. For though there can be no happiness without pleasure — yet the reverse of the proposition will not hold true. — We are so made, that from the common gratifications of our appetites, and the impressions of a thousand objects, we snatch the one like a transient gleam, without being suffered to taste the other, and enjoy the perpetual sunshine and fair weather which constantly attend it. This, I contend, is only to be found in religion — in the consciousness of virtue — and the sure and certain hopes of a better life, which brightens all our prospects, and leaves no room to dread disappointments — because the expectation of it is build upon a rock, whose foundations are as deep as those of heaven and hell.

And tho' in our pilgrimage through this world — some of us may be so fortunate as to meet with some clear fountains by the way, that may cool, for a few moments, the heat of this great thirst of happiness — yet our Saviour, who knew the world, though he enjoyed but little of it, tells us, that whosoever drinketh of this water will thirst again: — and we all find by experience it is so, and by reason that it always must be so.

I conclude with a short observation upon Solomon's evidence in this case.

Never did the busy brain of a lean and hectic chemist search for the philosopher's stone with more pains and ardour than this great man did after happiness. — He was one of the wisest enquirers into nature — had tried all her powers and capacities, and after a thousand vain speculations and vile experiments, he affirmed at length, it lay hid in no one thing he had tried — like the chemist's projections all had ended in smoak or what was worse, in vanity and vexation of spirit: — The conclusion of the whole matter was this — that he advises every man who would be happy, to fear God and keep his commandments.

GRAY.

Thomas Gray, 1716 *zu Cornhill geboren, und zu Eton erzogen, ging* 1734, *um die Rechte zu studiren, nach Cam-*

bridge, und nachdem er sich daselbst 5 *Jahr aufgehalten hatte, mit* ***Horace Walpole*** *nach Frankreich und Italien. In Florenz zerfiel er mit seinem Gefährten, worauf er seine Reise allein fortsetzte*).* 1741 *kam er nach England zurück, und hielt sich von nun an ununterbrochen als Privatmann zu Cambridge auf. Seit* 1742 *beschäftigte er sich ernstlich mit der Poesie; in diesem Jahre erschien nämlich die Ode* to the Spring, the prospect of Eton, *und die Ode* to Adversity; *auch fing er um diese Zeit ein lateinisches Gedicht* de principiis cogitandi *an.* 1747 *schrieb er eine Ode* on the Death of Mr. Walpole's favourite cat, *und* 1750 *das berühmte Gedicht* Elegy written in a country church-yard. 1757 *folgten* the Progress of poetry *und* the Bard, *zwei Oden, die trotz allem, was* ***Johnson*** *daran zu tadeln weiſs, zu den schönsten in dieser Gattung gehören.* 1768 *ward ihm die Stelle eines Professors der neuern Geschichte zu Cambridge angetragen. Er nahm sie an, starb aber nicht lange darauf (1771), ohne ein Collegium gelesen zu haben. Er war ein Mann von eben so viel Geschmack als Gelehrsamkeit, wie seine Gedichte und Briefe beweisen. Letztere, die sich besonders durch eine ganz vorzüglich leichte und flieſsende Schreibart empfehlen, und was sie um so schätzbarer macht, ohne die entfernteste Absicht einer öffentlichen Bekanntmachung geschrieben wurden, hat sein Freund und Biograph* ***William Mason*** *unter dem Titel* poems of Mr. Gray, to which are added memoirs of his life and writings; by W. Mason in four Volumes, York 1778. 8. *herausgegeben.*

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*) *Der Verfasser der Biographie* ***Walpole's*** *erzählt die Ursache der Trennung dieser beiden Männer folgendergestalt: „Als sie nach Reggio gekommen waren, kam das schon früher entstandene Miſsvernehmen zwischen beiden Freunden zum völligen Bruch.* ***Walpole*** *nahm zuweilen gegen seinen ärmern, und darum abhängigern Reisegefährten eine vornehme Miene an.* ***Gray*** *war schon damals ein melancholischer Schwärmer,* ***Walpole*** *stets aufgeräumt und witzig, und auch dies wurde eine Ursache ihrer Trennung.* ***Gray*** *ging den kürzesten und wohlfeilsten Weg über Frankreich nach Hause. Im folgenden Jahre kam auch* ***Walpole*** *zurück. Beide söhnten sich durch die Dazwischenkunft einer gemeinschaftlichen Freundinn aus; doch hinterlieſs diese Wunde auf immer eine Narbe, und als* ***Gray*** *starb, vermachte er an* ***Walpole*** *kein Andenken in seinem Testament.* ***Walpole*** *nahm indessen alle Schuld des Miſsverhältnisses ganz allein auf sich, druckte in seiner eigenen Druckerei die erste glänzende Ausgabe von* ***Gray's*** *Gedichten* 1757 *in Fol., und ehrte sein Andenken bei jeder Gelegenheit."*

Die Gedichte, deren Anzahl klein ist, sind von Johnson (Lives etc. Vol. IV.) *zu kalt, und mitunter unbillig beurtheilt worden. Nur der Elegie auf den Dorfkirchhof läſst dieser Kritiker völlige Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren.* Had Gray written often thus, *heiſst es S. 436,* it had been vain to blame, and useless to praise him. *Man hat eine prachtvolle Ausgabe der Grayschen Gedichte, welche* 1768 *zu Glasgow in* 4. *erschienen ist.* Gilbert Wakefield *edirte sie Cambridge* 1786. 8. *mit Noten. Sie nehmen übrigens einen Theil des 50sten Bandes der Johnsonschen Sammlung ein. Vergl. den 2ten Theil dieses Handbuchs.*

1) To his Mother.

Turin, Nov. 7. 1739.

I am this night arrived here, and have just set down to rest me after eight days tiresome journey. For the three first we had the same road we before passed through to go to Genova; the fourth we turned out of it, and for that day and the next travelled rather among than upon the Alps; the way commonly running through a deep valley by the side of the river Arc, which works itself a passage, with great difficulty and a mighty noise, among vast quantities of rocks, that have rolled down from the mountain tops. The winter was so far advanced, as in great measure to spoil the beauty of the prospect; however, there was still somewhat fine remaining amidst the savageness and horrour of the place. The sixth we began to go up several of these mountains; and as we were passing one, met with an odd accident enough. Mr. Walpole had a little fat black spaniel, that he was very fond of, which he sometimes used to set down, and let it run by the chaise side. We were at that time in a very rough road, not two yards broad at most; on one side was a great wood of pines, and on the other a vast precipice; it was noonday, and the sun shone bright, when all of a sudden, from the wood-side, (which was as steep upwards, as the other part was downwards) out rushed a great wolf, came close to the head of the horses, seized the dog by the throat, and rushed up the hill again with him in his mouth. This was done in less than a quarter of a minute; we all saw it, and yet the servants had not time to draw their pistols, or do any thing to save the dog. If he had not been there, and the

creature had thought fit to lay hold of one of the horses, chaise and we, and all must inevitably have tumbled above fifty fathoms perpendicular down the precipice. The seventh we came to Lanebourg, the last town in Savoy; it lies at the foot of the famous mount Cenis, which is so situated as to allow no room for any way but over the very top of it. Here the chaise was forced to be pulled to pieces, and the bagage and that to be carried by mules. We ourselves were wrapped up in our furs, and seated upon a sort of matted chair without legs, which is carried upon poles in the manner of a bier, and so begun to ascend by the help of eight men. It was six miles to the top, where a plain opens itself about as many more in breadth, covered perpetually with very deep snow, and in the midst of that a great lake of unfathomable depth, from whence a river takes its rise, and tumbles over monstruous rocks quite down the other side of the mountain. The descent is six miles more, but infinitely more steep than the going up; and here the men perfectly fly down with you, stepping from stone to stone with incredible swiftness in places where none but they could go three paces without falling. The immensity of the precipices, the roaring of the river and torrents that run into it, the huge craggs covered with ice and snow, and the clouds below you and about you, are objects it is impossible to conceive without seeing them; and though we had heard many strange descriptions of the scene, none of them at all came up to it. We were but five hours in performing the whole, from which you may judge of the rapidity of the mens' motion. We are now got into Piedmont, and stopped a little while at La Ferriere, a small village about three quarters of the way down, but still among the clouds, when we began to hear a new language spoken round about us; at last we got quite down, went through the Pas de Suse, a narrow road among the Alps, defended by two fortresses, and lay at Bossolens. Next evening through a fine avenue of nine miles in length, as straight as a line, we arrived at this city, which, as you know, is the capital of the principality, and the residence of the king of Sardinia. We shall stay here, I believe, a fortnight, and proceed for Genoa, which is three or four days journey to go post.

2) To Mr. West.

Rome, May 1740.

I am to-day just returned from Alba, a good deal fatigued, for you know the Appian is somewhat tiresome. We dined at Pompey's; he indeed was gone for a few days to his Tusculan, but, by the care of his *villicus*, we made an admirable meat. We had the dugs of a pregnant sow, a peacock, a dish of thrushes, a noble scarus just fresh from the Tyrrhene, and some conchylia of the lake with garum sauce: for my part I never eat better at Lucullus's table. We drank half a dozen *cyathi* a-piece of ancient Alban to Pholoë's health; and after bathing, and playing an hour at ball, we mounted our *essedum* again, and proceeded up the mount to the temple. The priests there entertained us with an account of a wonderful shower of birds eggs that had fallen two days before, which had no sooner touched the ground, but they were converted into gudgeons; as also that the night past a dreadful voice had been heard out of the *adytum*, which spoke Greek during a full half hour, but no body understood it. But quitting my *Romanities*, to your great joy and mine, let me tell you, in plain English, that we come from Albano. The present town lies within the inclosure of Pompey's Villa in ruins. The Appian way runs through it, by the side of which, a little farther, is a large old tomb, with five pyramids upon it, which the learned suppose to be the burying-place of the family, because they do not know whose it can be else. But the vulgar assure you, it is the sepulchre of the Curiatii, and by that name (such is their power) it goes. One drives to Castel Gondolfo: a house of the Pope's, situated on the top of one of the *Collinette*, that forms a brim to the bason, commonly called the Alban lake. It is seven miles round; and directly opposite to you, on the other side, rises the Mons Albanus, much taller than the rest, along whose side are still discoverable (not to common eyes) certain little ruins of the old Alba longa. They had need to be very little, as having been nothing but ruins ever since the days of Tullus Hostilius. On its top is a house of the Constable Colonna's, where stood the temple of Jupiter Latialis. At the foot of the hill Gondolfo are the famous outlets of the lake, built with hewn stone, a mile and a half under ground. Livy, you know, amply, informs us of the foolish

occasion of this expence, and gives me this opportunity of displaying all my erudition, that I may appear considerable in your eyes. This is the prospect from one window of the palace. From another you have the whole Campagna; the City, Antium, and the Tyrrhene sea (twelve miles distant) so distinguishable, that you may see the vessels sailing upon it. All this is charming. Mr. Walpole says, our memory sees more than our eyes in this country. Which is extremely true; since, for realities, Windsor, or Richmond Hill*), is infinitely preferable to Albano or Frescati. I am now at home, and going to the window to tell you it is the most beautiful of Italian nights, which, in truth, are but just begun (so backward has the spring been here, and everywhere else, they say). There is a moon! There are stars for you! Do not you hear the fountain? Do not you smell the orange flowers? That building yonder is the convent of St. Isidore; and that eminence, with the cypress trees and pines upon it, the top of Mount Quirinal. This is all true, and yet my prospect is not two hundred yards in length.

3) To his Mother.

Naples, June 17, 1740.

Our journey hither was through the most beautiful part of the finest country in the world, and every spot of it, on some account or other, famous for these three thousand years past. The season has hitherto been just as warm as one would wish it; no unwholesome airs, or violent heats yet heard of: the people call it a backward year, and are in pain about their corn, wine, and oil; but we, who are neither corn, wine, nor oil, find it very agreeable. Our road was through Velletri, Cisterna, Capua and Aversa, and so to Naples. The minute one leaves his Holines's dominions, the face of things begins to change from wide uncultivated plains to olive groves and well-tilled fields of corn, intermixed with ranks of elms, every one of which has its vine twining about it; and hanging in festoons between the rows from one tree to another. The great old figtrees; the oranges in full blom, and myrtles in every hedge, make one of the delightfullest scenes you can conceive; besides that, the roads

*) *Namen zweier bekannten vortrefflichen Gegenden Englands.*

are wide, well-kept, and full of passengers, a sight I have not beheld this long time. My wonder still increased, upon entering the city, which, I think for number of people, outdoes both Paris and London. The streets are one continued market, and thronged with populace so much that a coach can hardly pass. The common sort are a jolly lively kind of animals, more industrious than Italians usually are; they work till evening, then take their lute or guitar (for they all play) and walk about the city, or upon the sea-shore with it, to enjoy the fresco. One sees their little brown children jumping about stark-naked, and the bigger ones dancing with castanets, while others play on the cymbal to them. Your maps will show you the situation of Naples; it is on the most lovely bay in the world, and one of the calmest seas; it has many other beauties besides those of nature. We have spent two days in visiting the remarkable places in the country round it, such as the bay of Bajæ and its remains of antiquity; the lake Avernus, and the Solfatara, Charons grotto etc. We have been in the Sibyl's cave and many other strange holes under-ground (I only name them because you may consult Sandy's travels;) but the strangest hole I ever was in, has been to-day at a place called Portici, where his Sicilian Majesty has a country-seat. About a year ago, as they were digging, they discovered some parts of ancient buildings above thirty feet deep in the ground: curiosity led them on, and they have been digging ever since; the passage they have made with all its turnings and windings is now more than a mile long. As you walk, you see parts of an amphitheatre, many houses adorned with marble columns, and incrusted with the same, the front of a temple, several arched vaults of rooms painted in fresco*). Some pieces of painting have been taken out from hence, finer than

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*) *Fresko-Mahlerei. So nennt man die besondere Art zu mahlen, welche auf eine frisch mit Mörtel überworfene Mauer geschieht. Sie ist der, da man auf die schon alte und trockene Mauer mit Wasserfarben oder mit Oelfarben mahlt, weit vorzuziehen, weil sie viel dauerhafter ist, indem sich die Farben in den noch nassen Mörtel hineinziehen. —— Die Alten scheinen die Farbenmischung dazu vollkommen verstanden zu haben, denn man trifft bisweilen noch Stücke an, die seit vielen Jahrhunderten die frischeste Farbe behalten haben. s. Sulzer's Theorie der schönen Künste, zweiten Theil.*

any thing of the kind before discovered, and with these the king has adorned his palace; also a number of statues, medals, and gems; and more are dug out every day. This is known to be a Roman town*), that in the Emperor Titus's time was overwhelmed by a furious eruption of mount Vesuvius, which is hard by. The wood and beams remain so perfect that you may see the grain; but burnt to a coal, and dropping into dust upon the least touch. We were to-day at the foot of that mountain, which at present smokes only a little, where we saw the materials that fed the stream of fire, which about four years since runs down its side. We have but a few days longer to stay here; too little in conscience for such a place.

SMOLLET.

*Tobias Smollet, 1720 zu Cameron**) in Schottland geboren, diente als Schiffswundarzt in dem Östreichischen Erbfolgekriege, und legte sich, da er nach dem 1748 erfolgten Frieden keine weitere Beschäfftigung zur See hatte, auf die Schriftstellerei. Sein vortreffliches Genie zeichnete ihn bald auf eine vortheilhafte Art aus. Der ungemeine Beifall, den sein erstes Produkt, der bekannte Roman* Roderick Random, *erhielt, munterte ihn auf, diese Bahn zu verfolgen. 1751 erschienen seine* Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, 4 Vols. 8., *die theils durch ihren innern Gehalt, theils durch die als Episode eingeflochtene Geschichte der berühmten Lady Vane großen Abgang hatten. Sein dritter Roman,* Ferdinand Count Fathom, *steht den beiden vorigen, denen er schnell folgte, weit nach. Hierauf übersetzte er den* Gil Blas, Telemach, Don Quixote,

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**) Herculanum. **) Madame Emilie Harmes, geborne von Oppel, sagt in ihrer Schrift „Caledonia, Hamburg 1802 bei Hoffmann, Theil 1. S. 58.: „Etwa eine Meile von Dunbarton sahen wir das Haus, wo Smollet geboren und erzogen ward. Nahe an der Landstraße steht eine schöne sehr hohe Denksäule mit einer edlen, gefühlvollen, aber wohl etwas zu langen lateinischen Inschrift. Ein anderer Smollet, Verwandter und Freund des verstorbenen Dichters, hat diesen Obelisk zu dessen Andenken errichtet.*

und, von seinem Freunde, Dr. Franklin, unterstützt, Voltaire's Werke. 1752 *schrieb er seinen Tractat* on Bathing and Bath-Waters, *und erhielt den Grad eines Doktors der Arzneikunde. Er wohnte jetzt zu Chelsea, wo er einige Praxis hatte, ohne jedoch seine literarischen Beschäfftigungen aufzugeben.* 1756 *erschien seine bis auf's Jahr* 1748 *gehende* compleat History of England (London, 7 Vols. 8.), *ein, besonders von Seiten der Schreibart, schätzbares Werk. Wenige Zeit nachher ward er Mitarbeiter an dem periodischen Blatt*, the critical Review; *aber zu seinem Unglück! Denn die Bitterkeit, womit er seine Geifselhiebe austheilte, zog ihm vielen Verdrufs und besonders die Verfolgung des Admirals Knowles zu, der endlich seine Gefangenschaft in der Kingsbench bewirkte. Dies machte ihn indessen so wenig kleinlaut, dafs er sich vielmehr in die politische Fehde gegen den damaligen Premierminister Lord Bute einliefs, und an einem, der Oppositionspartei gewidmeten periodischen Blatt*, the Briton, *arbeitete. Seiner geschwächten Gesundheit wegen ging er* 1763 *nach Frankreich und Italien, in der Hoffnung, von dem mildern Klima Linderung seiner Beschwerden zu erhalten. Sein Aufenthalt in beiden Ländern veranlafste seine in einem finstern Ton geschriebenen und dadurch zum Sprichwort gewordenen* Travels through France and Italy. 1768 *schrieb er:* the present State of all nations, containing a geographical, natural, commercial and political history of all the countries in the known world, *und seine* 1769 *in* 2 *Bänden herausgekommene* History and adventures of an Atom. *Um diese Zeit erschien* the Expedition of Humphry Clinker, *sein vorzüglichster Roman, in dessen zweitem Bande sich verschiedene ihn selbst betreffende Stellen finden. Er starb in Italien bei Leghorn (Livorno) den* 21*sten October* 1771. *Dafs er auch eine angenehme poetische Ader hatte, erhellt aus einigen kleinen Gelegenheitsgedichten, hauptsächlich aus den* Tears of Scotland, *die in einer Sammlung geistreicher Gedichte, betitelt* the Union, *abgedruckt sind. Er ist auch Verfasser zweier Schauspiele, eines* 1749 *gedruckten Trauerspiels*, the Regicide, *und einer* 1757 *mit geringem Beifall aufgeführten Farce* the Reprisal or the tears of Old-England. *Man findet sie in den* Plays and poems, written by T. Smollet, London 1777. 8. *Beide Schauspiele verrathen wenig dramatisches Talent. Das erstere kam auf Garrick's Veranlassung nie auf die Bühne; daher der wüthende Ausfall, den sich Smollet in der ersten Ausgabe des* Peregrine Pickle

gegen diesen Roscius der Neuern erlaubte. Seine Streitigkeiten mit Sterne, der ihn unter dem Namen Smelfungus verschiedentlich geifselte, sind zu bekannt, als dass es nöthig wäre, ihrer zu erwähnen. Aufser der Biographie, die den angeführten Plays and poems *vorgesetzt ist, findet man Smollet's Leben in dem* Companion to the play-house, *der Quelle des gegenwärtigen Aufsatzes, der übrigens, bis auf wenige Änderungen, aus dem Vorbericht zu der vortrefflichen Deutschen Übersetzung des* Peregrine Pickle *entlehnt worden ist. — Die hier mitgetheilten beiden Briefe sind aus dem* Humphry Clinker *genommen, und enthalten eine Beschreibung der ungeheuern Hauptstadt Englands. Der erste ist von M. Bramble, einem kränklichen hypochondrischen Mann, welcher zur Wiederherstellung seiner Gesundheit eine Reise nach Bath, und von da nach Schottland macht; der andere von seiner Nichte Lætitia Melford, welche ihn, nebst ihrem Bruder Jer. Melford und ihrer Tante Tabitha Bramble auf dieser Exkursion begleiten. Der erste Brief zeigt eben so deutlich den Spleen seines Verfassers als der zweite einen Beweis von der heiteren Laune der Verfasserinn giebt.*

1) To Dr. Lewis*).

London, May 29.

Dear Doctor,

London is literally new to me; new in its streets, houses, and even in its situation; as the Irishman said, „London is now gone out of town." What I left open fields, producing hay and corn, I now find covered with streets, and squares, and palaces, and churches. I am credibly informed, that in the space of seven years, eleven thousand new houses have been built in one quarter of Westminster, exclusive of what is daily added to other parts of this unwieldy metropolis. Pimilico and Knightsbridge**) are now almost joined to Chelsea and Kensington; and if this infatuation continues for half a century, I suppose the whole county of Middlesex will be covered with brick.

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*) The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, Vol. 1. **) *Zwei Dörfer unweit London.*

It must be allowed, indeed, for the credit of the present age, that London and Westminster are much better paved and lighted than they were formerly. The new streets are spacious, regular, and airy; and the houses generally convenient. The bridge at Blackfriars *) is a noble monument of taste and public spirit. — I wonder how they stumbled upon a work of such magnificence and utility. But, notwithstanding the improvements, the capital is become an overgrown monster; which, like a dropsical head, will in time leave the body and extremities without nourishment and support. The absurdity will appear in its full force, when we consider, that one sixth part of the natives of this whole extensive kingdom, is crowded within the bills of mortality. What wonder that our villages are depopulated, and our farms in want of day-labourers? The abolition of small farms is but one cause of the decrease of population. Indeed, the incredible increase of horses and black cattle, to answer the purposes of luxury, requires a prodigious quantity of hay and grass, which are raised and managed without much labour; but a number of hands will always be wanted for the different branches of agriculture, whether the farms be large or small. The tide of luxury has swept all the inhabitants from the open country. — The poorest 'squire, as well as the richest peer, must have his house in town, and make a figure with an extraordinary number of domestics. The plough-boys, cow-herds, and lower-hinds, are debauched and seduced by the appearance and discourse of those coxcombs in livery, when they make their summer excursions. They desert their dirt and drudgery, and swarm up to London, in hopes of getting into service, where they can live luxuriously, and wear fine cloaths, without being obliged to work; for idleness is natural to man. — Great numbers of these being disappointed in their expectation, become thieves and sharpers; and London, being an immense wilderness, in which there is neither watch nor ward of any

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*) *Eine Abbildung und Beschreibung der Blackfriars-Brücke sowohl, als der Londoner- und Westminster-Brücke, findet man unter andern in den Englischen Miszellen, 3ten Bandes 2tem Stück. Die* Blackfriars-bridge *(d. i. die Brücke der schwarzen Mönche) heißt übrigens darum so, weil in dieser Gegend ehemals ein Kloster schwarz gekleideter Mönche war.*

signification, nor any order of police, affords them lurking-places as well as prey.

There are many causes that contribute to the daily increase of this enormous mass; but they may be all resolved into the grand source of luxury and corruption. — About five and twenty years ago, very few, even of the most opulent citizens of London, kept any equipage, or even any servants in livery. Their tables produced nothing but plain boiled and roasted, with a bottle of port and a tankard of beer. At present, every trader in any degree of credit, every broker and attorney, maintains a couple of footmen, a coachman, and postilion. He has his town-house, and his country-house, his coach, and his post-chaise. His wife and daughters appear in the richest stuffs, bespangled with diamonds. They frequent the court, the opera, the theatre, and the masquerade. They hold assemblies at their own houses: they make sumptuous entertainments, and treat with the richest wines of Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champagne. The substantial tradesman, who was wont to pass his evenings at the ale-house for fourpence-halfpenny, now spends three shillings at the tavern, while his wife keeps card-tables at home; she must likewise have fine cloaths, her chaise, or pad, with country lodgings, and go three times a-week to public diversions. Every clerk, apprentice, and even waiter of tavern or coffee-house, maintains a gelding by himself, or in partnership, and assumes the air and apparel of a petit-maitre. — The gayest places of public entertainment are filled with fashionable figures; which, upon inquiry, will be found to be journey-men taylors, serving-men, and Abigails, disguised like their betters.

In short, there is no distinction or subordination left. — The different departments of life are jumbled together. — The hod-carrier, the low mechanic, the tapster, the publican, the shop-keeper, the petti-fogger, the citizen, and courtier, all tread upon the kibes of one another: actuated by the demons of profligacy and licentiousness, they are seen every where, rambling, riding, rolling, rushing, justling, mixing, bouncing, cracking, and crashing, in one vile ferment of stupidity and corruption. — All is tumult and hurry; one would imagine they were impelled by some disorder of the brain, that will not suffer them to be at rest. The foot passengers run along as if they were pursued by bailiffs. The porters

and chairmen trot with their burthens. People, who keep their own equipages, drive through the streets at full speed. Even citizens, physicians, and apothecaries*) glide in their chariots like lightning. The hackney-coachmen make their horses smoke, and the pavement shakes under them; and I have actually seen a waggon pass through Piccadilly at the hand-gallop. In a word, the whole nation seems to be running out of their wits.

The diversions of the times are not ill suited to the genius of this incongruous monster, called the public. Give it noise, confusion, glare and glitter; it has no idea of elegance and propriety. — What are the amusements at Ranelagh**)? One half of the company are following one another's tails, in an eternal circle; like so many blind asses in an olive-mill, where they can neither discourse, distinguish, nor be distinguished; while the other half are drinking hot water, under the donomination of tea, till nine or ten o'clock at night, to keep them awake for the rest of the evening. As for the orchestra, the vocal music especially, it is well for the performers that they cannot be heard distinctly. Vauxhall***) is a composition of baubles, overcharged with paltry ornaments, ill conceived, and poorly executed, without any unity of design or propriety of disposition. It is an unnatural assemblage of objects, fantastically illuminated in broken masses; seemingly contrived to dazzle the eyes and divert the imagination of the vulgar. — Here a wooden lion, there a stone statue; in one place a range of things like coffee-house boxes†), covered a-top; in another, a parcel of ale-house benches; in a third, a puppet-shew representation of a tin cascade: in a fourth, a gloomy cave of a circular form, like a sepulchral vault half lighted; in a fifth, a scanty slip of grass-plat, that would not afford pasture sufficient for an

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) Welche zugleich ausübende Aerzte sind. **) Siehe eine Beschreibung dieses, eine Englische Meile von London entfernten und im Dorfe Chelsea belegenen Belustigungsorts, in Archenholtzens England und Italien, S. 517 u. ff. *) Eine Beschreibung dieses, zwei Englische Meilen von der Westminster-Brücke, an den Ufern der Themse belegenen Belustigungsorts, findet man gleichfalls in dem eben angeführten Werke, S. 519 u. ff. Siehe auch Küttner's Beiträge zur Kenntniſs des Innern von England und seiner Einwohner 1stes Stück, S. 15. †) Verschläge in Kaffeehäusern, wo man, abgesondert von der übrigen Gesellschaft, sitzen kann.*

ass's colt. The walks, which nature seems to have intended for solitude, shade, and silence, are filled with crowds of noisy people, sucking up the nocturnal rheums of an aguish climate; and through these gay scenes a few lamps glimmer like so many farthing candles.

When I see a number of well-dressed people, of both sexes, sitting on the covered benches, exposed to the eyes of the mob, and, which is worse, to the cold, raw, night air, devouring sliced beef, and swilling port, and punch, and cyder, I can't help compassionating their temerity, while I despise their want of taste and decorum; but when they course along those damp and gloomy walks, or crowd together upon the wet gravel, without any other cover than the cope of heaven, listening to a song, which one half of them cannot possibly hear, how can I help supposing they are actually possessed by a spirit more absurd and pernicious than any thing we meet with in the precincts of Bedlam? In all probability, the proprietors of this and other public gardens of inferior note, in the skirts of the metropolis, are, in some shape, connected with the faculty of physic, and the company of undertakers*); for, considering that eagerness in the pursuit of what is called pleasure, which now predominates through every rank and denomination of life, I am persuaded, that more gouts, rheumatisms, catarrhs, and consumptions are caught in these nocturnal pastimes, sub dio**), than from all the risques and accidents to which a life of toil and danger is exposed.

These, and other observations, which I have made in this excursion, will shorten my stay at London, and send me back with a double relish to my solitude and mountains; but I shall return by a different route than that which brought me to town. I have seen some old friends, who constantly resided in this virtuous metropolis, but they are so changed in manners and disposition, that we hardly know or care for one another. — In our journey from Bath, my sister Tabby provoked me into a transport of passion; during which, like a man who has drank himself pot-valiant, I talked to her in such a style of authority and resolution, as produced a most blessed effect. She and her dog have been remarkably quiet and orderly ever since this expostulation. How long this

*) undertaker, *Leichenbesorger*. **) sub divo, *unter freiem Himmel*.

agreeable calm will last, heaven above knows. I flatter myself, the exercise of travelling has been of service to my health, a circumstance which encourages me to proceed in my projected expedition to the North. But I must, in the mean time, for the benefit and amusement of my pupils, explore the depths of the chaos; this misshapen and monstrous capital, without head or tail, members or proportion.

Thomas was so insolent to my sister on the road that I was obliged to turn him off abruptly, betwixt Chippenham and Marlborough, where our coach was over-turned. The fellow was always sullen and selfish; but if he should return to the country, you may give him a character for honesty and sobriety; and, provided he behaves with proper respect to the family, let him have a couple of guineas in the name of

your's always,

Matt. Bramble.

2) To Miss Laetitia Willis, at Gloucester.

My Dear Letty,

About five days ago we arrived in London, after an easy journey from Bath; during which, however, we were overturned, and met with some other little incidents, which had like to have occasioned a misunderstanding betwixt my uncle and aunt; but now, thank God, they are happily reconciled; we live in harmony together, and every day make parties to see the wonders of this vast metropolis, which, however, I cannot pretend to describe; for I have not as yet seen one hundredth part of its curiosities, and I am quite in a maze of admiration.

The cities of London and Westminster are spread out to an incredible extent. The streets, squares*), rows, lanes,

*) Square *bedeutet einen, mehrentheils runden, oft mit einem kostbaren Gestäbe eingefaſsten und zuweilen mit einer Statue in der Mitte verzierten freien Platz in einer Stadt. Das Innere des von einem breiten Kiespfade eingefaſsten Mittelplatzes ist mit Gras bewachsen, welches mit vieler Sorgfalt gepflegt wird.* Squares *heiſsen diese runden Plätze, weil die sie umgebenden Gebäude ein regelmäſsiges oder länglichtes Viereck bilden. London hat mehrere dergleichen schöne öffentliche Plätze, welche viel zur Zierde der Stadt und zur Gesundheit der Einwohner beitragen, und zum Theil auch mit Baumgruppen besetzt sind.*

and alleys, are innumerable. Palaces, public buildings, and churches, rise in every quarter; and, among these last, St. Paul's appears with the most astonishing pre-eminence. They say it is not so large as St. Peter's at Rome; but, for my own part, I can have no idea of any earthly temple more grand and magnificent.

But even these superb objects are not so striking as the crowds of people that swarm in the streets. I at first imagined, that some great assembly was just dismissed, and wanted to stand aside till the multitude should pass; but this human tide continues to flow, without interruption or abatement, from morn to night. Then there is such an infinity of gay equipages, coaches, chariots, chaises, and other carriages, continually rolling and shifting before your eyes, that one's head grows giddy looking at them; and the imagination is quite confounded with splendour and variety. Nor is the prospect by water less grand and astonishing than that by land; you see three stupendous bridges, joining the opposite banks of a broad, deep, and rapid river; so vast, so stately, so elegant, that they seem to be the work of the giants; betwixt them, the whole surface of the Thames is covered with small vessels, barges, boats, and wherries, passing to and fro; and below the three bridges, such a prodigious forest of masts, for miles together, that you would think all the ships in the universe were here assembled. All that you read of wealth and grandeur in the Arabian night's entertainment and the Persian Tales, concerning Bagdad, Diarbekir, Damascus, Ispahan, and Samarkand, is here realised.

Ranelagh looks like the enchanted palace of a genie, adorned with the most exquisite performances of painting, carving, and gilding; enlightened with a thousand golden lamps, that emulate the noon-day sun; crowded with the great, the rich, the gay, the happy, and the fair; glittering with cloth of gold and silver, lace, embroidery, and precious stones. While these exulting sons and daughters of felicity tread this round of pleasure, or regale in different parties, and separate lodges, with fine imperial tea, and other delicious refreshments, their ears are entertained with the most ravishing delights of music, both instrumental and vocal. There I heard the famous Tenducci, a thing from Italy — It looks for all the world like a man, though they say it is not. The voice, to be sure, is neither man's nor woman's;

but it it more melodious than either; and it warbled so divinely, that, while I listened, I really thought myself in paradise.

At nine o'clock, in a charming moonlight evening, we embarked at Ranelagh for Vauxhall, in a wherry, so light and slender, that we looked like so many fairies sailing in a nut-shell. My uncle, being apprehensive of catching cold upon the water, went round in the coach, and my aunt would have accompanied him, but he would not suffer me to go by water if she went by land; and therefore she favoured us with her company, as she perceived I had a curiosity to make this agreeable voyage. — After all, the vessel was sufficiently loaded; for, besides the waterman, there was my brother Jerry *), and a friend of his, one Mr. Barton, a country gentleman of a good fortune, who had dined at our house. — The pleasure of this little excursion was, however, damped, by my being sadly frighted at our landing, where there was a terrible confusion of wherries, and a crowd of people bawling, and swearing, and quarrelling; nay, a parcel of ugly-looking fellows came running into the water, and laid hold on our boat with great violence, to pull it a-shore; nor would they quit their hold till my brother struck one of them over the head with his cane. But this flutter was fully recompensed by the pleasures of Vauxhall; which I no sooner entered, than I was dazzled and confounded with the variety of beauties that rushed all at once upon my eye. Image to yourself, my dear Letty, a spacious garden, part laid out in delightful walks, bounded with high hedges and trees, and paved with gravel; part exhibiting a wonderful assemblage of the most picturesque and striking objects, pavilions, lodges, groves, grottos, lawns, temples, and cascades; porticoes, colonades, and rotundas; adorned with pillars, statues, and paintings, the whole illuminated with an infinite number of lamps, disposed in different figures of suns, stars, and constellations: the place crowded with the gayest company, ranging through those blissful shades, or supping in different lodges on cold collations, enlivened with mirth, freedom, and good-humour, and animated by an excellent band of music. Among the vocal performers, I had the happiness to hear the celebrated Mrs. —, whose voice was so loud

*) *Der verkürzte Name* Jeremy, *Jeremias*.

and shrill, that it made my head ake through excess of pleasure. — —

Besides Ranelagh and Vauxhall, I have been at Mrs. Cornely's *) assembly, which, for the rooms, the company, the dresses, and decorations, surpasses all description; but as I have no great turn for card-playing, I have not yet entered thoroughly into the spirit of the place: indeed, I am still such a country-hoiden, that I could hardly find patience to be put to a condition to appear, yet I was not above six hours under the hands of the hairdresser, who stuffed my head with as much black wool as would have made a quilted petticoat; and, after all, it was the smallest head in the assembly, except my aunt's. — She, to be sure, was so particular with her rumpt gown and petticoat, her scanty curls, her lappet-head, deep triple ruffles, and high stays, that every body looked at her with surprize: some whispered, and some tittered: and lady Griskin, by whom we are introduced, flatly told her, she was twenty good years behind the fashion.

Lady Griskin is a person of fashion, to whom we have the honour to be related. She keeps a small rout at her own house, never exceeding ten or a dozen card-tables, but these are frequented by the best company in town. — She has been so obliging as to introduce my aunt and me to some of her particular friends of quality, who treat us with the most familiar good humour: we have once dined with her, and she takes the trouble to direct us in all our motions. I am so happy as to have gained her good-will to such a degree, that she sometimes adjusts my cap with her own hands; and she has given me a kind invitation to stay with her all the winter. This, however, has been cruelly declined by my uncle, who seems to be (I know not how) prejudiced against the good lady; for whenever my aunt happens to speak in her commendation, I observe that he makes wry faces, though he says nothing. — Perhaps, indeed, these grimaces may be the effect of pain arising from the gout and

*) *Eine Deutsche von Geburt, welche ihren feinen Geschmack und einen unerschöpflichen Erfindungsgeist in glänzenden Festen allerlei Art zeigte, die sie dem Englischen Adel in ihrem fürstlich meublirten Hause für Geld gab. Man wird nicht ohne Vergnügen die Schilderung lesen, welche uns Herr von Archenholtz in seinem mehrmals angeführten Werke S. 522 u. ff. davon giebt.*

rheumatism, with which he is sadly distressed. — To me, however, he is always good-natured and generous, even beyond my wish. Since we came hither, he has made me a present of a suit of cloaths, with trimmings and laces, which cost more money than I shall mention; and Jery, at his desire, has given me my mother's diamond drops, which are ordered to be set a-new; so that it won't be his fault if I do not glitter among the stars of the fourth or fifth magnitude. I wish my weak head may not grow giddy in the midst of all this gallantry and dissipation, though, as yet, I can safely declare, I could gladly give up all these tumultuous pleasures, for country solitude, and a happy retreat with those we love; among whom my dear Willis will always possess the first place in the breast of her ever affectionate

Lydia Melford.

CHESTERFIELD.

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD, *stammte aus einem alten, um den Staat verdienten Geschlecht, und würde* 1694 *den* 27. *Sept. zu London geboren. Durch seine Erziehung, und den im Trinityhall zu Cambridge seit* 1712 *genossenen Unterricht zum Weltmann vorbereitet, besuchte er* 1714 *den Haag, wo sich der geistreiche Jüngling, in den glänzendsten Gesellschaften willkommen, dem Spiel ergab, einer Leidenschaft, die er, selbst in höhern Jahren, vergeblich zu unterdrücken suchte.* 1715 *kehrte er über Paris nach London zurück, worauf er zum Kammerherrn des Prinzen von Wallis, nachmaligen Königs Georg II. und zum Mitglied des Unterhauses ernannt wurde. Schon jetzt zeichnete er sich durch seine eben so geschmackvolle, als feurige Beredsamkeit aus, ein Talent, das sich jedoch nicht eher in seiner ganzen Stärke entwickelte, als bis er nach dem* 1726 *erfolgten Tode seines Vaters in's Oberhaus trat. Als einer der wärmsten Anhänger der Oppositionspartei und des Prinzen von Wallis, schmeichelte er sich mit der Aussicht zu den glänzendsten Ehrenstellen. Allein der Erfolg entsprach seinen Wünschen nicht ganz. Der neue König, dessen Rathgeber des Grafen Gegen-*

wert zu fürchten Ursache hatten, ernannte ihn zum Gesandten bei den Generalstaaten. Er ging nach dem Haag ab (1728), reisete aber bald, theils weil er sich durch die Vereitelung seiner Hoffnungen gekränkt fühlte, theils weil Spiel und gelehrte Beschäfftigungen sein Vermögen und seine Gesundheit geschwächt hatten. Er kehrte also 1732 nach London zurück, und trat zur Oppositionspartei, worüber er die Gunst des Königs und seine Stelle als Oberhofmeister verlor. Dafür hielt ihn indeſs der vertraute Umgang mit den geistreichsten Männern seiner Zeit, einem **Pope**, *Lord* **Bolingbroke**, **Arbuthnot**, *einem* **Algarotti**, **Voltaire**, **Montesquieu**, *und andern gelehrten Ausländern, die sich damals zu London befanden, schadlos. 1742 sah sich sein Gegner, der Premierminister* **Walpole**, *genöthigt, das Ministerium zu verlassen, worauf der König gnädiger gegen ihn gesinnt zu werden anfing. Eine Folge davon war, daſs er 1745 bei den äuſserst bedenklichen Umständen, worin sich damals England befand, abermals zum Gesandten bei den Generalstaaten, und bald darauf zum Vicekönig in Irland ernannt wurde. Es glückte ihm, das auflodernde Feuer der Empörung, das auch hier der Prätendent anzufachen wuſste, zu dämpfen, worauf er 1746 von den Segenswünschen der Irländer begleitet, nach London zurückkehrte, und zur Belohnung seiner Dienste die Stelle eines Staatssekretärs erhielt, die er jedoch schon 1748 wieder niederlegte, weil er seine patriotischen Absichten durch das Ministerium vereitelt sah. Er endigte hiermit seine politische Laufbahn, und lebte von nun an ganz seinen Freunden und den Musen. Vorzüglich beschäfftigte ihn die Bildung seines einzigen auſser der Ehe erzeugten Sohnes* **Philipp Stanhope**. *Eine eben so gesunde Pädagogik als zärtliche Vaterliebe flöſsten ihm eine Reihe schätzbarer, erst ein Jahr nach seinem Tode im Druck erschienener Briefe ein, worin er seinen Liebling bis zum Eintritt in die groſse Welt begleitet. Sie enthalten neben vielen vortrefflichen und aus Erfahrung geschöpften Regeln, auch verschiedene, denen der strenge Moralist seinen Beifall nicht schenken kann. Der junge* **Stanhope** *aber wurde keinesweges der vollkommene Hof- und Staatsmann, wozu sein Vater ihn bilden wollte. Er ging mit seinem Hofmeister* **Walter Harte** *1773 auf Reisen, kam aber verbildet heim. Nachmals wurde er einmal als auſserordentlicher Gesandter nach Dresden geschickt, zeichnete sich aber dort nicht aus. Der Englische Titel jener Briefe ist:* Letters written by the late right honourable Philip

Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield to his son Philip Stanhope, Esq. published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope, from the originals now in her possession. In four Volumes. London 1776. 8., *wozu im Jahre 1787 zu London in 4. ein* Supplement to the letters written by — Stanhope, *erschienen ist. So lebte der Graf, von allen Parteien geliebt, und seines Witzes und seiner Urbanität wegen von jedermann geschätzt und bewundert, bis zu seinem 79sten Jahre; er starb den 24sten März 1773. Aufser den Briefen, wovon hier eine Probe erfolgt, hat man von ihm eine Sammlung moralischer und literarischer* Essays, *die, in verschiedenen Zeitschriften, besonders* the World, *zerstreut, und in den* miscellaneous Works of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, London 1777, 2 Vols in gr. 4. *zusammengedruckt sind. — Diese Nachrichten sind theils aus dem 40sten Bande der* Histoire et Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, *theils aus einem von Maty angefangenen, von Justamond fortgesetzten, und den angeführten* miscellaneous works *vorgesetzten Leben des Grafen, theils aus den* curious Particulars and genuine anecdotes, respecting the late Lord Chesterfield and David Hume. London, 1788, 8. *entlehnt.*

1) Lord Chesterfield to his son Philip Stanhope.

London, October the 16th. O. S. 1747.

Dear Boy,

The art of pleasing is a very necessary one to possess; but a very difficult one to acquire. It can hardly be reduced to rules; and your own good sense and observation will teach you more of it, than I can. Do as you would be done by, is the surest method that I know of pleasing. Observe carefully what pleases you in others, and probably the same things in you will please others. If you are pleased with the complaisance and attention of others to your humours, your tastes, or your weaknesses, depend upon it, the same complaisance and attention, on your part, to theirs, will equally please them. Take the tone of the company that you are in, and do not pretend to give it: be serious, gay, or even trifling, as you find the present humour of the company: this is an attention due from every individual to the majority. Do not

tell stories in company; there is nothing more tedious and disagreeable: if by chance you know a very short story, and exceedingly applicable to the present subject of conversation tell it in as few words as possible; and even then throw out, that you do not love to tell stories, but that the shortness of it tempted you. Of all things, banish the egotism out of your conversation, and never think of entertaining people with your own personal concerns, or private affairs; though they are interesting to you, they are tedious and impertinent to every body else; besides that, one cannot keep one's own private affairs too secret. Whatever you think your own excellencies may be, do not affectedly display them in company; nor labour, as many people do, to give that turn to the conversation, which may supply you with an opportunity of exhibiting them. If they are real, they will infallibly be discovered, without your pointing them out yourself, and with much more advantage. Never maintain an argument with heat and clamour, though you think or know yourself to be in the right: but give your opinion modestly and cooly, which is the only way to convince; and if that does not do, try to change the conversation, by saying with good humour: „we shall hardly convince one another, „nor is it necessary that we should, so let us talk of some-„thing else!"

Remember that there is a local propriety to be observed in all companies; and that what is extremely proper in one company, may be, and often is, highly improper in another.

The jokes, the *bons mots*, the little adventures, which may do very well in one company, will seem flat and tedious, when related in another. The particular characters, the habits, the cant of one company may give credit to a word, or a gesture, which would have none at all if divested of those accidental circumstances. Here people very commonly err; and, fond of something that has entertained them in one company, and in certain circumstances, repeat it with emphasis in another, where it is either insipid, or, it may be, offensive, by being ill-timed or misplaced. Nay, they often do it with this silly preamble: „I will tell you an excellent thing," or: „I will tell you the best thing in the world." This raises expectations, which, when absolutely disappointed, make the relator of this excellent thing look very deservedly, like a fool.

If you would particularly gain the affection and friendship of particular people, whether men or women, endeavour to find out their predominant excellency, if they have one, and their prevailing weakness, which every body has; and do justice to the one, and something more than justice to the other. Men have various objects in which they may excel, or at least would be thought to excel; and, though they love to hear justice done to them, where they know that they excel, yet they are most and best flattered upon those points where they wish to excel, and yet are doubtful whether they do or not. As for example: Cardinal Richelieu, who was undoubtedly the ablest statesman of his time, or perhaps of any other, had the idle vanity of being thought the best poet too: he envied the great Corneille his reputation, and ordered a criticism to be written upon the Cid*). Those, therefore, who flattered skillfully, said little to him of his abilities in state affairs, or at least but *en passant*, and as it might naturally occur. But the incense which they gave him, the smoke of which they knew would turn his head in their favour, was as a *bel esprit* and a poet. Why? Because he was sure of one excellency, and distrustfull as to the other. You will easily discover every man's prevailing vanity, by observing his favourite topic of conversation; for every man talks most of what he has most a mind to be thought to excel in. Touch him but there, and you touch him to the quick. The late Sir Robert Walpole**), who was certainly an able man, was little open to flattery upon that head; for he was in no doubt himself about it; but his prevailing weakness was, to be thought, to have a polite and happy turn to gallantry; of which he had undoubtedly less than any man living: it was his favourite and frequent subject of conversation; which proved to those who had any penetration, that it was his prevailing weakness. And they applied to it with success.

Women have, in general, but one object, which is their beauty; upon which scarce any flattery is too gross for them to swallow. Nature has hardly formed a woman ugly enough, to be insensible to flattery upon her person; if her face is so shocking, that she must, in some degree, be conscious of

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*) *Eins der vorzüglichsten Trauerspiele des* *Pierre Corneille.* *S. das Handbuch der französischen Sprache, Theil II. S.* 33 *u. ff.* **) *Sir Robert Walpole, nachmaliger* Earl of Oxford, *gest.* 1745, *Premierminister unter Georg I und II.*

it, her figure and her air she trusts, make ample amends for it. If her figure is deformed, her face, she thinks, counterbalances it. If they are both bad, she comforts herself that she has graces; a certain manner; a *je ne sais quoi*, still more engaging than beauty. This truth is evident, from the studied, and elaborate dress of the ugliest women in the world. An undoubted, uncontested, conscious beauty, is, of all women, the least sensible of flattery upon that head; she knows it is her due, and is therefore obliged to nobody for giving it her. She must be flattered upon her understanding; which though she may possibly not doubt of herself, yet she suspects that men may distrust.

Do no mistake me, and think that I mean to recommend to you abject and criminal flattery; no; flatter nobody's vices or crimes: on the contrary, abhor and discourage them. But there is no living in the world without a complaisant indulgence for people's weakneses, and innocent, though ridiculous vanities. If a man has a mind to be thought wiser, and a woman handsomer, than they really are, their error is a comfortable one to themselves, and an innocent one with regard to other people; and I would rather make them my friends by indulging them in it, than my enemies, by endeavouring (and that to no purpose) to undeceive them.

There are little attentions, likewise, which are infinitly engaging, and which sensibly affect that degree of pride and self-love, which is inseparable from human nature, as they are unquestionable proofs of the regard and consideration which we have for the persons, to whom we pay them. As for example: to observe the little habits, the likings, the antipathies, and the tastes of those whom we would gain, and then take care to provide them with the one, and to secure them from the other, giving them, genteely, to understand, that you had observed they liked such a dish, or such a room, for which reason you had prepared it: or, on the contrary, that having observed they had an aversion to such a dish, a dislike to such a person, etc. you had taken care to avoid presenting them. Such attention to such trifles, flatters self-love much more than greater things, as it makes people think themselves almost the only objects of your thoughts and care.

These are some of the arcanas necessary for your initiation in the great society of the world. I wish, I had known them better, at your age; I have paid the price of three-

and-fifty years for them, and shall not grudge it, if you reap the advantage. Adieu!

2) Lord Chesterfield to his son Philip Stanhope.

Bath, October the 12th. O. S. 1748.

Deer Boy,

I came here three days ago, upon account of a disorder in my stomach, which affected my head, and gave me vertigos. I already find myself something better; and consequently do not doubt, that a course of these waters will set me quite right. But however, and where-ever I am, your welfare, your character, your knowledge and your morals, employ my thoughts more than any thing that can happen to me, or that I can fear or hope for myself. I am going off the stage, you are coming upon it; with me, what has been, has been and reflection now would come too late; with you, every thing is to come, even, in some manner, reflection itself: so that this is the very time, when my reflections, the result of experience, may be of use to you, by supplying the want of yours. As soon as you leave Leipsig, you will gradually be going into the great world, where the first impressions that you shall give of yourself will be of great importance to you; but those which you shall receive will be decisive, for they always stick. To keep good company, especially at your first setting out, is the way to receive good impressions. If you ask me, what I mean by good company, I will confess to you, that it is pretty difficult to define; but I will endeavour to make you understand it as well as I can.

Good company is not what respective sets of company are pleased either to call or think themselves; but it is that company which all the people of the place call, and acknowledge to be, good company, notwithstanding some objections which they may form to some of the individuals who compose it. It consists chiefly (but by no means without exception) of people of considerable birth, rank and character: for people of neither birth, nor rank are frequently, and very justly, admitted into it, if distinguished by any peculiar merit, or eminency in any liberal art or science. Nay, so motley a thing is good company, that many people, without birth,

rank or merit, intrude into it by their own forwardness, and others slide into it by the protection of some considerable person; and some even of indifferent characters and morals make part of it. But, in the main, the good part preponderates, and people of infamous and blasted characters are never admitted. In this fashionable good company, the best manners and the best language of the place are most unquestionably to be learnt; for they establish and give the tone to both, which are therefore called the language and manners of good company; there being no legal tribunal to ascertain either.

A company consisting wholly of people of the first quality, cannot, for that reason, be called good company, in the common acceptation of the phrase, unless they are, into the bargain, the fashionable and accredited company of the place; for people of the very first quality can be as silly, as ill-bred and as worthless, as people of the meanest degree. On the other hand, a company consisting entirely of people of very low condition, whatever their merit or parts may be, can never be called good company; and consequently should not be much frequented, though by no means despised.

A company, wholly composed of men of learning, though greatly to be valued and respected, is not meant by the words good company; they cannot have the easy manners and *tournure* of the world, as they do not live in it. If you can bear your part well in such a company, it is extremely right, to be in it sometimes, and you will be but more esteemed in other companies for having a place in that. But then do not let it engross you; for if you do, you will be only considered as one of the *literati* by profession; which is not the way, either to shine, or rise in the world.

The company of professed wits and poets is extremely inviting to most young men, who, if they have wit themselves, are pleased with it, and if they have none, are sillily proud of being one of it: but it should be frequented with moderation and judgment, and you should by no means give yourself up to it. A Wit is a very unpopular denomination, as it carries terror along with it; and people in general are as much afraid of a live Wit, in company, as a woman is of a gun, which she thinks may go off of itself, and do her a mischief. Their acquaintance is, however, worth seeking, and their company worth frequenting; but not exclusively of

others, nor to such a degree as to be considered only as one of that particular set.

But the company, which of all others you should most carefully avoid, is that low company, which, in every sense of the word, is low indeed; low in rank, low in parts, low in manners, and low in merit. You will, perhaps, be surprised, that I should think it necessary to warn you against such company; but yet I do not think it wholly unnecessary after the many instances which I have seen of men of sense and rank, discredited, vilified, and undone, by keeping such company. Vanity, that source of many of our follies, and of some of our crimes, has sunk many a man into company, in every light infinitely below himself, for the sake of being the first man in it. There he dictates, is applauded, admired; and, for the sake of being the Coryphæus*) of that wretched chorus, disgraces and disqualifies himself soon for any better company. Depend upon it, you will sink or rise to the level of the company which you commonly keep: people will judge of you, and not unreasonably, by that. There is good sense in the Spanish saying: „Tell me whom you live with, and I will tell you who you are." Make it therefore your business, wherever you are, to get into that company, which every body of the place allows to be the best company, next to their own: which is the best definition, that I can give you of good company. But here, too, one caution is very necessary; for want of which many young men have been ruined, even in good company. Good company, (as I have observed) is composed of a great variety of fashionable people, whose characters and morals are very different, though their manners are pretty much the same. When a young man, new in the world, first gets into that company, he very rightly determines to conform to and imitate it. But then he too often, and fatally, mistakes the objects of his imitation. He has often heard that absurd term of genteel and fashionable vices. He there sees some people who shine, and who in general are admired and esteemed; and observes, that these people are whoremasters, drunkards or gamesters: upon which he adopts their vices, mistaking their defects for their perfections, and thinking that they owe their fashion and their

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*) Coryphaeus (κορυφαῖος), *der an der Spitze, oben an steht; der Vorsänger, Vortänzer im Chor, bei den Alten.*

lustre to those genteel vices. Whereas it is exactly the reverse; for these people have acquired their reputation by their parts, their learning, their good-breeding and other real accomplishments; and are only blemished and lowered, in the opinions of all reasonable people, and of their own, in time, by these genteel and fashionable vices. A whoremaster in a flux, or without a nose, is a very genteel person indeed and well worthy of imitation. A drunkard, vomiting up at night the wine of the day, and stupified by the head-ach all the next, is doubtless, a fine model to copy from. And a gamester tearing his hair, and blaspheming, for having lost more than he had in the world, is surely a most aimiable character. No: these are allays, and great ones too, which can never adorn any character, but will always debase the best. To prove this, suppose any man, without parts and some other good qualities, to be merely a whoremaster, a drunkard, or a gamester; how will he be looked upon, by all sorts of people? Why, as a most contemptible and vicious animal. Therefore it is plain, that in these mixed characters, the good part only makes people forgive, but not approve, the bad.

I will hope and believe, that you will have no vices; but if, unfortunately, you should have any, at least I beg of you to be content with your own, and to adopt no other body's. The adoption of vice has, I am convinced, ruined ten times more young men, than natural inclinations.

As I make no difficulty of confessing my past errors, where I think the confession may be of use to you, I will own, that, when I first went to the university, I drank and smoked, notwithstanding the aversion I had to wine and tobacco, only because I thought it genteel, and that it made me look like a man. When I went abroad, I first went to the Hague, where gaming was much in fashion, and where I observed then many people of shining rank and character gamed too. I was then young enough and silly enough to believe, that gaming was one of their accomplishments; and as I aimed at perfection, I adopted gaming as a necessary step to it. Thus I acquired by error, the habit of a vice, which far from adorning my character, has, I am conscious, been a great blemish in it.

Imitate then with discernment and judgment the real perfections of the good company, into which you may get; copy their politeness, their carriage, their address, and the

easy and well-bred turn of their conversation; but remember that, let them shine ever so bright, their vices, if they have any, are so many spots, which you would no more imitate, than you would make an artificial wart upon your face, because some very handsome man had the misfortune to have a natural one upon his: but on the contrary think, how much handsomer he would have been without it.

Having thus confessed some of my *égaremens*, I will now show you a little of my right side. I always endeavoured to get into the best company wherever I was, and commonly succeeded. There I pleased to some degree, by showing a desire to please. I took care never to be absent or *distrait*; but, on the contrary attended to every thing that was said, done, or even looked, in company. I never failed in the minutest attentions, and was never *journalier**). These things, and not my *égaremens*, made me fashionable.

Adieu! this letter is full long enough.

LYTTELTON.

George Lord Lyttelton *wurde* 1709 *zu Hagley in Worcestershire geboren, und zu Eton und in dem Christchurch Collegio zu Oxford erzogen, wo er sich durch Fleiſs und musterhaftes Betragen vortheilhaft auszeichnete, und in dem* Progress of love, *und einem auf* Blenheim, *den Pallast des Herzogs von Marlborough, geschriebenen Gedicht, Proben von einem glücklichen Talent zur Poesie gab, das ihn bei fortgesetzter Kultur zu dem Range eines der ersten Dichter Englands erhoben haben würde.* 1728 *trat er eine Reise durch Frankreich und Italien an, die ihn einige Jahre auf das nützlichste beschäfftigte. Da er sich bei seiner Rückkehr im Hause der Gemeinen als einen der heftigsten Gegner des Sir Robert Walpole zeigte, ob es gleich sein Vater, einer der Kommissarien der Admiralität, mit dem Hofe hielt, so machte ihn Frederic, Prinz von Wallis, der sich um* 1737 *genöthigt sah, den Pallast von St. James zu verlassen,*

*) Journalier, changeant de jour en jour, *unbeständig*.

und die Gegner des Ministeriums mit offenen Armen aufnahm, zu seinem Sekretär und Vertrauten. 1744 *mufste Walpole der Opposition weichen, worauf Lyttelton zu einem der* Lords Commissioners of the Treasury *ernannt wurde, und auf die Seite der Hofpartei trat. Er hatte in seiner Jugend an der Wahrheit der christlichen Religion gezweifelt. Reiferes Nachdenken belehrte ihn eines bessern, und er machte nun sein Glaubensbekenntnifs in den* Observations on the conversion of St. Paul *bekannt* (1747), *einem Tractat, auf welchen der Unglaube, wie sich Johnson ausdrückt, nie eine scheinbare Antwort zu geben vermogt hat.* 1751 *erbte er von seinem Vater, Sir Thomas Lyttelton, den Baronetstitel und ein ansehnliches Vermögen.* 1754 *ward er Mitglied des geheimen Raths* (privy counsellor) *und Kanzler der* Exchequer. *Um diese Zeit erschienen seine mehr in Fénelon's als Fontenelle's Manier geschriebenen* Dialogues of the Dead, *die begierig gelesen wurden, ob sie gleich nach Johnson's Urtheil mehr Früchte müfsiger Stunden, als des Fleifses sind. In den frühern Ausgaben finden sich nur* 28 *Gespräche, wovon die* 3 *letztern von fremder Hand sind. In der* 5*ten von* 1768 *kamen noch* 4 *neue hinzu. Als gegen das Ende der vorigen Regierung der unglückliche Anfang des Krieges eine Veränderung im Ministerio nothwendig machte, verlor Sir George zwar seine bisherige Kanzlerstelle, trat aber dafür als Peer des Reichs in's Oberhaus* (1756). *Sein letztes Product war* the History of Henry the Second, *auf dessen Ausarbeitung er* 20 *Jahr verwandt hat. Die* 3 *ersten Bände erschienen* 1764 *in* 4, *der Schlufs* 1770. *Er starb* 1773 *mit dem Ruhm eines geistreichen Schriftstellers, feurigen Parliamentsredners, unterhaltenden Gesellschafters und moralisch guten Mannes. Seine Werke, mit Ausschlufs der Geschichte Heinrichs des Zweiten und seiner Geschichte von England in einer Folge von Briefen eines vornehmen Herrn an seinen Sohn, sind von George Edward Aiscough im Jahr* 1773 *vereint herausgegeben worden:* the Works of George Lord Lyttelton, now first collected, *ein Theil in gr.* 4. *und* 3 *Theile in* 8. *Man findet hier* 1) *das Leben Cicero's,* 2) *einige Bemerkungen über die Römische Geschichte aus einer Handschrift,* 3) *Persianische Briefe, oder fortgesetzte Geschichte der Troglodyten aus Montesquieu's bekannten Briefen,* 4) *die Betrachtungen über die Bekehrung des heil. Paulus,* 5) *die Todtengespräche,* 6) *eine Reise nach Wales,* 7) *im Parliament*

gehaltene Reden, nebst Briefen und Gedichten. S. Götting. gel. Anzeigen von 1776, S. 609. Seine Gedichte wurden 1774 besonders abgedruckt. Lord Lyttelton's Poems, 8. *Sie sind wie Johnson urtheilt, Werke eines Mannes von literarischen Kenntnissen und Geschmack, der einen Theil seiner Zeit der Dichtkunst widmete, und sind eben so wenig zu bewundern als zu verwerfen. Ein Mehreres über Lyttelton findet man in dem 4ten Bande von Johnson's* Lives of the most eminent english poets, *und im 6ten Bande des* British Plutarch.

Hernando Cortez and William Penn *).

Cortez. Is it possible William Penn **), that you should seriously compare your glory with mine! The planter of a small colony in North America presume to vie with the conqueror of the great Mexican empire!

Penn. Friend, I pretend to no glory, — the Lord preserve me from it. — All glory is his; — but this I say, that I was his instrument in a more glorious work than that performed by thee: incomparably more glorious.

Cortez. Dost thou not know, William Penn, that with less than six hundred Spanish foot, eigtheen horse, and a few small pieces of cannon, I fought and defeated innumerable armies of very brave men, dethroned an emperor who had been raised to the throne by his valour, and excelled all his countrymen in the science of war, as much as they excelled all the rest of the West Indian nations! that I made him my prisoner in his own capital; and, after he had been deposed and slain by his subjects, vanquished and took Guatimozin, his successor, and accomplished my conquest of the whole empire of Mexico, which I loyally annexed to the Spanish crown? — Dost thou not know, that, in doing these wonderful acts, I shewed as much courage as Alexander

*) Dialogues of the dead. **) *William Penn, der reiche Sohn eines um das königliche Haus sehr verdienten Vice-Admirals gleiches Namens (gest. 1670), wirkte für die ihm von früher Jugend an sehr theuer und werth gewordene Partei der Quäker so viel, dass er fast mit eben dem Rechte als Georg Fox (gest. 1691) Stifter derselben genannt werden kann. Siehe Henke's Geschichte der christlichen Kirche, Theil 4. S. 283. Ausgabe von 1797.*

the great, as much prudence as Cæsar? That, by my policy, I ranged under my banners the powerful common-wealth of Tlascala, and brought them to assist me in subduing the Mexicans, though with the loss of their own beloved independence? and that, to consummate my glory, when the governor of Cuba, Velasquez, would have taken my command from me, and sacrificed me to his envy and jealousy, I drew from him all his forces and joined them to my own, shewing myself a superior to all other Spaniards as I was to the Indians?

PENN. I know very well that thou wast as fierce as a lion, and as subtle as a serpent. The devil, perhaps, may place thee as high in his black list of heroes as Alexander or Cæsar. It is not my business to interfere with him in setting thy rank. But hark thee, friend Cortez — What right hadst thou, or had the king of Spain himself to the Mexican empire? Answer me that, if thou canst.

CORTEZ. The pope gave it to my master.

PENN. The devil offered to give our Lord all the kingdoms of the earth, and I suppose the pope, as his vicar, gave thy master this: in return for which he fell down and worshipped him, like an idolater as he was. But suppose the high priest of Mexico had taken it into his head to give Spain to Montezuma, would his grant have been good?

CORTEZ. These are questions of casuistry, which it is not the business of a soldier to decide. We leave that to gownsmen. But pray, Mr. Penn, what right had you to the province you settled?

PENN. An honest right of fair purchase. We gave the native savages some things they wanted, and they in return gave us lands they did not want. All was amicably agreed on, not a drop of blood shed to stain our acquisition.

CORTEZ. I am afraid there was a little fraud in the purchase. Thy followers, William Penn, are said to think cheating in a quiet and sober way no mortal sin.

PENN. The saints are always calumniated by the ungodly. But it was a sight which an angel might contemplate with delight, to behold the colony I settled! To see us living with the Indians like innocent lambs, and taming the ferocity of their barbarous manners by the gentleness of ours! To see the whole country, which before was an uncultivated wilderness, rendered as fertile and fair as the garden of God!

O Hernando Cortez, Hernando Cortez! didst thou leave the great empire of Mexico in that state? No, thou hast turned those delightful and populous regions into a desert, a desert flooded with blood. Dost thou not remember that most infernal scene, when the noble emperor Guatimozin was stretched out by thy soldiers upon hot burning coals, to make him discover into what part of the lake of Mexico he had thrown the royal treasures? Are not his groans ever sounding in the ears of thy conscience? Do not they rend thy hard heart, and strike thee with more than the yells of the furies?

Cortez. Alas! I was not present when that dire act was done. Had I been there I would have forbidden it. My nature was mild.

Penn. Thou wast the captain of that band of robbers, who did this horrid deed. The advantage they had drawn from thy counsels and conduct enabled them to commit it: and thy skill saved them afterwards from the vengeance that was due to so enormous a crime. The enraged Mexicans would have properly punished them for it, if they had not had thee for their general, thou lieutenant of satan.

Cortez. The saints I find can rail, William Penn. But how do you hope to preserve this admirable colony which you have settled? Your people, you tell me, live like innocent lambs. Are there no wolves in North America to devour those lambs? But if the Americans should continue in perpetual peace with all your successors there, the French will not. Are the inhabitants of Pensylvania to make war against them with prayers and preaching? If so, that garden of God which you say you have planted, will undoubtedly be their prey, and they will take from you your property, your laws, and your religion.

Penn. The Lord's will be done. The Lord will defend us against the rage of our enemies, if it be his good pleasure.

Cortez. Is this the wisdom of a great legislator! I have heard some of your countrymen compare you to Solon? Did Solon, think you, give laws to a people, and leave those laws and that people at the mercy of every invader? The first business of legislature is to provide a military strength that may defend the whole system. If a house is built in a land of robbers, without a gate to shut, or a bolt or bar to secure it, what avails it how well-proportioned or how com-

modious the architecture of it may be? Is it richly furnished within? the more it will tempt the hands of violence and of rapine to seize its wealth. The world, William Penn, is all a land of robbers. Any state or common-wealth erected therein must be well fenced and secured by good military institutions; or, the happier it is in all other respects, the greater will be its danger, the more speedy its destruction. Perhaps the neighbouring English colonies may for a while protect yours: but that precarious security cannot always preserve you. Your plan of government must be changed, or your colony will be lost. What I have said is also applicable to Great Britain itself. If an encrease of its wealth be not accompanied with an encrease of its force, that wealth will become the prey of some of the neighbouring nations, in which the martial spirit is more prevalent than the commercial. And whatever praise may be due to its civil institutions, if they are not guarded by a wise system of military policy, they will be found of no value, being unable to prevent their own dissolution.

Penn. These are suggestions of human wisdom. The doctrines I held were inspired; they came from above.

Cortez. It is blasphemy to say, that any folly could come from the fountain of wisdom. Whatever is inconsistent with the great laws of nature, and with the necessary state of human society, cannot possibly have been inspired by God. Self-defence is as necessary to nations as to men. And shall particulars have a right which nations have not? True religion, William Penn, is the perfection of reason. Fanaticism is the disgrace, the destruction of reason.

Penn. Though what thou sayest should be true, it does not come well from thy mouth. A papist talk of reason! Go to the inquisition, and tell them of reason, and the great laws of nature. They will broil thee, as thy soldiers broiled the unhappy Guatimozin. Why dost thou turn pale? Is it the name of the inquisition, or the name of Guatimozin, that troubles and affrights thee? O wretched man! who madest thyself a voluntary instrument to carry into a new-discovered world that hellish tribunal. Tremble and shake when thou thinkest, that every murder the inquisitors have committed, every torture they have inflicted on the innocent Indians, is originally owing to thee. Thou must answer to God for all their inhumanity, for all their injustice. What wouldst thou

give to part with the renown of thy conquests, and to have a conscience as pure and undisturbed as mine?

Cortez. I feel the force of thy words. They pierce me like daggers. I can never, never be happy, while I retain any memory of the ills I have caused. — Yet I thought I did right. I thought I laboured to advance the glory of God, and propagate in the remotest parts of the earth his holy religion. He will be merciful to well-designing and pious error. Thou also wilt have need of that gracious indulgence; though not, I own, so much as I.

Penn. Ask thy heart, whether ambition was not thy real motive, and zeal the pretence?

Cortez. Ask thine, whether thy zeal had no wordly views, and whether thou didst believe all the nonsense of the sect, at the head of which thou wast pleased to become a legislator. Adieu. — Self-examination requires retirement.

GOLDSMITH.

Oliver Goldsmith *wurde* 1729 *zu Elphin in der Irländischen Grafschaft Roscommon geboren, wo sein Vater ein kleines Landgut besaſs. Nachdem er sich im Trinitätscollegio zu Dublin gründliche Kenntnisse in der klassischen Literatur erworben, und den Grad eines* Bachelor of arts *angenommen hatte* (1749), *wandte er seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Arzneikunde, und besuchte in dieser Hinsicht die im medicinischen Fache von jeher berühmte Universität Edinburg* (1751). *Allein kaum hatte er seine dortigen Studien angefangen, als er sich, wegen einer unvorsichtig geleisteten Bürgschaft, eiligst Schottland zu verlassen genöthigt sah. In dieser Verlegenheit begab er sich an Bord eines Holländischen Schiffes, unbekümmert, wohin es ihn führen werde. Zu Rotterdam abgesetzt, ging er über Brüssel nach Löwen, wo er sich zum Doktor der Arzeneigelahrtheit promoviren lieſs. Von einer seltenen Wiſsbegierde getrieben, entschloſs er sich nunmehr, die* grand tour through Europe, *d. h. eine Reise durch Frankreich, die Schweiz und Italien zu unternehmen. Daſs es ihm durchaus an Geld und Empfehlungen mangelte, machte ihn keinen Augenblick verlegen. Er ging nach Sitte*

der Pilgrimme von einem Kloster und von einem Dorfe zum andern, und wufste sich bei den Mönchen durch seine Fertigkeit im Disputiren, und bei den Landleuten durch seine Flöte gastfreundliche Aufnahme zu verschaffen. Von Genf reisete er in Gesellschaft eines jungen Engländers, der ihn zu seinem Führer (travelling tutor) *erwählt hatte, nach dem südlichen Frankreich. In Marseille entzweite er sich mit seinem Zögling, worauf er sich genöthigt sah, seine Rückkehr allein und in den hülfsbedürftigsten Umständen anzutreten. Sein Genie half ihm indessen auch diesmal aus der Verlegenheit, und er langte gegen das Ende des Jahres 1758 zu London an. Aber nie hatte er sich in einer bedrängteren Lage befunden als jetzt. Durchaus Fremdling in dieser Hauptstadt und gänzlich von Gelde entblöfst, bot er verschiedenen Apothekern seine Dienste als Geselle an, wurde aber wegen seines Irländischen Dialects und seiner zerlumpten Tracht überall abgewiesen, bis ihn endlich ein Chemiker in der Gegend von Fish-street aus Mitleid zu sich nahm. Seine Talente und Kenntnisse zogen ihn indessen bald aus der Dunkelheit, in der er hier schmachtete, hervor. Nachdem er einige Zeit als* usher *oder Unterlehrer an einer Erziehungsanstalt zu Peckham gearbeitet hatte, berief ihn Herr Griffith*), Redacteur des* monthly Review, *zum Mitarbeiter an diesem kritischen Journal, worauf er sich zu London niederliefs, und sich ganz dem Autorleben zu widmen beschlofs* (1759). *Seine ersten Produkte zeichneten sich so vortheilhaft aus, dafs ihn die Herausgeber der wichtigsten Englischen Zeitschriften wetteifernd zu ihrem Mitarbeiter ernannten. In dem* public Ledger *machte er zuerst seinen* Citizen of the world, *unter dem Titel* chinese Letters, *und in dem* british Magazine *den gröfsten Theil seiner später hin gesammelten* Essays *und* Tales *bekannt. Das Glück schien nunmehr einen Mann begünstigen zu wollen, den es so lange vernachläfsigt hatte. Er schrieb in kurzen Zwischenräumen seine Schauspiele* the good natured Man *und* she stoops to conquer, *welche mit grofsem Beifall aufgeführt wurden; seine vortrefflichen Gedichte* the Traveller *und* the deserted Village, *seinen*

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*) *Ralph Griffith legte im Jahre 1749 das* Monthly Review, *das vornehmste Englische Gelehrten-Journal, an, und dirigirte dasselbe bis an seinen, im October des Jahres 1803 erfolgten Tod. Er erreichte ein Alter von 84 Jahren.*

Vicar of Wakefield, *seine* History of England (London 1772, 4 Vols. 8.), *seine* Roman History (ib. 2 Vols. 8.) *Diese Werke erwarben ihm den Ruhm eines klassischen Schriftstellers und würden ihn bald in die glänzendsten Umstände versetzt haben, wenn nicht eine unglückliche Neigung zum Spiel und eine zu weit getriebene Wohlthätigkeit die schnell erworbenen Summen eben so schnell zerstreuet hätten.* 1800 l. *jährlicher Einnahme würden ihn nicht von der Verlegenheit, Schulden halber arretirt zu werden, befreit haben, wenn ihm nicht seine Freunde mehr als einmal aus der Noth geholfen hätten. Zu diesen gehörte ein Garrick, Johnson, Reynolds, Burke etc. Sein letztes Werk,* History of the earth and animated nature, 8 Vols. 8. *enthält zwar wenig Neues, ist aber doch der guten Auswahl der Materien wegen seines Verfassers nicht unwürdig. Ein Nervenfieber endigte sein leider zu kurzes Leben im Jahr* 1774. *Seine Freunde errichteten ihm ein Monument in der Westminsterabtei zwischen Gay's und des Herzogs von Argyle Denkmählern in dem sogenannten Dichterwinkel. Seinen Charakter druckt Pope's Vers*

In wit a man, simplicity a child

vortrefflich aus. — Diese Nachrichten sind aus einer, den poetical and dramatic Works of Dr. Goldsmith (London 1791. 2 Vols. 8.) *vorangeschickten, Lebensbeschreibung dieses merkwürdigen Mannes entlehnt. Von seinen Gedichten siehe den zweiten Theil dieses Handbuchs. Sein auch unter uns durch eine meisterhafte Übersetzung bekannter* Vicar of Wakefield — *Dr. Johnson verschaffte ihm einen Verleger für dieses Werk, welches ihm* 60 *Pf. St. Honorar eintrug, womit er seine schuldige Hausmiethe bezahlte — erschien zuerst London* 1766, 8. *Bemerkenswerth ist es, daſs er den ehrwürdigen Landpriester nach seinem Bruder Heinrich, einem Irländishen Geistlichen, der mit Verleugnung aller Ansprüche auf Gut und Ruhm bei einem jährlichen Einkommen von* 40 l. *in Gesellschaft einer liebenswürdigen Gattinn sich und den Wissenschaften lebte, kopirt, und in der hier folgenden Episode einen Theil der seltsamen Abentheuer seiner Reise,* mutatis mutandis, *dem Sohne des Vicar's, George Primrose, in den Mund legt. — Im Jahre* 1791 *erschienen* Essays and criticisms by Dr. Oliver Goldsmith, with an account of the author, London, Johnson, 3 Vols. *Den ersten Theil hatte der Verfassser im Jahre* 1765 *selbst herausgegeben; der* 2te *und* 3te *Theil wurde von einem mit Goldsmith's Werken Ver-*

trauten, aus den Journalen gesammelt, an welchen Goldsmith gearbeitet hatte. Außer mehreren Erzählungen findet man darin eine Charakteristik des Lord Chatham, Versuche über die Physiognomik, über Musik etc. wie auch über einige naturhistorische Gegenstände. Die Recensionen zeigen ihn in einem neuen Lichte; einige sind mit vieler Laune geschrieben. Überhaupt ist diese Sammlung des berühmten Mannes nicht unwürdig. Die vorangesetzte Biographie nebst seinem Bildnisse erhöhen den Werth derselben. Im Jahre 1801 erschien zu London in vier Vols. 8. ein abermaliger Abdruck verschiedener Werke Goldsmiths unter dem Titel: The miscellaneous Works of O. G., new edition in four Volumes. To which is prefixed some account of his life and writings. — Eine, Anfängern bestimmte und mit vielen sacherläuternden Anmerkungen und Accenten versehene Ausgabe des Vicar und einiger vorzüglichen Gedichte Goldsmith's erschien 1816 bei dem Verleger dieses Werks.

History of a Philosophic Vagabond *).

Upon my arrival in town, Sir, my first care was to deliver your letter of recommendation to our cousin, who was himself in little better circumstances than I. My first scheme, you know, Sir, was to be usher **) at an academy ***), and I asked his advice on the affair. Our cousin received the proposal with a true Sardonic grin †). „Aye, cried he, this is indeed a very pretty career, that has been chalked out for you. I have been an usher at a boarding-school ††) myself; and may I die by an anodyne necklace †††), but I

*) Vicar of Wakefield, Chap. XX. **) Usher, *Name der Lehrer an den Erziehungsanstalten oder* boarding-schools. ***) academy *bedeutet hier eben das, was im folgenden* boarding school *bezeichnet.* †) Sardonic grin. *Nach Plinius wächst auf der Insel Sardinien ein Kraut, welches die Lippen derer, welche es berühren, krampfhaft zusammenzieht, so daſs sie zu lachen scheinen.* ††) boarding-school *bezeichnet im Allgemeinen eine Privatschule, vorzüglich eine solche, wo die Kinder zugleich beköstiget werden. Es giebt deren in England eine groſse Anzahl, und sie sind eben so mannigfaltig dem Preise, als dem Werthe nach.* †††) Anodyne necklace, *wörtlich: schmerzstillendes Halsband, d. i. Strick.*,

had rather be an underturnkey in Newgate *). I was up early and late: I was brow-beat by the master, hated for my ugly face by the mistress, worried by the boys within, and never permitted to stir out to meet civility abroad. But are you sure you are fit for a school? Let me examine you a little. Have you been bred apprentice to the business? „No.“ Then you won't do for a school. Can you dress the boy's hair? „No.“ Then you won't do for a school. Have you had the small-pox? „No.“ Then you won't do for a school. Can you lie three in a bed? „No.“ Then you will never do for a school. Have you got a good stomach? „Yes.“ Then you will by no means do for a school. No, Sir, if you are for a genteel easy profession, bind yourself seven years as an apprentice to turn a cutler's wheel; but avoid a school by any means. Yet come, continued he, I see you are a lad of spirit and some learning, what do you think of commencing author, like me? You have read in books, no doubt, of men of genius starving **) at the trade; at present I'll shew you forty very dull fellows about town that live by it in opulence. All honest jog-trot men, who go on smoothly and dully, and write history and politics, and are praised: men, Sir, who, had they been bred coblers, would all their lives have only mended shoes, but never made them.

Finding that there was no great degree of gentility affixed to the character of an usher, I resolved to accept his proposal; and having the highest respect for literature, hailed the antiqua mater of Grubstreet ***) with reverence. I thought it my glory to pursue a track which Dryden and Otway †) trod before me. I considered the goddess of this region as the parent of excellence; and however an intercourse with the world might give us good sense, the poverty she granted I supposed to be the nurse of genius. Big with these re-

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*) *s. oben S. 123.* **) *Butler, der berühmte Verfasser des* Hudibras, *starb fast im eigentlichen Sinne vor Hunger.* ***) Grubstreet, *Name einer Strasse bei Moorfields in London, welche vornämlich von Bänkelsängern, Verfassern von Mährchen und Volkszeitungen und andern geringern Schriftstellern bewohnt wird; daher* Grubstreet-writer, *ein elender Schriftsteller:* antiqua mater, *eine in England gewöhnliche Benennung einer Akademie.* †) *Zwei berühmte Englische Dichter. Von Dryden ist oben S. 41 ff. gehandelt worden. Otway lebte von 1651 bis 1685. S. Johnson's* Lives of the English poets, Vol. I.

flections, I sate down, and finding that the best things remained to be said on the wrong side, I resolved to write a book that should be wholly new. I therefore drest up three paradoxes with some ingenuity. They were false, indeed, hut they were new. The jewels of truth have been so often imported by others, that nothing was left for me to import but some splendid things that at a distance looked every bit as well. Witness you powers what fancied importance sate perched upon my quill while I was writing. The whole learned world, I made no doubt, would rise to oppose my systems; but then I was prepared to oppose the whole learned world. Like the porcupine I sate self-collected, with a quill pointed against every opposer. —

But the learned world said nothing to my paradoxes; nothing at all, Sir. Every man of them was employed in praising his friends and himself, or condemning his enemies; and unfortunately, as I had neither, I suffered the cruellest mortification, neglect.

As I was meditating one day in a coffee-house on the fate of my paradoxes, a little man happening to enter the room, placed himself in the box before me, and after some preliminary discourse, finding me to be a scholar, drew out a boundle of proposals, begging me to subscribe to a new edition he was going to give the world of Propertius, with notes. This demand necessarily produced a reply that I had no money; and that confession led him to inquire into the nature of my expectations. Finding that my expectations were just as great as my purse, I see, cried he, you are unacquainted with the town. I'll teach you a part of it. Look at these proposals; upon these very proposals I have subsisted very comfortably for twelve years. The moment a nobleman returns from his travels, a Creolian**) arrives from Jamaica, or a dowager from her country-seat, I strike for a subscription. I first besiege their hearts with flattery, and then pour in my proposals at the breach. If they subscribe readily the first time, I renew my request to beg a dedication fee. If they let me have that, I smite them once more for engraving their coat of arms at the top. Thus, continued he, I live by vanity, and laugh at it. But between ourselves,

*) Creolian, *ein Kreole, einer der in Amerika von Europäischen Eltern geboren ist.*

I am now too well known, I should be glad to borrow your face a bit; a nobleman of dictinction has just returned from Italy; my face is familiar to his porter; but if you bring this copy of verses, my life for it you succeed, and we divide the spoil.

Having a mind too proud to stoop to such indignities, and yet a fortune too humble to hazard a second attempt for fame, I was now obliged to take a middle course, and write for bread. But I was unqualified for a profession where mere industry alone was to ensure success. I could not suppress my lurking passion for applause; but usually consumed that time in efforts after excellence which takes up but little room, when it should have been more advantageously employed in the diffusive productions of fruitful mediocrity. My little pieces would therefore come forth in the mist of periodical publications, unnoticed and unknown. The public were more importantly employed than to observe the easy simplicity of my style, or the harmony of my periods. Sheet after sheet was thown off to oblivion. My essays were buried among the essays upon liberty, eastern tales, and cures for the bite of a mad dog; while Philautos, Philalethes, Phileleutheros, and Philanthropos *), all wrote better, because they wrote faster than I.

Now, therefore, I began to associate with none but disappointed authors, like myself, who praised, deplored, and despised each other. The satisfaction we found in every celebrated writer's attempts was inversely as their merits. I found that no genius in another could please me. My unfortunate paradoxes had intirely dried up that source of comfort. I could neither read nor write with satisfaction; for excellence in another was my aversion, and writing was my trade.

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, as I was one day sitting on a bench in St. James park, a young gentleman of distinction, who had been my intimate acquaintance at the university, approached me. We saluted each other with some hesitation, he almost ashamed of being known to one who

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*) *Griechische Namen erdichteter Schriftsteller, welche der Reihe nach im Deutschen übersetzt werden können durch: Selbstfreund, Wahrheitsfreund, Freiheitsfreund, Menschenfreund.*

made so shabby an appearance; an' I afraid of a repulse. But my suspicions soon vanished; for Ned Thornhill was at the bottom a very good-natured fellow.

My friend's first care was to alter my appearance by a very fine suit of his own cloaths, and then I was admitted to his table upon the footing of half-friend, half-underling. My business was to attend him at auctions, to put him in spirits when he sate for his picture, to take the left hand in his chariot when not filled by another, and to assist at tattering a kip *), as the phrase was, when we had a mind for a frolic. Beside this, I had twenty other little employments in the family. I was to do many small things without bidding; to carry the cork-screw; to stand godfather to all the butler's children; to sing when I was bid; to be never out of humour; always to be humble, and, if I could, to be very happy.

In this honourable post, however, I was not without a rival. A captain of marines, who was formed for the place by nature, opposed me in my patron's affections. His mother had been laundress to a man of quality, and thus he early acquired a taste for pimping and pedigree. As this gentleman made it the study of his life to be acquainted with lords, though he was dismissed from several for his stupidity; yet he found many of them who were as dull as himself, that permitted his assiduities. As flattery was his trade, he practised it with the easiest address imaginable; but it came aukward and stiff from me; and as every day my patron's desire of flattery encreased, so every hour being better acquainted with his defects, I became more unwilling to give it. Thus I was once more fairly going to give up the field to the captain, when my friend found occasion for my assistance. This was nothing less than to fight a duel for him, with a gentleman whose sister it was pretended he had used ill. I readily complied with his request, and though I see you are displeased at my conduct, yet as it was a debt indispensably due to friendship, I could not refuse. I undertook the

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*) to tatter a kip *soll eigentlich eine Irländische Redensart seyn, welche bedeutet: in ein liederliches Haus eindringen, daselbst den Hausrath zerstören, und andern ähnlichen Unfug treiben.* Kip *bedeutet nämlich im Irländischen ein Bordell. Hier soll* to assist at tattering a kip *wohl weiter nichts heißsen, als: einen tollen Streich ausführen helfen.*

affair, disarmed my antagonist, and soon after had the pleasure of finding that the lady was only a woman of town *), and the fellow her bully **) and a sharper. This piece of service was repaid with the warmest profession of gratitude; but as my friend was to leave town in a few days, he knew no other method of serving me, but by recommending me to his uncle Sir William Thornhill, and another nobleman of great distinction, who enjoyed a post under the government. When he was gone, my first care was to carry his recommendatory letter to his uncle, a man whose character for every virtue was universal, yet just. I was received by his servants with the most hospitable smiles; for the looks of the domestics ever transmit their master's benevolence. Being shewn into a grand apartment, where Sir William soon came to me, I delivered my message and letter, which he read, and after pausing some minutes, „Pray, Sir, cried he, inform me what you have done for my kinsman, to deserve this warm recommendation? But I suppose, Sir, I guess your merits, you have fought for him; and so you would expect a reward from me, for being the instrument of his vices. I wish, sincerely wish, that my present refusal may be some punishment for your guilt; but still more, that it may be some inducement to your repentance." — The severity of this rebuke I bore patiently, because I knew it was just. My whole expectations now, therefore, lay in my letter to the great man. As the doors of the nobility ***) are almost ever beset with beggars, all ready to thrust in some sly petition, I found it no easy matter to gain admittance. However, after bribing the servants with half my wordly fortune, I was at last shewn into a spacious apartment, my letter being previously sent up for his lordship's inspection. During this anxious interval I had full time to look round me. Every thing was grand, and of happy contrivance: the paintings, the furniture, the gildings petrified me with awe, and raised my idea of the owner. Ah, thought I to myself, how very great must the possessor of all these things be, who carries in his head the business of the

*) woman of the town, *liederliche Weibsperson.* **) bully, *einer, welcher sich liederlicher Personen des andern Geschlechts annimmt.* ***) *Der eigentliche Adel in England besteht aus den Herzogen, Grafen oder Earls, Viscounts und Baronen; sie allein sind* Noblemen, *heissen Lords, sind Peers des Reichs und haben Sitz und Stimme im Oberhause.*

state and whose house displays half the wealth of a kingdom: sure his genius must be unfathomable! During these awful reflections I heard a step come heavily forward. Ah, this is the great man himself! No, it was only a chambermaid. Another foot was heard soon after. This must be He! No, it was only the great man's valet de chambre. At last his lordship actually made his appearance. Are you, cried he, the bearer of this here letter? I answered with a bow. I learn by this, continued he, as how that — But just at that instant a servant delivered him a card, and without taking farther notice, he went out of the room, and left me to digest my own happiness at leisure. I saw no more of him, till told by a footman that his lordship was going to his coach at the door. Down I immediately followed, and joined my voice to that of three or four more, who came, like me, to petition for favours. His lordship, however, went too fast for us, and was gaining his chariot door with large strides, when I hallowed out to know if I was to have any reply. He was by this time got in, and muttered an answer, half of which only I heard, the other half was lost in the rattling of his chariot wheels. I stood for some time with my neck stretched out, in the posture of one that was listening to catch the glorious sounds, till looking round me, I found myself alone at his lordship's gate.

My patience was now quite exhausted: stung with the thousand indignities I had met with, I was willing to cast myself away, and only wanted the gulph to receive me. I regarded myself as one of those vile things that nature designed should be thrown by into her lumber-room, there to perish in obscurity. I had still, however, half a guinea left, and of that I thought fortune herself should not deprive me: but in order to be sure of this, I was resolved to go instantly and spend it while I had it, and then trust to occurrences for the rest. As I was going along with this resolution, it happened that Mr. Crispe's *) office seemed invitingly open to give me a welcome reception. In this office Mr. Crispe kindly offers all his majesty's subjects a generous promise of 30 l. a year,

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*) Mr. Crispe, a noted recruiter for the English army, particularly for foreign service. (*Anmerkung des Herausgebers der bei Didot in Paris erschienenen Ausgabe des* Vicar.)

for which promise all they give in return is their liberty for life, and permission to let him transport them to America as slaves. I was happy at finding a place where I could lose my fears in desperation, and entered this cell, for it had the appearance of one, with the devotion of a monastic. Here I found a number of poor creatures, all in circumstances like myself, expecting the arrival of Mr. Crispe, representing a true epitome of English impatience. Each untractable soul at variance with fortune, wreaked her injuries on their own hearts: but Mr. Crispe at last came down, and all our murmurs were hushed. He deigned to regard me with an air of peculiar approbation, and indeed he was the first man who for a month past talked to me with smiles. After a few questions, he found I was fit for every thing in the world. He paused a while upon the properest means of providing for me, and slapping his forehead, as if he had found it, assured me, that there was at that time an embassy talked of from the synod of Pensylvania *) to the Chickasaw Indians **), and that he would use his interest to get me made secretary. I knew in my own heart that the fellow lied, and yet his promise gave me pleasure, there was something so magnificent in the sound. I fairly, therefore, divided my half guinea, one half of which went to be added to his thirty thousand pounds, and with the other half I resolved to go to the next tavern, to be there more happy than he.

As I was going out with that resolution, I was met at the door by the captain of a ship, with whom I had formerly some little acquaintance, and he agreed to be my companion

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*) *Pensylvanien, eine Provinz in Nord-America, welche zu der Zeit, wo* Goldsmith *dieses schrieb, den Engländern gehörte; gegenwärtig macht sie, wie bekannt, einen Theil des Nordamerikanischen Freistaats aus. — Ob unter* synod of Pensylvania *die Versammlung der Pflanzer (sonst* assize *genannt) verstanden wird, oder ob* Goldsmith *darunter die geistliche Synode der Presbyterianer versteht, welche sich gegenwärtig jährlich zu Philadelphia versammelt, wo auch zu einer andern Zeit jedes Jahr die Abgeordneten der vier Synoden, welche dieses Bekenntniſs in den vereinten Staaten hat, eine General-Versammlung halten, ist den Herausgebern unbekannt.* **) Chickasaw Indians *ein nordamerikanischer Völkerstamm, der noch von politischer Bedeutung seyn muſs, da der nordamerikanische Freistaat mit demselben einen, den 1sten Mai 1801 von dem Präsidenten* Jefferson *ratificirten, Vertrag schloſs.*

over a bowl of punch. As I never chose to make a secret of my circumstances, he assured me that I was upon the very point of ruin, in listening to the office-keeper's*) promises; for that he only designed to sell me to the plantations. „But, continued he, I fancy you might, by a much shorter voyage, be very easily put into a genteel way of bread. Take my advice. My ship sails to-morrow for Amsterdam: what if you go in her as a passenger? The moment you land all you have to do is to teach the Dutchmen English, and I'll warrant you'll get pupils and money enough. I suppose you understand English, added he, by this time, or the deuce is in it." I confidently assured him of that; but expressed a doubt whether the Dutch would be willing to learn English. He affirmed with an oath that they were fond of it to distraction; and upon that affirmation I agreed with his proposal, and embarked the next day to teach the Dutch English in Holland. The wind was fair, our voyage short, and after having paid my passage with half my moveables, I found myself, fallen as from the skies, a stranger in one of the principal streets of Amsterdam. In this situation I was unwilling to let any time pass unemployed in teaching. I addressed myself therefore to two or three of those I met, whose appearance seemed most promising; but it was impossible to make ourselves mutually understood. It was not till this very moment I recollected, that in order to teach Dutchmen English, it was necessary that they should first teach me Dutch. How I came to overlook so obvious an objection, is to me amazing; but certain it is I overlooked it.

This scheme thus blown up, I had some thoughts of fairly shipping back to England again; but happening into company with an Irish student, who was returning from Louvain,*) our conversation turning upon topics of literature, (for by the way it may be observed, that I always forgot the meanness of my circumstances when I could converse upon such subjects) from him I learned that there were not two men in this whole university who understood Greek. This amazed me. I instantly resolved to travel to Louvain, and there to live by teaching Greek; and in this design I was

*) Office keeper, *nämlich Mr. Crispe.* **) Louvain, *Löwen, Universität im ehemaligen Brabant.*

heartened by my brother student, who threw out some hints that a fortune might be got by it.

I set boldly forward the next morning. Every day lessened the burthen of my moveables, like Aesop's basket of bread*); for I paid them for my lodgings to the Dutch as I travelled on. When I came to Louvain, I was resolved not to go sneaking to the lower professors, but openly tendered my talents to the principal**) himself. I went, had admittance, and offered him my service as master of the Greek language, which I had been told was a desideratum in his university. The principal seemed at first to doubt of my abilities; but of these I offered to convince him, by turning a part of any Greek author he should fix upon into Latin. Finding me perfectly earnest in my proposal, he addressed me thus: „you see me, young man, continued he, I never learned Greek, and I don't find that I have ever missed it. I have had a doctor's cap and gown***) without Greek: I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek; and in short, continued he, as I don't know Greek, I do not believe there is any good in it."

I was now too far from home to think of returning; so I resolved to go forward. I had some knowledge of music, with a tolerable voice, and now turned what was once my amusement into a present means of subsistence. I passed

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*) *Aesop wurde einst, wie es in dem bekannten Mährchen von dem Leben dieses alten Fabulisten heifst, nebst mehreren andern Sklaven verschickt. Jeder derselben mufste eine Last tragen; Aesop wählte sich die schwerste und wurde deshalb verlacht. Man fand aber bald, dafs er nicht übel gewählt hatte, denn er hatte sich den Brodkorb genommen, der, wie ganz natürlich war, mit jedem Tage leichter wurde.* **) Principal *heifst auf Englischen Universitäten der Vorsteher von einigen Kollegien* (Colleges); *in andern heifst er Warden, Präsident, Probst. In unserer Stelle wird* Principal *vermuthlich das bedeuten sollen, was wir unter Rektor einer Universität verstehen.* ***) *In England besteht die akademische Tracht der Doctoren der Gottesgelahrtheit in einem* gown *(d. h. einem Mantel mit langen, weiten, aufgeschlitzten Ermeln) aus Scharlach mit schwarzem Sammet; ferner in einem* cap *(d. h. einer schwarzen Mütze, mit einem viereckigen flachen Deckel) und einem* band *(d. h. einem Priesterhälschen). — Wir führen dies nur darum hier an, weil Goldsmith bei dieser Stelle wahrscheinlich mehr an die Englische akademische Tracht, als an die zu Löwen übliche gedacht haben mag, wiewohl er auch an diesem letztern Orte sich aufgehalten hat.*

among the harmless peasants of Flanders, and among such of the French as were poor enough to be very merry; for I ever found them sprightly in proportion to their wants. Whenever I approached a peasant's house, towards night-fall, I played one of my most merry tunes, and that procured me not only a lodging, but subsistence for the next day. I once or twice attempted to play for people of fashion; but they always thought my performance odious, and never rewarded me even with a trifle. This was to me the more extraordinary, as whenever I used in better days to play for company, when playing was my amusement, my music never failed to throw them into raptures, and the ladies especially; but as it was now my only means, it was received with contempt; a proof how ready the world is to under-rate those talents by which a man is supported.

In this manner I proceeded to Paris, with no design but just to look about me, and then to go forward. The people of Paris are much fonder of strangers that have money, than of those that have wit. As I could not boast much of either, I was no great favourite. After walking about the town four or five days, and seeing the outsides of the best houses, I was preparing to leave this retreat of venal hospitality, when passing through one of the principal streets, whom should I meet but our cousin, to whom you first recommended me. This meeting was very agreeable to me, and I believe not displeasing to him. He enquired into the nature of my journey to Paris, and informed me of his own business there, which was to collect pictures, medals, intaglios*), and antiques of all kinds, for a gentleman in London, who had just stept into taste and large fortune. I was the more surprised at seeing our cousin pitched upon for this office, as he himself had often assured me he knew nothing of the matter. Upon asking how he had been taught the art of a connoscento**) so very suddenly, he assured me that nothing was more easy. The whole secret consisted in a strict adherence

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*) *Edelsteine, in welche die Figuren eingegraben und vertieft sind, heissen bei den Italiänern* intagli, *bei den Franzosen* gravures en creux, *und diese sind in unserer Stelle gemeint; die, in welche die Figuren erhaben oder hervorragend geschnitten sind heissen bei den Italiänern* camei, *Kameen.* **) connoscento, *eigentlich:* conoscente *(ein Italiänisches Wort), ein Kenner.*

to two rules; the one always to observe, that the picture might have been better if the painter had taken more pains; and the other, to praise the works of Pietro Perugino*). But, says he, as I once taught you how to be an author in London, I'll now undertake to instruct you in the art of picture-buying at Paris.

With this proposal I very readily closed as it was a living, and now all my ambition was to live. I went therefore to his lodgings, improved my dress by his assistance, and after some time, accompanied him to auctions of pictures, where the English gentry **) were expected to be purchasers. I was not a little surprised at his intimacy with people of the best fashion, who referred themselves to his judgment upon every picture or medal, as to an unerring standard of taste. He made very good use of my assistance upon these occasions; for when asked his opinion, he would gravely take me aside, and ask mine, shrug, look wise, return, and assure the company, that he could give no opinion upon an affair of so much importance. Yet there was sometimes an occasion for a more supported assurance. I remember to have seen him, after giving his opinion that the colouring of a picture was not mellow enough, very deliberately take a brush with brown varnish, that was accidentally lying by, and rub it over the piece with great composure before all the company, and then ask if he had not improved the tints.

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*) *Pietro Perugino. Dieser berühmte Maler hiefs eigentlich Pietro Vanucci, und war zu Citta della Pieve im Jahre 1446 geboren; er nannte sich aber Perugino, weil er zu Perugia das Bürgerrecht erhielt. Seine Gemälde haben viel Grazie, besonders gelangen ihm weibliche und jugendliche Darstellungen; seine Wendungen sind edel, sein Kolorit lieblich (s. Fiorillo's Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste, 1ster Band S. 81.) Man hat von ihm auch noch viele Gemälde* en Fresco *(auf nassem Kalk.) Pietro hatte viele Schüler, zu denen auch Raphael gehörte. Er starb* 1524. **) Gentry, *ein Wort, das in einem sehr ausgedehnten Sinn gebraucht wird, und nicht blos die zwischen dem Volke und dem Adel mitten inne stehende Klasse von Personen, mithin die Ritter* (Knights) *und* Esquires, *und überhaupt das bezeichnet, was wir den niedern Adel nennen, sondern es werden auch gelegentlich unter dem Namen* Gentry *angesehene Geistliche, Rechtsgelehrte, Aerzte, ansehnliche Künstler, begüterte Kaufleute u. s. w. begriffen. (S. Küttner's Beiträge 7tes Stück S. 50.) Im Munde des gemeinen Mannes bedeutet* gentry *oft nur schlechthin: Herrschaft.*

When he had finished his commission in Paris, he left me strongly recommended to several men of distinction, as a person very proper for a travelling tutor *); and after some time I was employed in that capacity by a gentleman who brought his ward to Paris, in order to set him forward on his tour through Europe. I was to be the young gentleman's governor, but with a proviso that he should always be permitted to govern himself. My pupil in fact understood the art of guiding, in money concerns, much better than I. He was heir to a fortune of about two hundred thousand pounds, left him by an uncle in the West-Indies; and his guardians, to qualify him for the management of it, had bound him apprentice to an attorney. Thus avarice was his prevailing passion: all his questions on the road were how money might be saved; which was the least expensive course of travel: whether any thing could be bought that would turn to account when disposed of again in London. Such curiosities on the way as could be seen for nothing he was ready enough to look at; but if the sight of them was to be paid for, he usually asserted that he had been told they were not worth seeing. He never paid a bill that he would not observe, how amazingly expensive travelling was, and all this though he was not yet twenty-one. When arrived at Leghorn **), as we took a walk to look at the port and shipping, he enquired the expence of the passage by sea home to England. This he was informed was but a trifle, compared to his returning by land; he was therefore unable to withstand the temptation; so paying me the small part of my salary that

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*) Travelling tutor. *Man kann die Englischen Hofmeister in drei Klassen theilen,* private tutors, tutors of College *und* travelling tutors. *Ein* private tutor *ist ungefähr das, was man in Deutschland geradehin Hofmeister nennt. Jeder Knabe, der keinen eigentlichen Hofmeister hat, bekommt, so wie er in die Schule eintritt, einen* tutor of College *(Schulhofmeister), welches allemal einer der Unterlehrer ist, der öfters* 20, 30 *bis* 50 *und mehr Eleven dieser Art hat. Erst dann, wenn der junge Mensch die Universität verläfst, giebt man ihm gewöhnlich einen Begleiter auf seinen Reisen, einen* travelling tutor, *der aber überaus wenig Einfluſs auf ihn hat und haben kann. S. Küttner's Beiträge zur Kenntniſs des Innern von England und seiner Einwohner, 9tes Stück S.* 93. **) *Leghorn (Livorno), Stadt und Hafen im ehemaligen Groſsherzogthum Toskana.*

was due, he took leave, and embarked with only one attendant for London.

I now therefore was left once more upon the world at large; but then it was a thing I was used to. However my skill in music could avail me nothing in a country where every peasant was a better musician than I; but by this time I had acquired another talent, which answered my purpose as well, and this was a skill in disputation. In all the foreign universities and convents, there are upon certain days philosophical theses maintained against every adventitious disputant; for which, if the champion opposes with any dexterity, he can claim a gratuity in money, a dinner, and a bed for one night. In this manner therefore I sought my way towards England, walked along from city to city, examined mankind more nearly, and, if I may so express it, saw both sides of the picture. My remarks, however, are but few: I found that monarchy was the best government for the poor to live in, and common-wealths for the rich. I found that riches in general were in every country another name for freedom; and that no man is so fond of liberty himself as not to be desirous of subjecting the will of some individuals in society to his own.

Upon my arrival in England I resolved to pay my respects first to you, and then to enlist as a volunteer in the first expedition that was going forward; but on my journey down my resolutions were changed, by meeting an old acquaintance, who I found belonged to a company of comedians, that were going to make a summer campaign in the country. The company seemed not much to disapprove of me for an associate. They all, however, apprized me of the importance of the task at which I aimed; that the public was a many headed monster, and that only such as had very good heads could please it: that acting was not to be learnt in a day; and that without some traditional shrugs, which had been on the stage, and only on the stage, these hundred years, I could never pretend to please. The next difficulty was in fitting me with parts, as almost every character was in keeping. I was driven for some time from one character to another, till at last Horatio*) was fixed upon, which the presence of the present company has happily hindered me from acting.

*) Horatio, *eine Person aus dem Trauerspiel* the fair Penitent.

HUME.

David Hume Esq. *stammte aus dem Geschlecht der Schottischen Grafen* Hume, *und wurde* 1711 *zu Edinburg geboren. Sein Vater, ein Landedelmann von geringem Vermögen, bestimmte ihn zum Rechtsgelehrten; allein er fühlte keine Neigung dazu, und las den* Cicero *und* Livius, *wenn man ihn mit* Voetius *und* Vinnius *beschäfftigt glaubte. Philosophie, Geschichte und allgemeine Literatur waren seine Lieblingsstudien. Da ihn indessen seine Verhältnisse nöthigten, zu irgend einem Erwerbsmittel zu greifen, versuchte er* 1734 *zu Bristol die Handlung, ward ihrer aber bald überdrüſsig. Er gründete nun seine ganze Hoffnung auf Schriftstellerei, und ging nach Frankreich, um sich daselbst bei äuſserster Sparsamkeit ganz seinem Hange zu den Wissenschaften zu überlassen. Nachdem er sich* 3 *Jahre theils zu Rheims, theils zu La Fleche aufgehalten hatte, kehrte er* 1737 *nach seinem Vaterlande zurück, und brachte hierauf mehrere Jahre bei seinem Bruder auf dem Lande zu.* 1742 *gab er den ersten Theil seiner* moral and philosophical Essays *heraus, hatte aber die Kränkung, daſs dies Werk, so wie alle seine frühern Versuche, mit groſser Kälte aufgenommen ward. In den Jahren* 1745 *und* 1746 *war er Aufseher eines jungen Grafen* Annandale, *und von* 1747—1749 *Sekretär und Gesellschafter des Generals St.* Clair, *Englischen Gesandten am Wiener und Turiner Hofe. In seiner Abwesenheit lieſs er zu London seine* philosophical Essays on human understanding, *und den zweiten Theil seiner* Essays, *und nach seiner Rückkehr seine* political Discourses, *und seine* Inquiries concerning the Principles of Morals *drucken.* 1751 *begab er sich nach Edinburg, wo ihn das juristische Collegium* 1752 *zu seinem Bibliothekar erwählte. Hier sah er sich mit einem Mal in die Mitte eines historischen Reichthums versetzt, den er herrlich benutzte, und ohne den wir eins der gröſsten Meisterstücke historischer Kunst nicht haben würden.* 1754 *erschien der erste Theil seiner Geschichte des Hauses Stuart oder seiner* History of Great Britain. *Dies Werk macht in der Brittischen Geschichte Epoche. Aber wie ward es aufgenommen? „Ein allgemeines Geschrei von Vorwürfen und Misbilligung und sogar Verab-*

scheuung erhob sich wider mich,“ sagt Hume; *„Engländer, Schottländer, Irländer, Whigs, Tories, Episcopalen und Sektirer, Freidenker und Fanatiker, Patrioten und Hofleute vereinigten sich in ihrer Wuth gegen einen Mann, der kühn genug gewesen war, über das Schicksal* Carls I. *und des Grafen von* Strafford *eine grofsmüthige Thräne zu weinen.“ Der zweite Band wurde* 1756 *gedruckt, und umfafst die Geschichte des Stuartschen Hauses von* Carls I. *Hinrichtung bis zur Revolution im Jahre* 1688. *Er schwamm, wie sich* Hume *ausdruckt, oben, und zog seinen frühern Bruder mit heraus. Unterdessen erschien zu London seine* natural History of Religion, *die eben so wenig Aufsehen erregte, als seine frühern philosophischen Schriften. Der Geschichtschreiber mufste erst dem Philosophen aufhelfen.* 1759 *wurde die Geschichte der Tudorschen Familie von* Heinrich's VII. *Thronbesteigung bis zu* Elisabeth's *Tode unter dem Titel* History of England *in* 2 *Bänden, und* 1761 *die frühere Geschichte von* Julius Cæsar *bis* Heinrich VII. *in zwei andern gedruckt, so dafs das gesammte Werk aus sechs Bänden in* 4. *bestand.* Hume *wollte nunmehro im Besitze seines jetzt anschnlichen Vermögens die letztern Jahre seines Lebens als Philosoph in Ruhe verleben. Er gab indessen den dringenden Aufforderungen des zur Gesandschaft an den Pariser Hof bestimmten Grafen von* Hertford *nach, und folgte ihm* 1763 *als Gesellschafter nach Frankreich. Der Graf wurde bald darauf zum Vice-König in Irland ernannt, und* Hume *blieb bis zur Ankunft des Herzogs von* Richmond *als Englischer Geschäftsträger in Paris.* 1766 *kehrte er nach seiner Vaterstadt zurück, lebte im Umgange mit seinen Freunden* Ferguson, Adam Smith, Blair, Black *etc. bei einem jährlichen Einkommen von* 1000 l., *und starb* 1776 *mit philosophischer Resignation an einer Auszehrung, ohne die Hülfe seiner Ärzte anzunehmen. Was den Charakter dieses grofsen Mannes betrifft, sagt* Wiggers *in seinen vermischten Aufsätzen, so lag dabei eine Disposition der Seele zum Grunde, für welche wir im Deutschen keinen eigenen Namen haben, die aber sehr gut durch das Griechische* σωφροσυνη *ausgedruckt wird. Kraft derselben war er als Mensch Herr seiner Leidenschaften, als Bürger aufser dem widrigen Einflusse jeder Partei, als Philosoph skeptisch, als Geschichtschreiber behutsam. Eine gewisse Insensibilität, glaubte er, könne unsern Zustand hienieden einigermafsen erträglich machen. Da er keine andere Leidenschaft als die des Ruhms kannte, so waren es nur Angriffe, die seine*

Seele aus dem Gleichgewicht bringen konnten. — Wir fügen diesen Bemerkungen noch das treffende Urtheil bei, welches **Spittler** *in seinem Entwurf der Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, Theil I. S. 279. über ihn als Geschichtschreiber fällt: „*Robertson*, sagt er, mag von Seiten des Stils Vorzüge haben, und* Gibbon *mag mahlerischer, vielleicht auch in seiner Art gelehrter seyn, als* **Hume**: *aber keiner von beiden ist ihm an Gröſse des Geistes, Tiefe der Wahrnehmungen und in geübter Abstraktionsgabe gleich.“ *) Die einzelnen Abtheilungen seines historischen Werks sind nach der Erscheinung des letzten Bandes in ein Ganzes gesammelt, und in chronologischer Ordnung unter dem allgemeinen Titel* History of England *verschiedenemal in* 8 *Bänden in* 8. *gedruckt. Eine Hauptausgabe ist folgende:* History of England from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution 1688, by David Hume, Esq. a new edition with the author's last corrections and improvements, to which is prefixed a short account of his life written by himself, London 1778, 8. Vols. 8. *Eine neue Ausgabe von diesem Werke in* 60 *Nummern, wovon die erste* 1794 *erschien, die den Text von* 1 — 36 *(nach der Baseler Ausgabe bis S.* 49, *enthält) ist ein Beispiel von typographischem Luxus, dergleichen es wenige giebt. Jede Nummer kostet eine Guinee, hat ein Hauptkupfer und mehrere Vignetten; jenes nach einem historischen Gemälde aus der Brittischen Geschichte, diese Porträts, Denkmähler etc. vorstellend, von den gröſsten jetzt lebenden Meistern verfertigt. Der Unternehmer ist* **Richard Bowyer**, *königl. Miniaturmaler. Es ist uns unbekannt, ob diese Ausgabe bereits vollendet ist, oder nicht, (s. Götting. Anzeigen* 1794. *Nro.* 139.) *Die, Anfangs einzeln herausgekommenen philosophischen Aufsätze unsers Verfassers sind* 1772 *in* 2 *Bänden in* 8. *unter der Aufschrift* Hume's Essays and Treatises *vereinigt erschienen. Die Hauptwerke über sein Leben sind theils* the Life of David Hume, by Adam Smith, London 1778. 8., *theils die unter dem Artikel* **Chesterfield** *angeführten* curious Particulars, *theils seine eigenhändig aufgesetzte Biographie, die sowohl einzeln unter dem Titel* the Life of David Hume Esq. written by himself, London 1777. 12.,

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*) *Ueber* **David Hume**, *von Jemand, der ihn persönlich kannte. (Aus dem* European Magazine, *April) s. die Englischen Miscellen, 7ter Band, 3tes Stück, S.* 212.

als vor der angeführten Ausgabe seiner Geschichte gedruckt worden ist. Viele einzelne Umstände aus seinem Leben enthält auch die London 1820 bei Colburn erschienene **Private Correspondence of David Hume with several distinguished persons, between the years 1761 and 1776. Now first published from the Originals. 4.**

1) On Avarice *).

'Tis easy to observe, that comic writers exaggerate every character, and draw their fop, or coward with stronger features than are any where to be met with in nature. This moral kind of painting for the stage has been often compared to the painting for cupolas and cielings, where the colors are overcharged, and every part is drawn excessively large, and beyond nature. The figures seem monstrous and disproportioned, when seen too nigh; but become natural and regular, when set at distance, and placed in that point of view, in which they are intended to be surveyed. For a like reason, when characters are exhibited in theatrical representations, the want of reality removes, in a manner, the personages; and rendering them more cold and unentertaining, makes it necessary to compensate, by the force of coloring, what they want in substance. Thus we find in common life, that when a man once allows himself to depart from truth in his narrations, he never can keep within the bounds of probability; but adds still some new circumstance to render his stories more marvellous, and to satisfy his imagination. Two men in buckram suits became eleven to Sir John Falstaff before the end of his story **).

There is only one vice, which may be found in life with as strong features, and as high a coloring as need be employed by any satyrist or comic poet; and that is *Avarice*. Every day we meet with men of immense fortunes, without heirs, and on the very brink of the grave, who refuse them-

*) Essays and Treatises on several subjects, part. I. Essay XIII. **) *Siehe den 1sten Theil von* Shakspear's King Henry IV. Act. II. Scene 9. *Am Ende der Erzählung des Prahlhanses Falstaff, welcher aus zwei Räubern, von denen er angegriffen worden ist, vier, dann sieben, neun, und endlich eilf macht, ruft der* Prince of Wales *aus:* O monstrous, eleven buckram-men grown out of two!

selves the most common necessaries of life, and go on heaping possessions on possessions, under all the real pressures of the severest poverty. An old usurer, says the story, lying in his last agonies was presented by the priest with the crucifix, and cried, *These jewels are not true; I can only lend ten pistoles upon such a pledge.* This was probably the invention of some epigrammatist; and yet every one, from his own experience, may be able to recollect almost as strong instances of perseverance in avarice. 'Tis commonly reported of a famous miser in this city, that finding himself near death, he sent for some of the magistrates, and gave them a bill of an hundred pounds, payable after his decease; which sum he intended should be disposed of in charitable uses; but scarce were they gone, when he orders them to be called back, and offers them ready money, if they would abate five pounds of the sum. Another noted miser in the north, intending to defraud his heirs, and leave his fortune to the building an hospital, protracted the drawing of his will from day to day; and 'tis thought, that if those interested in it had not paid for the drawing it, he had died intestate. In short, none of the most furious excesses of love and ambition are in any respect to be compared to the extremes of avarice.

The best excuse that can be made for avarice is, that it generally prevails in old men, or in men of cold tempers, where all the other affections are extinct; and the mind being incapable of remaining without some passion of pursuit, at last finds out this monstrously absurd one; which suits the coldness and inactivity of its temper. At the same time, it seems very extraordinary, that so frosty, spiritless a passion should be able to carry us farther than all the warmth of youth and pleasure. But if we look more narrowly into the matter, we shall find, that this very circumstance renders the explication of the case more easy. When the temper is warm and full of vigor, it naturally shoots out more ways than one, and produces inferior passions to counter-balance, in some degree, its predominant inclination. 'Tis impossible for a person of that temper, however bent on any pursuit, to be deprived of all sense of shame, or all regard to the sentiments of mankind. His friends must have some influence over him: and other considerations are apt to have their weight. All this serves to restrain him within some bounds. But 'tis no wonder that the avaritious man, being, from the

coldness of his temper, without regard to reputation, to friendship, or to pleasure, should be carried so far by his prevailing inclination, and should display his passion in such surprizing instances.

Accordingly we find no vice so irreclaimable as avarice. And tho' there scarcely has been a moralist or philosopher, from the beginning of the world to this day, who has not levelled a stroke at it, we hardly find a single instance of any person's being cured of it. For this reason, I am more apt to approve of those, who attack it with wit and humour, than of those who treat it in a serious manner. There being so little hopes of doing good to the people infected with this vice, I would have the rest of mankind, at least, diverted by our manner of exposing it: as indeed there is no kind of diversion, of which they seem so willing to partake.

Among the fables of Monsieur de la Motte *), there is one levelled against avarice, which seems to me more natural and easy, than most of the fables of that ingenious author. A miser, says he, being dead, and fairly interred, came to the banks of the Styx, desiring to be ferried over along with the other ghosts. Charon demands his fare, and is surprized to see the miser, rather than pay it, throw himself into the river, and swim over to the other side, notwithstanding all the clamor and opposition that could be made to him. All hell was in an uproar; and each of the judges was meditating some punishment, suitable to a crime of such dangerous consequence to the infernal revenues. Shall he be chained to the rock with Prometheus? Or tremble below the precipice in company with the Danaïdes **)? Or assist Sisyphus in rolling his stone? No, says Minos, none of these. We must invent some severer punishment. Let him be sent back to the earth, to see the use his heirs are making of his riches.

I hope it will not be interpreted as a design of setting myself in opposition to this celebrated author, if I proceed to deliver a fable of my own, which is intended to expose

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*) *Es ist der Französische Dichter* Antoine Houdart de la Motte, *geb. 1674. gest. 1731. gemeint. (S. Handb. der Franz. Sprache, poetischer Theil, S. 325.* **) *Nach der gewöhnlichen Erzählung mußsten, wie bekannt, die Danaïden Wasser in ein durchlöchertes Gefäſs gieſsen, oder dasselbe in einem durchlöcherten Gefäſse schöpfen.*

the same vice of avarice. The hint of it was taken from these lines of Mr. Pope:

Damned to the mines, an equal fate betides
The slave that digs it and the slave that hides.

Our old mother *Earth* once lodged an indictment against *Avarice* before the courts of heaven, for her wicked and malicious council and advice, in tempting, inducing, persuading, and traiterously seducing the children of the plaintiff to commit the detestable crime of parricide upon her, and, mangling her body, ransack her very bowels for hidden treasure. The indictment was very long and verbose; but we must omit a great part of the repetitions and synonymous terms, not to tire our reader too much with our tale. *Avarice*, being called before Jupiter to answer to this charge, had not much to say in her own defence. The injury was clearly proved upon her. The fact, indeed, was notorious, and the injury had been frequently repeated. When therefore the plaintiff demanded justice, Jupiter very readily gave sentence in her favor; and his decree was to this purpose, that since dame *Avarice*, the defendant, had thus grievously injured dame *Earth*, the plaintiff, she was hereby ordered to take that treasure, of which she had feloniously robbed the said plaintiff, by ransacking her bosom, and in the same manner, as before, opening her bosom, restore it back to her, without diminution or retention. From this sentence, it shall follow, says Jupiter to the by-standers, that, in all future ages, the retainers of *Avarice* shall bury and conceal their riches and thereby restore to the *Earth* what they took from her.

2) The Execution and Character of Mary, Queen of Scotland *).

— The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, being introduced to Mary, told her to prepare for death next morning at eight o' clock. She seem'd not terrified, though somewhat surprised, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful, and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the Queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person, not subject to the laws

*) History of England, Chap. XLII. — *Der Todestag der unglücklichen M a r i a war der 7te Februar 1587.*

and jurisdiction of England. „But as such is her will," said she, „death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall „be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy „the felicities of heaven, which cannot support the body under „the horrors of the last passage to these blissful mansions." She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her: but they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience, and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, should be present, to instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted chearfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, Whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? „They pretend," said she, „that I must die, because I conspired against their Queen's „life: but the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other „cause of my death, than the apprehensions, which, if I „should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy „in the faith is my real crime: the rest is only a colour, in„vented by interested and designing men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them;

and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewel, and exchange of mutual forgiveness.

Mary's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French King, and to her cousin the Duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated hoste from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her.

Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before: but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, That she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her; and wringing his hands, cried aloud: „Ah, Madam! „unhappy me! What man was ever before the messenger of „such heavy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to „my native country, and shall report, that I saw my gracious „queen and mistress beheaded in England?" His tears pre-

vented further speech; and Mary too felt herself moved more from sympathy than affliction. „Cease, my good servant," said she, „cease to lament: thou hast cause rather „to rejoice than to mourn: for now shalt thou see the „troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long expected period „and completion." „Know," continued she, „good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still „to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee carry this message from me, that I „die a true woman to my religion and unalterable in my „affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them „that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my „blood as the hart panteth after the water brooks." „O „God," added she, „thou that art the author of truth and „truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: „thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire „union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the „source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, „Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that, notwithstanding all „my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state „and kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. „And so," said she, „good Melvil, farewel: „once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance „of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachments to her religion. The earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt, by their speeches and cries, to disturb both herself and the spectators; he was also apprehensive lest they should practise some superstition, not meet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: for that was the instance which he made use of. „My lord," said the queen of Scots, „I will give my word (although it be but dead)

„that they shall not incur any blame in any of the actions „which you have named. But alas! poor souls! it would „be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewel. „And I hope," added she, „that your mistress, being a „maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, „that I should have some of my own people about me at „my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any „such strict command, but that you might grant me a request „of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of in- „ferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent persisted still in his refusal, her mind, which had fortified itself against the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which she was not prepared. „I am cousin „to your queen," cried she, „and descend from the blood- „royal of Henry the seventh, and a married queen of France, „and an anointed queen of Scotland." The commissioners perceiving how invidious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed, that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made choice of four men, and two maid-servants, for that purpose.

She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black; and she saw, with an undismayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with spectators; and no one was so steeled against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, when he reflected on her royal dignity, considered the surprising train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, recalled her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but shewed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had no wise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborow stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious in-

structions, very cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and, besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her that the queen of England had on this occasion shewn a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her, for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened; that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, but by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and, if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in a moment to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, *Come, ye blessed of my Father*, or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire*.

During this discourse Mary could not sometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that she had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent her of her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that only in Christ Jesus could she hope to be saved. She answered, again and again, with great earnestness: „trouble not yourself any more about the matter: for I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and in this religion I am resolved to die.“ Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitless to harrass her any farther with theological disputes, and they ordered the dean to desist from his unseasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. During the dean's prayer, she employed herself in private devotion

from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finished, she pronounced aloud some petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. The earl of Kent observing, that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her attachment to that popish trumpery as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand without feeling her heart touched with some compunction.

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself; and the executioner also lent his hand, to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations; she turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood and agitated with the convulsions of death: the dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed: „So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!“ The earl of Kent alone replied, „Amen!“ the attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess.

Thus perished, in the forty fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary Queen of Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society;

of a lofty spirit, constant, and even vehement in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanor: she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of our passion, and of the influence, which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons, whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay sufficiently under the guidance of discretion; she was betrayed into actions, which may, with some difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must in some parts wear the aspect of a severe satire and invective.

Her numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions to which she had been exposed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her latter years; and such was the prevalent spirit and principles of the age, that it is the less wonder if her zeal, her resentment, and her interest uniting, induced her to give consent to a design which conspirators, actuated only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life of Elizabeth.

CHATHAM.

William Pitt, geboren den 15ten Nov. 1708, erhielt von seinem Vater Robert Pitt Esq. eine gute Erziehung. Nachdem er einige Zeit Kriegsdienste gethan hatte, verliefs er dieselben wieder, weil er fühlte, dafs ihn die Natur mehr zu den friedlichen Geschäfften seines Vaterlandes, als zur Vertheidigung desselben mit den Waffen, bestimmt habe. Er zeichnete sich auch bald von jener Seite aus. Für den Burgflecken Old Sarum zum Mitgliede des Unterhauses erwählt, sprach er in mehreren wichtigen Angelegenheiten mit Einsicht und Beredsamkeit, und widersetzte sich namentlich der Bill wegen Einregistrirung der Seeleute (1740). Bei dieser Gelegenheit war es, wo Horace Walpole, welcher für die Bill war, den jungen Parliamentsredner mit persönlichen Spöttereien über seine Jugend und sein theatralisches Benehmen angriff, worauf Pitt sehr nachdrücklich in der hier mitgetheilten Rede antwortete *). Schon um diese Zeit zeichnete er sich als Vertheidiger der Rechte seines Vaterlandes so aus, dafs die Wittwe des Herzogs von Marlborough ihm deswegen ein Legat von 10000 Pfund Sterling vermachte. 1746 ward er zum Mitschatzmeister von Irland und in eben dem Jahre zum Generalzahlmeister der Armee und zum geheimen Rath ernannt. 1756 erhielt er die Stelle eines Staatssekretärs für das südliche Departement. Zwar wurde er kurze Zeit hierauf dieser Ämter entsetzt, da er sich den Privatabsichten des Königs widersetzte; allein er besafs wegen der Lauterkeit und Uneigennützigkeit seiner Plane, so wie wegen seiner von Einsichten geleiteten Vaterlandsliebe, die Zuneigung der Nation in einem so hohen Grade, dafs K. George II., um die Wünsche des Volks zu erfüllen, ihn 1757 wieder zum Staatssekretär, und den mit ihm gestürzten Legge zum Kanzler der Schatzkammer ernannte. Nun stand Pitt an der Spitze der Geschäfte.

*) Sturz versichert in seinen Schriften (Erste Sammlung. S. 117. Ausgabe von 1786), dafs Johnson der Verfasser dieser gleichsam in Pitt's Seele geschriebenen, Rede sey. Johnson nämlich beschäfftigte sich einige Zeit damit, wie Sturz sagt, Demosthenische Reden für und wider die wichtigsten Fragen im Parliament, unter dem Namen wirklicher Glieder, die man eine Zeitlang in den Provinzen für ächt hielt, zu schreiben, und dahin gehört auch, setzt er hinzu, die berühmte Rede Pitt's, die er gehalten haben soll, als man ihm seine Jugend vorwarf.

Sein Geist beseelte jede Unternehmung, seine Weisheit leitete alle Schritte. Daher, und weil ein glücklicher Zufall das Commando der Seemacht in die Hände eines Boskawen, Hawke, *und anderer guten Admirale gegeben hatte, auch die mit den Engländern verbündeten Deutschen Fürsten glücklich in ihren Unternehmungen waren, jene glänzenden Eroberungen der Engländer, daher ihre Siege in allen vier Welttheilen* (1759). Pitt's *Verdienste strahlten hier in desto hellerem Lichte, je unglücklicher und unthätiger das vorige Ministerium gewesen war.* George II. *starb* 1760 *den 25sten October, und nun folgte, unter den günstigsten Umständen,* George III. Pitt, *welcher genaue Nachrichten von den Intriguen Spaniens hatte, und wohl wufste, dafs dieser Hof nur die Ankunft der Silberflotte erwartete, um feindliche Mafsregeln zu ergreifen, drang darauf, dieser Nation den Krieg zu erklären; allein er ward im Ministerio überstimmt, vielleicht weil dem Könige selbst die grofse Liebe des Volks gegen* Pitt *mifsfallen hatte, oder weil Graf* Bute, *der an des Königs Erziehung vielen Antheil genommen, mehr im Besitz der königlichen Gunst war. Genug dieser grosse Staatsmann fühlte die Verringerung seines Einflusses, und resignirte den 5ten Oktober* 1761 *). *Die Liebe und der Segen des Volks*

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*) *Um die so oft in diesem Buche erwähnten Ministerialveränderungen, welche unter der Regierung Königs* George III. *statt gefunden haben, besser übersehen zu können, wird folgende bis zum Jahre* 1812 *herabgeführte Tabelle nicht undienlich seyn:* 1) Pitt and Newcastle Administration, *dauerte vom Junius* 1757 *bis zum May* 1761. 2) Bute Administration, *dauerte vom May* 1761 *bis zum April* 1763. 3) Grenville Administration, *dauerte vom April* 1763 *bis zum July* 1765. 4) I. Rockingham Administration, *dauerte vom Julius* 1765 *bis zum Julius* 1766. 5) Grafton Administration, *dauerte vom Julius* 1766 *bis zum Januar* 1770. 6) North Administration, *dauerte vom Januar* 1770 *bis zum März* 1782. 7) II. Rockingham Administration, *dauerte vom März* 1782 *bis zum Julius* 1782. 8) Shelburne Administration, *dauerte vom Julius* 1782 *bis zum März* 1783. 9) Coalition Administration, *dauerte vom März* 1783 *bis zum Dezember* 1783. 10) I. Pitt Administration, *dauerte vom Dezember* 1783 *bis zum* 14*ten März* 1801. 11) Addington, *nachmaligen Lord* Sidmouth Administration, *dauerte vom* 14*ten März* 1801 *bis zum* 10*ten März* 1804. 12) II. Pitt Administration, *dauerte vom* 10*ten März* 1804 *bis den* 23 *Januar* 1806. 13) Grenville Administration, *dauerte vom* 5 *Februar* 1806 *bis zum* 25*ten März* 1807. 14) Portland Administration, *seit dem* 25*sten May* 1807 *bis zum* 30*ten October* 1809. 15) Perceval Admini-

blieben dessen ungeachtet sein Eigenthum. Lord Egremont ward nun Staatssekretär des südlichen Departements. Man setzte den Krieg gröfstentheils nach Pitt's Planen fort, und sah sich während des Laufs desselben genöthigt (1762), an Spanien den Krieg zu erklären. Bekanntlich ward dieser Krieg im Jahre 1763 durch den Frieden zu Paris, allein unter Bedingungen beendigt, die mit so vielen errungenen Siegen in keinem Verhältnisse standen. — Nun begannen die Streitigkeiten mit den Nordamerikanischen Kolonien. Es ist bekannt, welche ungerechte und gewaltsame Maſsregeln man gegen dieselben ergriff. Pitt widersetzte sich denselben aus allen Kräften, und bot alle seine Beredsamkeit auf, um den Hof und das Ministerium zu gerechten und minder heftigen Beschlüssen zu bringen; allein das damals neu ernannte Ministerium, an dessen Spitze der Marquis von Rockingham stand, gab ihnen kein Gehör. Letzterer blieb indessen nicht lange am Ruder. Es wurde ein neues Ministerium angestellt, und Pitt erhielt dabey (1766) die Stelle eines geheimen Siegelbewahrers; zu gleicher Zeit ward er zum Viscount und Grafen von Groſsbrittanien erhoben, mit dem Titel: Viscount Pitt von Burton Pynsent in der Grafschaft Sommerset, und Graf von Chatham in der Grafschaft Kent. Lord Chatham litt um diese Zeit viel von der Gicht. Dies, mehr aber noch die Uneinigkeit, welche unter den Mitgliedern des neuen Ministeriums herrschte, die schwache Unterstützung der von ihm vorgeschlagenen Maſsregeln, vielleicht auch die Vorwürfe, welche man ihm darüber machte, daſs er den Rang eines Pairs angenommen hatte, veranlaſsten ihn, den 2ten November 1768 die Stelle eines geheimen Siegelbewahrers niederzulegen. Er nahm nachmals nie wieder ein öffentliches Amt an. — Indessen erschien er doch noch, wenn es seine Kränklichkeit nur irgend erlaubte, im Parliament, vorzüglich um die unter Lord North's Ministerium gegen Amerika ergriffenen unvernünftigen und verderblichen Maſsregeln zu tadeln. Als am 20sten Januar 1775 der Graf von Darthmouth, damaliger Staatssekretär für Amerika, dem Oberhause einige officielle Amerikanische Nachrichten vorlegte, so erhob sich Lord Chatham, und hielt die hier abgedruckte vortreffliche Rede, in welcher er theils die Wichtigkeit und Gröſse des

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stration, *dauerte vom 30ten October 1809 bis zu dessen Ermordung im Jahre 1812.*

Streits mit Amerika auseinandersetzt, theils sich über die Gefahren auslässt, welche aus dem gegenwärtigen Kampfe für England entstehen würden. — Lord Chatham's Motion blieb ohne Erfolg; man ergriff gewaltsame Maſsregeln, und die bekannte Folge war, daſs sich die dreizehn Kolonien für unabhängig erklärten. Er sprach noch öfters in diesen Angelegenheiten, und blieb beständig ein eifriger Vertheidiger der Rechte der Amerikaner. Obgleich sich England am Ende genöthigt sah, die Unabhängigkeit von Amerika anzuerkennen, so dachte Lord Chatham doch nur mit Unwillen daran, indem er diese Anerkennung der Würde Groſsbritanniens nachtheilig hielt. Mit solchen Gesinnungen trat er zum letzten Male am 8ten April 1778 im Parliament auf, und sprach mit vielem Feuer gegen das Verfahren der Minister; als er aber, nach dem folgenden Redner, dem Herzog von Richmond, auf's neue reden wollte, ward er von seinen Gefühlen so überwältigt, daſs er plötzlich die Hand an den Leib drückte, und in eine konvulsivische Ohnmacht verfiel. Alle Mitglieder des Hauses geriethen in die gröſste Bestürzung. Lord Chatham ward nach Hause getragen, und hierauf nach seinem Landsitze zu Hayes in Kent gebracht, wo er den 11ten May 1778 verschied. — „Der vortreffliche Lord Camden, erzählt Herr von Archenholtz in seinem Werke, England und Italien, war bei seinem Tode gegenwärtig. So wie Sokrates mit seinen Freunden in der letzten Todesstunde philosophirte, so sprachen diese beiden Staatsmänner noch am Rande des Grabes von Politik. Chatham rief endlich aus, indem er seinem Freunde sterbend die Hand drückte: „Dear Camden save my country!" — Wenige Augenblicke nachher entfloh seine groſse Seele." — Sein Tod erregte bei allen Klassen des Volks eine unbeschreibliche Sensation. Alles strömte hinzu, den Leichnam auf dem Paradebette zu sehen. Dieser wurde in der Westminsterabtei mit groſsem Pomp beigesetzt *). Der König bestimmte für Lord Chatham's Nachkommen ein Jahrgehalt von 4000 Pfund. Er hinterlieſs drei Söhne und zwei Töchter. Sein zweiter Sohn war der berühmte Kanzler der Exchequer William Pitt. — Lord Chatham gehört unstreitig zu den gröſsten Patrioten und Staatsmännern, welche

*) Der Bildhauer John Bacon verfertigte das Monument, welches zu den vorzüglichsten Arbeiten dieses Mannes gehört; er arbeitete an demselben vom Jahre 1778 bis 1783.

je eine Nation beglückt haben; nur in den goldenen Tagen Griechenlands und Roms dürfte man Männer auffinden, welche mit ihm verglichen zu werden verdienen. Auch als Redner gebührt ihm ein ehrenvoller Rang unter seinem Volke. „Diejenigen, heifst es in einer bald nach seinem Tode erschienenen Schrift, welche von seiner, Wunder bewirkenden Beredsamkeit Zeugen waren, welche auf die Musik seiner Stimme mit Vergnügen gehört, oder vor ihrer Würde gezittert, welche die einnehmende Anmuth seiner Aktion gesehen, oder ihre Stärke gefühlt haben, diejenigen, welche die Flamme der Beredsamkeit von seinen Augen aufgefangen haben, die sich über die Glorie in seiner Miene freuten, oder vor seinem sauern Blick erschraken, diese werden sich der unwiderstehlichen Macht erinnern, womit er Überzeugung aufdrang." Wir haben diese Nachrichten gröfstentheils aus dem 7ten und 8ten Bande des, aus dem Englischen übersetzten und mit schätzbaren literarischen Anmerkungen von dem Hofrath Meusel *begleiteten Brittischen Plutarch entlehnt, wohin wir den Leser, welcher nähere Nachrichten von dem Lord* Chatham *zu erhalten wünscht, verweisen müssen. Ausserdem findet man von diesem grofsen Staatsmanne noch in folgenden Werken Nachricht:* History of the life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 8. 1783. Anecdotes of the life of the R. H. Will. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of the principal events of his time, with his speeches in Parliament, from the year 1736, to the year 1778. London 1792, 2 Vol. 4. *Ferner gehört hieher das, was Herr von Archenholtz über diesen berühmten Mann in dem Werke, England und Italien, von Seite* 221 *bis* 233 *sagt. — Im Jahre* 1804 *erschien zu London die dritte Ausgabe der* Letters written by the late Earl of Chatham to his nephew Thomas Pitt, Esq. afterwards Lord Camelford, then at Cambridge, *ein kleines aber wichtiges Buch eines der gröfsten Staatsmänner und um so wichtiger, da wir einige andere unbedeutende Briefe abgerechnet, weiter nichts besitzen, was der grofse* Chatham *selbst schrieb. Es enthält einzelne Reden, meistens einzelne, von Zuhörern nachgeschriebene Stellen; vorzüglich aber verdient es wegen der darin befindlichen* 23 *nicht eben langen Briefe, in welchen Lord* Chatham *seinem geliebten Neffen Maximen des Rechts und des Verhaltens, nebst Anweisung zur Lektüre mit der gröfsten Zärtlichkeit ertheilt, Aufmerksamkeit. Die meisten dieser Briefe,*

wegen welcher dem Verfasser ein Rang neben Chesterfield gebührt, sind aus den Jahren 1754—1757.

Wir benutzen diesen Ort, um Einiges über die Geschichte der Beredsamkeit bei den Engländern überhaupt nach des Hofrath Eichhorn Literaturgeschichte (Erste Hälfte, S. 506. §. 283.) *anzuführen. „Britanien, heifst es in dem angeführten Werke, war vor der Französischen Revolution das einzige Land in Europa, in welchem sich Redner zeigten, die mit jenen Seelenbeherrschern im alten Griechenland und Rom verglichen werden konnten. Da Besitz der Beredsamkeit seit der Gründung der Englischen Konstitution fast der einzige Weg zu grofsen Ehrenstellen geworden ist, so ist Übung in derselben eine Hauptvorbereitung auf das praktische Leben, wenigstens während der letzten Jahre der gelehrten Ausbildung; und die beiden Parliamentshäuser sind der Schauplatz, auf welchem sich die Beredsamkeit in ihrer ganzen Glorie zeigt. Doch macht die Verschiedenheit des Orts noch einigen Unterschied. Im Oberhause herrscht in den Reden grofse Anständigkeit und gute Lebensart; in dem Unterhause sind sie häufig mit satyrischen, oft posfierlichen und Lachen erregenden Einfällen und mit persönlichen Anfällen durchwebt. Indessen bei allen Förderungen der Beredsamkeit, welche aus der Englischen Konstitution flossen, dauerte es doch bis in die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, ehe dieselbe im Hause der Edeln und Gemeinen in einiger Vollkommenheit geübt wurde. Zwar traten im 17ten Jahrhundert Atterbury, und späterhin Robert Walpole, und sein Gegner William Pultney mit Kraft und Nachdruck auf; aber so lange es der Englischen Prosa an der nöthigen Ausbildung fehlte, konnte sich kein Rednertalent in seiner völligen Überlegenheit zeigen. Erst nachdem die grofsen Prosaisten mit Fülle, Harmonie und Eleganz geschrieben hatten, konnten auch die Redner der Parliamentshäuser in eben diesen Eigenschaften sprechen; daher die Periode wahrer Beredsamkeit erst mit Chatham, Burke, Fox, Sheridan und Pitt ihren Anfang genommen hat; doch trifft man diese Vollkommenheit nur in sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten, nicht aber in den extemporirten Reden an, welche häufig den Fehler der Weitschweifigkeit haben." — Zum Schlusse noch einige, die Englischen Parliamentsreden betreffende, Notizen. Man hat einige ältere Sammlungen derselben, davon eine den Titel führt:* Collection of Parliamentary debates in England from the year 1688 to 1733, Dublin 1741, 9 Vols. 8. *Eine kleine gute Auswahl von*

ältern und neuern Parliamentsreden führt den Titel: Elegant orations ancient and modern, for the use of schools, compiled by the Rev. J. Mossop, London 1788. *Man findet in derselben auch verschiedene, aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen übersetzte Reden. Eine andere ähnliche Sammlung, die uns aber nur dem Namen nach bekannt ist, hat den Titel:* The academical Speaker, or Select of Parliamentary Orations, by J. Walker, 1788. 8.; *auch* Cobbet's Parliamentary Debates, *welche seit dem Jahre* 1803 *erschienen sind, kennen wir nur dem Titel nach.*

1) Letter to his nephew Thomas Pitt (Esq).

Bath, Oct. 12. 1751.

My dear nephew,

As I have been moving about from place to place, your letter reached me here, at Bath, but very lately, after making a considerable circuit to find me. I should have otherwise, my dear child, returned you thanks for the very great pleasure you have given me, long before now. The very good account you give me of your studies, and that delivered in very good Latin, for your time, has filled me with the highest expectation of your future improvements: I see the foundations so well laid, that I do not make the least doubt but you will become a perfect good scholar; and have the pleasure and applause that will attend the several advantages here-after, in the future course of your life, that you can only acquire now by your emulation and noble labours in the pursuit of learning, and of every acquirement that is to make you superior to other gentlemen. I rejoice to hear that you have begun Homer's Iliad, and have made so great a progress in Virgil. I hope you taste and love those authors particularly. You cannot read them to much: they are not only the two greatest poets, but they contain the finest lessons for your age to imbibe: lessons of honour, courage, disinterestedness, love of truth, command of temper, gentleness of behaviour, humanity, and in one word, virtue in its true signification. Go on, my dear nephew, and drink as deep as you can of these divine springs: the pleasure of the draught is equal at least to the prodigious advantages of it to the heart and morals. I hope you will drink them as somebody does in Virgil, of another sort of cup:

ment, in both of which, evidence of facts are stated in proof of criminality: — but the Americans were denied to be heard. The people of America condemned, and not heard, have a right to resist.

By whose advice vindictive counsels were pursued, — by whose advice false representations were made, — by whose advice malice and ill-will were made principles of governing a free people; — all these are questions that will be asked. I mean no personal charge on any man farther than his misdoings call for.

There ought to be some instant proceeding towards a settlement, before the meeting of the Delegates. My object is to put the foot on the threshold of peace, and to shew an intention of reconciling: — I will, unless I am fixed to a sickbed, — I will attend this business throughout, till I see America obtain what I think satisfaction for her injuries, — still attentive that she shall own the supremacy of this country. It would be my advice to his Majesty, to end this quarrel the soonest possible; his repose is our duty. Who by misadvice had planted a thorn in his side, by a contest with a people determined on their purpose?

I wish to offer myself, mean as I am; — I have a plan, a plan of a settlement, solid, honourable, and lasting. — America means only to have safety in property, and personal liberty. These, and these only, were her objects. Independency was falsely charged on her. — I disclaim all metaphysical distinctions. The declaratory act leaves you a right to take their money when you please.

I mean to meddle with no man's opinion; and leaving all men to follow the plan of their own opinions of former professions, my plan is to establish for the American an unequivocal, express right of not having his property taken from him, but by his own consent, and in his own assembly.

Eight weeks delay admits no farther hesitation, no, not of a moment; — the thing may be over; — a drop of blood renders it *immedicabile vulnus* *).

Whether it can ever now be a true reconciliation, must be owing to the full compensation that America shall receive. Repeal the mutual ill-will that subsist, for it is not the repeal of a little Act of Parliament that will work peace. Will

*) *eine unheilbare Wunde.*

In the first sense, Sir, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned, to be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though perhaps I may have some ambition to please this Gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction, or his mien: however matured by age, or modelled by experience. If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply, that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator, and a villain; — nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment he deserves. I shall on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth and dignity intrench themselves, — nor shall any thing but age restrain my resentment; — age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment. But with regard, Sir, to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure: the heat that offended them is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country, which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery: I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor, and drag the thief to justice, — whoever may protect them in their villainy, — and, — whoever may partake of their plunder.

3) On American affairs — 1775.

My Lords,

There are two things which Ministry have laboured to deceive the people in, and have persuaded them to; — first, that it was an affair of Boston only, and that the very appearance of one single regiment there, would quiet every thing. I have foretold the falsehood of both; — I was conversant with that country more, more years, perhaps, than any man; — I knew the cause of Boston would be made the cause of America; — I knew the mode of the military would not be effectual.

The manner of proceeding against Boston, was a proscription of a people unheard; — unheard in any court, either in the common courts of justice, or the higher of Parlia-

In the civil war of Paris, where those great men, the Prince of Condé *), and Marshall Turenne **), commanded the two parties, — Marshall Turenne was said often to have been near the Prince. — The Queen was angry; she did not see why, when he was so near the Prince, he should not take him; she was offended, and with some warmth asked, „*Quand vous étiez si près, pourquoi n'avez-vous pas pris le Prince?*" That great officer, who knew his business, answered cooly, „*J'avois peur, Madame, qu'il ne m'eût pris.*"

The Ministry tell you, that the Americans will not abide by the Congress; — they are tired of the association. — True, — many of the merchants may be; — but it does not now depend on the merchants, nor do the accounts come even from the principal merchants, but from the runners of Ministry. But, were the dissatisfaction among the merchants ever so great, the account is no way conformable to the nature of America.

The nation of America, who have the virtues of the people they sprung from, will not be slaves. Their language is: If trade and slavery are companions, we quit the trade; — let trade and slavery go where they will, they are not for us.

Your anger represents them as refractory and ungrateful, in not submitting to the parent they sprung from: but they are, in truth, grown an accession of strength to this country; they know their importance; they wish to continue their utility to you; but though they may be sick of the association, those sons of the earth will never be dissuaded from their association.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, two years after, I was in the country, an hundred miles off; — a Gentleman who knew the country, told me, that if regiments had landed at that time, and ships had been sent to destroy the towns, they had come to a resolution to retire back into the country. —

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*) *Louis II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, geboren zu Paris 1621, gestorben 1686 zu Fontainebleau, ein berühmter Krieger. Eine Erzählung der bürgerlichen Unruhen in Frankreich, auf welche oben angespielt wird, kann wegen Beschränktheit des Raums hier nicht mitgetheilt werden.* **) *Henri de la Tour, Vicomte de Turenne, geboren 1611, getödtet durch eine Kanonenkugel bei Sasbach, den 27sten Julius 1675. Man findet von diesem berühmten Helden unter andern auch Nachricht im Handbuch der Französischen Sprache, Theil I. S. 67.*

It is a fact. — A noble Lord smiles: if I were to mention the Gentleman's name, it would not increase his smile.

I wish the young gentlemen of our time would imitate those Americans that are misrepresented to them; — I wish they would imitate the liberty, which the Americans love better than life; imitate that courage, which a love of liberty produces. — One word more. — I will send my plan, if the state of a miserable constitution stretches me on a sick-bed. It is to put an end to the quarrel. „What before you know whether they will come to terms?" Yes, let my expectations be what they will, I should recall the troops; it partakes of a nullity to accept submission under the influence of arms.

I foretell these bills must be repealed: — I submit to be called an idiot, if they are not. — Three millions of men ready to be armed, and talk of forcing them!

There may be dangerous men, and dangerous councils, who would instil bad doctrines, advise the enslaving of America: they might not endanger the Crown, perhaps; but they would render it not worth the wearing.

The cause of America is allied to every true Whig. They will not bear the enslaving of America. Some Whigs may love their fortunes better than their principles: but the body of Whigs will join; they will not enslave America. The whole Irish nation, all the true English Whigs, the whole nation of America, these combined, make many millions of Whigs averse to the system. France has her full attention upon you; war is at your door; carrying a question here, will not save your country in such extremities.

This being the state of things, my advice is, to proceed to allay heats: I would at the instant begin and do something towards allaying and softening resentment.

My motion, you see, respects the army, and their dangerous situation. Not to undervalue General Gage, who has served with credit, — he acts upon his instructions; if he has not been alert enough to shed blood; —

Non dimicare quam vincere maluit *).

And he judged well. — The Americans too have acted with a prudence and moderation that had been worthy of

*) *Er wollte lieber nicht kämpfen als siegen.*

our example, were we wise: — to their moderation it is owing, that our troops have so long remained in safety.

Mal-administration has run its line, — it has not a move left — it is a check-mate. Forty thousand men are not adequate to the idea of subduing them to your taxation. — Taxation exists only in representation: take them to your heart; — who knows what their generosity may effect?

I am not to be understood as meaning a naked, unconditional repeal; — no, I would maintain the superiority of this country at all events. — But you are anxious who shall disarm first. That great poet, and, perhaps, a wiser and greater politician than ever he was a poet, has given you wisest counsel; — follow it:

Tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo;
Projice tela manu *).

Who is this man that will own this system of force as practicable? and is it not the height of folly to pursue a system that is owned to be impracticable? — I therefore move, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty, that in order to open the way towards an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments, and soften animosities there; and above all, for preventing, in the mean time, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town, it may graciously please his Majesty, that immediate orders may be dispatched to General Gage, for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigour of the season, and other circumstances, indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable.

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*) *Worte, mit welchen im 6ten Buche der Aeneide Vers 835 und 836 Anchises das Schattenbild des Cäsar anredet, von dem sein prophetischer Geist ihm sagt, er werde dereinst, auf die Oberwelt versetzt, mit dem Pompejus blutige Kriege führen. Nach der Uebersetzung von Voſs:*
Schone zuerst, du schone, der stammt vom hohen Olympus;
Wirf die Geschoss' aus der Hand . . .

HARRIS.

James Harris, Esq. *wurde den* 20. *Julius* 1709 *in dem schönsten Theile von Salisbury, die Close genannt, geboren. Nachdem er den ersten Unterricht zu Salisbury erhalten hatte, begab er sich im* 16*ten Jahre seines Alters nach Oxford, und studierte hierauf die Rechtskunde in Lincoln's Inn, dem bekannten Rechtscollegio zu London. Als er* 24 *Jahr alt war, starb sein Vater, und hierdurch sah er sich in den Stand gesetzt, das Studium der Rechtsgelehrsamkeit mit demjenigen zu vertauschen, zu welchem er stets eine entschiedene Neigung gehabt hatte, nämlich mit dem der Griechischen und Römischen Literatur. Im Jahre* 1744 *erschien die erste Frucht seines gelehrten Fleißes unter dem Titel:* Three treatises, the first concerning Art, the second concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the third concerning Happiness, London, 8. *(Deutsch Halle* 1780*), zwar in Dialogenform geschrieben, jedoch mehr Abhandlung als Dialog. Im Jahre* 1751 *folgte seine philosophische Sprachlehre, betitelt:* Hermes, or a philosophical inquiry concerning universal grammar, London 1751, *nachmals* 1765 *und* 1777 *ebendaselbst gedruckt, und in einer vortrefflichen Deutschen Übersetzung von C. G. Ewerbeck, nebst Anmerkungen und Abhandlungen von F. A. Wolf und dem Übersetzer, erster Theil,* 1788. *Lowth sagt von diesem Werke in der Vorrede zu seiner Englischen Sprachlehre:* „those, who would enter more deeply into the subject *(die Sprache)*, will find it fully and accurately handled, with the greatest acuteness of investigation, perspicuity of explication, and elegance of method, in a treatise entitled Hermes, the most beautiful and perfect example of analysis, that has been exhibited since the days of Aristotle —; *ein Lob, welches dieses Werk auch vollkommen verdient. Harris gestand, daſs ihn zuerst die Minerva des Sanctius zu der so tiefen und genauen Erforschung der Grundsätze der allgemeinen Sprachlehre gebracht, und daſs er überhaupt von dem genannten Schriftsteller sehr viel Wichtiges gelernt habe. Neben dem Studio der ernsten Wissenschaften beschäfftigte er sich mit Musik, einer Kunst, in der er es selbst sehr weit brachte, und für deren Fortgang er sich in seiner Geburts-*

stadt sehr interessirte. Unter seiner Aufsicht wurden daselbst Concerte aufgeführt, und jährlich ein musikalisches Fest begangen, zu welchem er selbst das Beste aus den Werken Italiänischer und Deutscher Tonsetzer auswählte, und denselben Texte aus der Schrift oder aus Milton's *verlornem Paradiese unterlegte, oder sie selbst verfertigte. Im Jahre* 1761 *wurde er zum Parliamentsgliede für den Flecken Christ-church gewählt, und er behielt diese Stelle bis an seinen Tod.* 1762 *erhielt er den Posten eines der Lords der Admiralität, und* 1763 *ernannte ihn der König zu einem Lord der Schatzkammer, welche letztere Stelle er bis* 1765 *behielt. Nun lebte er wiederum eine Zeitlang ohne ein öffentliches Amt zu bekleiden, bis zum Jahre* 1774, *wo er Sekretär und Controleur der Königinn* (Secretary and Comptroller to the Queen) *wurde, ein Posten, auf welchen er einen hohen Werth legte, und den er auch bis an seinen Tod behielt. Ob er gleich durch diese letztere Stelle, so wie durch die oben erwähnten anderweitigen Beschäfftigungen behindert wurde, sich, wie vormals, ganz den Wissenschaften zu widmen, so hatte er inzwischen doch Muſse gefunden, seine* philosophical arrangements *auszuarbeiten. Dieses Buch erschien* 1775, *und ist eigentlich nur ein Bruchstück eines gröſsern Werks über die peripatetische Logik, das er aber nicht zu Stande brachte. Sein letztes gelehrtes Werk erschien* 1781 *unter dem Titel:* philological Inquiries, *welches eine Geschichte der Kritik, Betrachtungen über die Prosodie und über die Ästhetik enthält, und in Deutschland vorzüglich durch die von* Jenisch *unter dem Titel: Handbuch der Kritik der schönen Wissenschaften, Berlin* 1789. 8. *veranstaltete Übersetzung bekannt ist. Er starb den* 22. *December* 1780, *und wurde in der Kathedralkirche zu Salisbury beigesetzt. Auf seinem Grabe findet man die Worte:* M. S. Jac. Harris Sarisburiensis, viri boni et docti, Graecarum literarum praecipue periti, cujus opera accuratissima de artibus elegantioribus, de grammatica, de logica, de ethice, stylo brevi, limato, simplici, sui more Aristotelis conscripta, posteri laudabunt ultimi. Studiis severioribus addictus, communis tamen vitae officia, et omnia patris, mariti, civis, senatoris munia et implevit et ornavit. Obiit XXII. die Decembris, 1780, anno aetatis 72. *Er hatte sich im Jahre* 1745 *mit Miſs* Elizabeth Clarke *verheirathet und mit ihr fünf Kinder gezeugt, wovon zwei starben, zwei Töchter aber und ein Sohn den Vater überlebten. Dieser Sohn, Lord* Malmesbury,

hat im Jahre 1802 die Werke seines Vaters herausgegeben, unter dem Titel: the Works of James Harris Esq. with an account of his life and character by his son, the Earl of Malmesbury, 2 Vols. royal 4. with plates, L. 3. 15. 6 d. London, Wingrave. *Aus einem hieraus entlehnten und im 3ten Stück des 6ten Bandes der Englischen Miscellen befindlichen Auszuge von Harris Leben sind obige Notizen und nachstehende Charakteristik dieses Gelehrten entlehnt: „Seine tiefe Kenntniſs des Griechischen, welche er mit dem besten Erfolge auf die Erklärung der alten Philosophie anwandte, entstand aus einer frühen und innigen Bekanntschaft mit den vortrefflichsten Dichtern und Geschichtschreibern in dieser Sprache. Sie machten nebst den besten Schriftstellern aus dem Zeitalter des Augustus seine beständige und niemals täuschende Erholung aus. Durch seinen vertrauten Umgang mit ihnen wurde er in den Stand gesetzt, die tiefern ernstern Betrachtungen zu beleben, wie man auf jeder Seite seiner Schriften zur Genüge sieht. Aber seine Kenntnisse schränkten sich nicht auf alte Philosophie oder philologische Gelehrsamkeit ein. Er hatte sich in der neuern Geschichte umgesehen, besaſs einen richtigen Geschmack in allen schönen Künsten, und in einer derselben, der Musik, war er Meister. Sein seltener Fleiſs machte es möglich, daſs er alles das lernen konnte, ohne die Pflichten zu vernachlässigen, welche er seiner Familie, seinen Freunden und seinem Vaterlande schuldig war. Auſser den Proben von Arbeitsamkeit und tiefem Nachdenken, die Harris öffentlich gab, hat Lord Malmesbury noch andere, die man selten findet, in Händen. Er hatte sich nicht nur während einer langen Reihe von Jahren gewöhnt, starke Auszüge aus verschiedenen Büchern, die er las, zu machen, und bei vielen Stellen kritische Bemerkungen und Vermuthungen hinzuzuschreiben, sondern er pflegte auch regelmäſsig alle Betrachtungen, die ihm während des Lesens beifielen, zu Papier zu bringen; aus ihnen leuchtet, nach der Versicherung seines Sohnes, ein sorgfältig angebauter Geist und ein rastloses Bestreben nach Selbstkenntniſs und Selbstbeherrschung hervor. Indeſs, ob er gleich an tiefes Nachdenken und mühsame Lektüre gewöhnt war, so sah man ihn doch gemeiniglich heiter und aufgeräumt, selbst bis zur Kurzweil. In seinen Manieren und seiner Unterhaltung war nichts pedantisches; er zeigte seine Kenntnisse niemals mit Selbstgefälligkeit, noch weniger behandelte er minder Unterrichtete*

mit Verachtung oder schnöde. — Er umfing seine ganze Familie mit gleicher Liebe. Als Vater, Gatte und Herr war er immer gütig und nachsichtig. Er hielt es für keine Unterbrechung der ernstern Geschäffte, seine Töchter selbst zu unterrichten: viele Jahre übte er sie im Lesen und in schriftlichen Aufsätzen. Niemand verstand besser, was zur Verfeinerung der weiblichen Sitten gehörte und niemand schätzte es mehr; aber ihm lag vielmehr am Herzen, seine Kinder früh zur Religion und Sittlichkeit anzuhalten. Deshalb lehrte er nicht nur, sondern er war selbst Beispiel; er fehlte nie in den öffentlichen Gottesverehrungen, und drang darauf, dafs jeder Zweig seiner Familie dabei gegenwärtig war.

Character of the English, the Oriental, the Latin, and the Greek Languages. — Superlative excellence of the last *).

We Britons in our time have been remarkable borrowers, as our multiform language may sufficiently shew. Our terms in polite literature prove, that this came from Greece; our terms in music and painting, that these came from Italy; our phrases in cookery and war, that we learnt these from the French; and our phrases in navigation, that we were taught by the Flemings and Low Dutch. These many and very different sources of our language may be the cause, why it is so deficient in regularity and analogy. Yet we have this advantage to compensate the defect, that what we want in elegance, we gain in copiousness, in which last respect few languages will be found superior to our own.

Let us pass from ourselves to the nations of the east. The eastern world, from the earliest days, has been at all times the seat of enormous monarchy. On its natives fair liberty never shed its genial influence. If at any time civil discords arose among them (and arise there did innumerable) the contest was never about the form of their government, (for this was an object, of which the combatants had no conception); it was all from the poor motive of, who should be their master, whether a Cyrus or an Artaxerxes, a Mahomet or a Mustapha.

Such was their condition, and what was the consequence? — Their ideas became consonant to their servile

*) Hermes, Book III. Chap. V.

state, and their words became consonant to their servile ideas. The great distinction, for ever in their sight, was that of tyrant and slave; the most unnatural one conceivable, and the most susceptible of pomp, and empty exaggeration. Hence they talked of kings as gods, and of themselves, as the meanest and most abject reptiles. Nothing was either great or little in moderation, but every sentiment was heightened by incredible hyperbole. Thus tho' they sometimes ascended into the great and magnificent *), they as frequently degenerated into the tumid and bombast. The Greeks too of Asia became infected by their neighbours, who were often at times not only their neighbours, but their masters; and hence that luxuriance of the Asiatic stile, unknown to the chaste eloquence and purity of Athens. But of the Greeks we forbear to speak now, as we shall speak of them more fully, when we have first considered the nature or genius of the Romans.

And what sort of people may we pronounce the Romans? — A nation engaged in wars and commotions, some foreign, some domestic, which for seven hundred years wholly engrossed their thoughts. Hence therefore their language became, like their ideas, copious in all terms, expressive of things political, and well adapted to the purposes both of history and popular eloquence. — But what was their philosophy? — As a nation, it was none, if we may credit their ablest writers. And hence the unfitness of their language to this subject; a defect, which even Cicero is compelled to confess, and more fully makes appear, when he writes philosophy himself, from the number of terms, which he is obliged to invent. Virgil seems to have judged the most truly of his countrymen, when admitting their inferiority in the more elegant arts, he concludes at last with his usual majesty:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
(Hae tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos **).

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*) The truest sublime of the East may be found in the scriptures, of which perhaps the principal cause is the intrinsic greatness of the subjects there treated; the creation of the universe, the dispensations of divine providence, etc.

**) *Eine aus dem 6ten Gesange der Aeneide v.* 850—853. *entlehnte Stelle.* *Voss übersetzt dieselbe also:*

Du, o Römer, beherrsche des Erdreichs Völker mit Obmacht;

From considering the Romans, let us pass to the Greeks. The Grecian commonwealths, while they maintained their liberty, were the most heroic confederacy, that ever existed. They were the politest, the bravest, and the wisest of men. In the short space of little more than a century, they became such statesmen, warriors, orators, historians, physicians, poets, critics, painters, sculptors, architects, and (last of all) philosophers, that one can hardly help considering that golden period, as a providential event in honour of human nature, to shew to what perfection the species might ascend.

Now the language of these Greeks was truly like themselves, it was conformable to their transcendent and universal genius. Where matter so abounded, words followed of course, and those exquisite in every kind, as the ideas for which they stood. And hence it followed, there was not a subject to be found, which could not with propriety be expressed in Greek.

Here were words and numbers for the humour of an Aristophanes; for the native elegance of a Philemon, or Menander; for the amorous strains of a Mimnermus or Sappho; for the rural lays of a Theocritus or Bion; and for the sublime conceptions of a Sophocles or Homer. The same in prose. Here Isocrates was enabled to display his art, in all the accuracy of periods, and the nice counterpoise of diction. Here Demosthenes found materials for that nervous composition, that manly force of unaffected eloquence, which rushed, like a torrent, too impetuous to be withstood.

Who were more different in exhibiting their philosophy, than Xenophon, Plato, and his disciple, Aristotle? Different, I say, in their character of composition; for as to their philosophy itself, it was in reality the same. Aristotle, strict, methodic, and orderly; subtle in thought; sparing in ornament; with little address to the passions or imagination; but exhibiting the whole with such a pregnant brevity, that in every sentence we seem to read a page. How exquisitely is this all performed in Greek? Let those, who imagine it may be done as well in another language, satisfy themselves either by attempting to translate him, or by perusing his translations already made by men of learning. On the contrary, when

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(Dies seyn Künste für dich!) Du gebeut Anordnung des Friedens; Demuthsvoller geschont, und Trotzige niedergekämpfet!

we read either Xenophon or Plato, nothing of this method and strict order appears. The formal and didactic is wholly dropt. Whatever they may teach, it is without professing to be teachers; a train of dialogue and truly polite address, in which, as in a mirrour, we behold human life, adorned in all its colours of sentiment and manners.

And yet though these differ in this manner from the Stagirite, how different are they likewise in character from each other? — Plato, copious, figurative, and majestic; intermixing at times the facetious and satiric; enriching his works with tales and fables, and the mystic theology of antient times. Xenophon, the pattern of perfect simplicity; every where smooth, harmonious, and pure; declining the figurative, the marvellous, and the mystic; ascending but rarely into the sublime; nor then so much trusting to the colours of stile, as to the intrinsic dignity of the sentiment itself.

The language in the mean time, in which he and Plato wrote, appears to suit so accurately with the stile of both, that when we read either of the two, we cannot help thinking, that it is he alone, who has hit its character, and that it could not have appeared so elegant in any other manner.

And thus is the Greek tongue, from its propriety and universality, made for all that is great, and all that is beautiful, in every subject, and under every form of writing.

Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui *).

It were to be wished, that those amongst us, who either write or read, with a view to employ their liberal leisure, (for as to such, as do either from views more sordid, we leave them, like slaves, to their destined drudgery), it were to be wished, I say, that the liberal (if they have a relish for letters) would inspect the finished models of grecian literature; that they would not waste those hours, which they cannot recall, upon the meaner productions of the French and English press; upon that fungous growth of novels and of pamphlets, where,

*) *Eine aus Horazens Epistel an die Pisonen (v. 323 u. 324) entlehnte Stelle. Wieland hat in seiner Uebersetzung dafür die Worte:*

— — — — Den Griechen gab die Muse
Zugleich Genie und feines Kunstgefühl,
Die Gabe der Empfindung und des schönen
Und runden Ausdrucks — —

it is to be feared, they rarely find any rational pleasure, and more rarely still, any solid improvement.

To be competently skilled in ancient learning, is by no means a work of such insuperable pains. The very progress itself is attended with delight, and resembles a journey through some pleasant country, where every mile we advance, new charms arise. It is certainly as easy to be a scholar, as a gamester, or many other characters equally illiberal and low. The same application, the same quantity of habit will fit us for one, as completely as for the other. And as to those who tell us, with an air of seeming wisdom, that it is men, and not books, we must study to become knowing; this I have always remarked, from repeated experience, to be the common consolation and language of dunces. They shelter their ignorance under a few bright examples, whose transcendent abilities, without the common helps, have been sufficient of themselves to great and important ends. But alas!

Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile — *).

JOHNSON.

Samuel Johnson *wurde den 18ten September* 1709 *zu Lichfield in Staffordshire geboren. Sein Vater trieb an diesem Ort eine Art von Buch- und Schreibmaterialienhandel, und hatte sich durch Betriebsamkeit ein kleines Vermögen erworben, welches aber nachmals bei einer verunglückten Spekulation wieder verloren ging; er war übrigens ein Mann von guten natürlichen Anlagen und nicht ganz ohne gelehrte Bildung, ausserdem ein Anhänger der hohen Kirche und ein eifriger Jakobite. Samuel Johnson verrieth frühzeitig vorzügliche Geistesfähigkeiten. Er besuchte anfänglich die Schule zu Lichfield, und im funfzehnten Jahre seines Alters die zu Stourbridge in Worcestershire. Nach Verlauf eines Jahres begab er sich wieder in sein väterliches*

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*) *Eine Stelle aus Horazens* 19*ter Epistel des ersten Buchs; nach Wielands Uebersetzung:*

Ein Muster wird auf seiner schwachen Seite
Am leichtsten nachgeahmt, und steckt gewöhnlich
Durch seine Fehler an.

Haus, wo er zwei Jahre blieb, und für sich studirte. Das Studium der alten Klassiker, doch mehr der Römischen, als der Griechischen, war, so wie bisher auf Schulen, der vornehmste Gegenstand seines Fleifses. Mehrere Proben von Übersetzungen aus dem Homer, Horaz, Virgil u. s. w., welche Boswell *der Biographie* Johnson's *einverleibt hat, verrathen nicht gemeine Sprachkenntnisse und viel dichterisches Genie. Im Jahr 1728 bezog er das Pembroke College zu Oxford, als Gesellschafter eines seiner ehemaligen Mitschüler, dessen Vater unsern* Johnson *für diesen Dienst auf der Universität zu unterhalten versprach. Hier zeichnete er sich durch seine Kenntnisse in der klassischen Literatur, vorzüglich aber durch eine meisterhafte Übersetzung des* Messias *von* Pope *in lateinische Hexameter, mit welcher letztern er selbst sehr zufrieden war, als ein fähiger Kopf aus. Indessen wurden seine Studien öfters durch Hypochondrie unterbrochen, und die Anfälle von dieser Krankheit wurden im Jahre 1729 so heftig, dafs er dem Wahnsinn nahe zu seyn glaubte; er ward von diesem Übel zwar wiederhergestellt, genas indessen nie ganz von demselben. Im Jahre 1731 mufste er die Universität verlassen, nachdem schon ein Jahr vorher der junge Mann, den er als Gesellschafter dahin begleitet hatte, von seinem Vater nach Hause berufen worden war, wodurch unser* Johnson, *dem es an eignen Mitteln gänzlich fehlte, sich in die bedrängtesten Umstände versetzt sah. Hierauf hielt er sich einige Zeit in seiner Vaterstadt auf, wo er trotz seiner wenig feinen Sitten dennoch Eingang in die besten Familien des Orts erhielt, und von allen denen geschätzt wurde, die einen wahren Werth, auch unter einer rohen Hülle zu entdecken, scharfsichtig genug waren. Der Tod seines Vaters erfolgte in dem angeführten Jahre.* Johnson *bekam aus der Verlassenschaft etwa 20 l. Dies nöthigte ihn, die Stelle eines Unterlehrers an der Schule zu Market-Bosworth in Leicestershire zu übernehmen, wohin er auch im Julius des folgenden Jahres zu Fufse wanderte. Unzufrieden über seine unangenehme Lage nahm er freudig die Einladung seines Freundes* Hector *in Birmingham an, liefs sich an diesem Orte nieder, und arbeitete für den dasigen Buchhändler* Warren. *Unter andern übersetzte er für diesen (1735) die ursprünglich Portugiesisch geschriebene Reise* Lobo's, *nach der Französischen Übersetzung des* le Grand *in das Englische, eine Arbeit, welche ihm aber nur fünf Guineen einbrachte. Mehrere andere Spekulationen, unter andern eine Ausgabe der Gedichte des* Angelus Poli-

tianus, die er nebst einem Leben des Verfassers und Noten herausgeben wollte, schlugen fehl; auch machte er dem Eigenthümer des Gentleman-Magazine *Anträge, und erbot sich, allerhand Aufsätze zu diesem periodischen Werke zu liefern; allein man nahm seine Anerbietungen damals nicht an. Im Jahre* 1735 *heirathete er die beinah funfzigjährige Wittwe eines Krämers zu Lichfield, Namens Porter, deren Tochter Lucy ihm ehemals eine heftige Leidenschaft eingeflöfst hatte. Madam Porter war nichts weniger als schön, von ziemlicher Peripherie, reichlich geschminkt, dabei noch in ihrem Betragen affektirt, und in ihren Reden sehr pretiös. Doch unserm Johnson war ja auch nicht viel körperliche Schönheit zu Theil geworden, und er scheint wirklich seine Frau von Herzen lieb gehabt zu haben. Madam Johnson brachte ihm ein Vermögen von* 800 l. *zu, mit denen er eine Erziehungsanstalt zu Edial bei Lichfield anlegte. Auch dies Projekt mislang ihm; er bekam nur drei Zöglinge, unter ihnen aber den nachmaligen Roscius der Britten, David Garrick. Da Johnson sah, dafs er es auf diesem Wege nicht weit bringen würde, so begleitete er den jungen Garrick, welcher, um die Rechtswissenschaften zu studiren, nach London reisete, dahin* (1737), *in der Hoffnung, an diesem glänzenden Orte eher sein Glück zu machen; seine Frau folgte ihm im Sommer desselben Jahres, die schöne Lucy aber blieb bei ihren Verwandten zurück. Hier beschäfftigte er sich theils mit Beendigung seines Trauerspiels* Irene, *theils mit vielen Aufsätzen, die in das* Gentleman-Magazine, *dessen ordentlicher Mitarbeiter er nun geworden war, eingerückt wurden. Unstreitig würde er zur Ausbreitung seines literarischen Rufes viel beigetragen haben, wenn er seine Tragödie auf die Bühne hätte bringen können; allein er hatte diese Freude erst im Jahre* 1749, *nachdem sein Freund Garrick Direktor des Schauspielhauses zu Drury-Lane geworden war. Um diese Zeit machte Johnson mit dem unglücklichen Savage, dessen Leben er nachmals so meisterhaft beschrieben hat, Bekanntschaft. Im Jahre* 1738 *gab er seine berühmte Satire* London, *eine Nachahmung der dritten Satire Juvenals heraus, in welcher er mit juvenalischem Feuer die Laster der Hauptstadt züchtigt. Der Leser wird dies Gedicht im zweiten Theile dieses Handbuchs finden. Er erhielt für dieses, wenig Blätter starke Werkchen* 10 l. *Der Beifall, welchen das Publicum demselben schenkte — es ward in einer Woche zweimal aufgelegt — brachte dem Verleger Dodsley reichlichen Gewinn, und dem Verfasser Gele-*

brität. Selbst Pope *wurde durch dieses schöne Gedicht auf unsern* Johnson *aufmerksam, suchte seine persönliche Bekanntschaft, und prophezeihte seine künftige Gröfse. Während dieser Zeit arbeitete er ununterbrochen am* Gentleman-Magazine, *fand aber nebenher noch Mufse genug zu andern gröfsern Arbeiten. Dahin gehören die* Debatten des Senats zu Grofs-Lilliput, *die von ihm bis zum Jahre 1743 aufgesetzt, von* Hawkesworth *aber nachmals bis 1760 fortgeführt wurden, und eigentlich commentirte Auszüge aus den Reden der berühmtesten Parliamentsglieder dieses Zeitalters sind. 1739 erschien* a compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage from the malicious and scandalous aspersions of Mr. Brooke, author of Gustavus Vasa, *ein ironischer Angriff auf den Lord Kammerherrn, welcher* Brooke's *Trauerspiel* Gustav Vasa *zu verbieten für gut befunden hatte; desgleichen* Marmor Norfolciense, or an Essay on an ancient prophetical inscription in monkish rhyme, lately discovered near Lynne in Norfolk, by Probus Britannicus, *eine Schrift politischen Inhalts, die ihm von Seiten der Regierung einen Verhaftsbefehl zuzog, dem zu entweichen er sich mit seiner Frau eine Zeitlang in Lambethmarsh verstecken mufste. Der Abhängigkeit von Buchhändlern überdrüfsig, bewarb er sich 1739 um eine Lehrerstelle in einer Landschule, welche 60 l. eintrug; allein er erhielt sie nicht, weil der Inhaber derselben die Magisterwürde besitzen mufste, und diese hatte* Johnson *anzunehmen vergessen. Im Jahre 1744 erschien sein* Life of Richard Savage, *seines Freundes, eine meisterhafte Biographie, die nachmals wieder in seinen* Lives of the most eminent English poets *abgedruckt worden ist. In eben dem Jahre schrieb er die Vorrede zu den* Harleian Miscellany. *1745 erschienen seine* Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth, with Remarks on Sir Thomas Hanmer's Edition of Shakspeare, *welche zugleich Vorschläge zu einer neuen Ausgabe des* Shakspeare *enthielten. Diese kleine Schrift machte damals wenig Aufsehen, weil der berühmtere* Warburton *eben im Begriff war, eine neue Ausgabe dieses Dichters zu liefern. Im Jahr 1747 machte er seinen Plan zu einem Wörterbuche der Englischen Sprache bekannt, der die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums ungemein reizte; er dedicirte ihn dem damaligen Staatssekretär, Grafen* Chesterfield, *und dieser interessirte sich auch, wenigstens im Anfang, sehr für dieses Vorhaben. Man sagt ein Buchhändler* Dodsley *habe ihm die erste Veranlassung zu diesem grofsen Werke ge-*

geben; es erschien wenigstens nachmals bei diesem **Robert Dodsley**, *der sich mit einigen andern Buchhändlern vereinigt hatte.* **Johnson** *ward mit diesen Männern um ein Honorar von* 1575 l. *einig, miethete sich eine Wohnung in Fleet-Street, und machte sich nun mit einigen Gehülfen, denen er gröſstentheils diktirte, an die Arbeit. Während der Zeit, daſs er sich mit diesem riesenhaften Werke beschäfftigte, beschenkte er das Publikum mit einigen andern Werken, die zu den Zierden der Englischen Literatur zu zählen sind. Dahin gehört* 1749 *das Seitenstück zu seinem Gedicht* London, *seine Satire, betitelt* the Vanity of human wishes, *eine Nachbildung der 10ten Satire Juvenal's und einer der besten Versuche in der ethischen Dichtkunst, den irgend eine Nation aufweisen kann. In eben dem Jahre ward, wie schon oben erinnert worden ist, sein Trauerspiel* Irene *auf dem Drury-Lane Theater, jedoch nicht mit sehr groſsem Beifall, gegeben. Im Jahre* 1750 *fing er eine Zeitschrift, unter dem Titel:* the Rambler, *der* **Herumstreifer**, *an. Das erste Stück erschien* 1750 *den* 20*sten, das* 208 *und letzte* 1752 *den* 14. *März. Das Publikum nahm dieses, von Seiten des Inhalts sowohl als der Sprache meisterhafte Werk, als ein würdiges Seitenstück zum* Spectator, *mit allgemeinem Beifall auf; und in der That kann man es in jedem Betracht unter die klassischen Schriften der Engländer zählen. Als einen Beweis von dem Beifalle, den es erhielt, wollen wir hier nur anführen, daſs* **Johnson** *die zehnte Auflage desselben erlebte, und daſs ihm bei dieser Gelegenheit die Universitäten zu Oxford und Dublin* 1755, *vielleicht auch in Hinsicht auf die bevorstehende Bekanntmachung seines Wörterbuchs, das Diplom* **eines Magisters** *der* **Künste** *und* **Doktors der Rechte**, *zuschickten. Übrigens erhielt* **Johnson** *zu dieser periodischen Schrift nur zehn fremde Beiträge, (das* 97*ste Stück ist, wie wir bereits bemerkt haben, von* **Richardson**); *er trug also bei weitem mehr zum* Rambler, *als* **Addison** *zum* Spectator, *bei. Endlich erschien im Mai des Jahres* 1755 *sein Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache, unter dem Titel:* Dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations by examples of the best writers, to which are prefixed a history of the language and an English grammar, 1755, 2 Vols. Fol. *Dieses vortreffliche Werk übertraf die kühnsten Erwartungen des Publikums; und wirklich giebt es wenig Arbeiten von solchem Umfange, welche mit dieser verglichen*

werden können. *Jede Seite ist ein Beweis von den Kenntnissen und dem Forschungsgeiste des Verfassers. Man hat mehrere Auflagen desselben. Die 6te, welche wir vor uns haben, ist vom Jahre* 1785 *in* 2 *Vols.* 4. *Johnson selbst veranstaltete einen Auszug aus demselben in* 2 *Vols.* 8., *welcher ein Jahr nach der Bekanntmachung des gröſsern Werks erschien. Dieses liegt übrigens bei dem neuen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuche der Engl. Sprache für die Deutschen, vom verstorbenen Adelung, Leipzig* 1783 *und* 1796 2 *Bde.* 8. *zum Grunde* *). 1758 *fing er eine Zeitschrift,* the Idler, *an, welche durch* 103 *Nummern bis zum 5ten April* 1760 *fortgesetzt wurde, allein dem* Rambler *nachsteht. (Man hat einen Auszug aus dieser periodischen Schrift, desgleichen aus dem* Rambler *und einigen andern neuern Englischen Zeitschriften unter dem Titel:* the Beauties of the Rambler, Adventurer, Connoisseur, World and Idler, 2 Vols. London 1787, gr. 12., *der eine sehr anziehende Lektüre gewährt*). 1759 *schrieb er seinen anmuthigen Roman*: History of Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia, *um, wie Boswell nach des Buchdruckers Straham Versicherung behauptet, die Kosten für das Leichenbegängniſs seiner in diesem Jahre gestorbenen Mutter und einige kleine Schulden, welche sie hinterlassen hatte, zu bezahlen. Johnson erzählte dem Sir Reynolds, er habe das Werk in den Abenden einer Woche geschrieben. Der* Prince of Abyssinia *hat übrigens zur Absicht, das Thörichte unserer nicht selten überspannten Erwartungen von den Freuden der Zukunft ins Licht zu setzen. Im Jahre* 1760 *war er Willens, eine Geschichte der neuern Kriege der Engländer zu schreiben. Schade, daſs er diesen Vorsatz nicht zur Ausführung brachte. Im Jahre* 1762 *erhielt er durch Fürsprache einiger seiner Freunde und Gönner eine Pension von* 300 l. *vom Hofe, die er zeitlebens genoſs. Johnson stand um diese Zeit auf dem Gipfel seines Ruhms; er wurde überall geschätzt, und sein Vaterland schien stolz zu seyn, einen Mann von seiner Gröſse hervorgebracht zu haben. Selbst der König von England wünschte, ihn kennen zu lernen, und hatte mit ihm eine Unterredung zu Buckingham-House, in*

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*) *Zusätze zu Johnson's allerdings nicht vollständigem Wörterbuche enthält folgendes Werk:* a Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary, of which the palpable errors are attempted to be rectified and its material omissions supplied, by G. Mason, 1801. 4.

welcher er sich herablassend gütig gegen J*ohnson bewies. Indessen hatte sein altes hypochondrisches Übel seine Gesundheit auf's Neue untergraben, und er würde vielleicht ein Opfer desselben geworden seyn, wenn ihn nicht der Zufall mit* H*einrich* T*hrale, einem der angesehensten Brauer in England und Parliamentsglied für Southwark, bekannt gemacht hätte. Er wurde bald in dem Hause dieses Mannes als ein zur Familie gehöriges Mitglied betrachtet, hatte in der Stadt und auf dem Landsitze dieser Familie seine eigene Wohnung, und dies, verbunden mit den Annehmlichkeiten und Zerstreuungen, die er in diesem gebildeten Zirkel genoſs, waren die vornehmste Ursache, daſs sein Trübsinn allmälig schwand und in ihm Kraft zu neuen Unternehmungen erwachte. So konnte er* 1765 *die schon vor mehreren Jahren angekündigte Ausgabe der Werke* S*hakspeare's vollenden. Sie erschien in* 8 *Oktavbänden unter dem Titel*: The Plays of Shakspeare, with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators, to which are added notes by Samuel Johnson, London 1765. *Das Publikum fand sich in seinen hohen Erwartungen von dieser Ausgabe getäuscht, und nahm das Werk mit Kälte auf. Man hatte von einem Manne wie* J*ohnson mehr erwartet, und es ist auch wol keinem Zweifel unterworfen, daſs er mehr hätte leisten können, wenn er gewollt hätte; er scheint die Arbeit nicht recht* con amore *unternommen zu haben. Die Vorrede zu demselben wird übrigens als eins der schönsten Stücke der Englischen Prosa betrachtet. Nachmals vereinigte sich* J*ohnson mit* G*eorg* S*teevens zu einer neuen Ausgabe, welche* 1774 *in* 10 *Vols.* 8. *erschien, zum zweiten Male herausgegeben* 1778, *nebst einem im folgenden Jahre gedruckten* Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, containing additional observations by several of the former commentators, 2 Vols. 8. *Wir berühren hier nur kürzlich einige politische Schriften, welche in den folgenden Jahren aus der Feder unsers rüstigen Schriftstellers flossen. Es gehört dahin* The false Alarm 1770, Thoughts concerning Falkland's Islands 1771, the Patriot 1774, *Schriften, in welchen sich* J*ohnson gröſstentheils als einen eifrigen Anhänger der Hofpartei zeigt, und die nur von Seiten des Stils Werth haben. Im Herbste des Jahres* 1773 *unternahm er mit* B*oswell eine Reise nach den Hebriden, und gab die Beschreibung derselben* 1775 *unter dem Titel heraus:* an Account of a Journey to the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland;

auch Boswell *beschrieb dieselbe.* Johnson *hatte in seiner Reisebeschreibung einige Zweifel gegen die Ächtheit der Gedichte* Ossian's *geäufsert, und dies verwickelte ihn in eine so heftige Fehde mit* Macpherson, *dafs er Angriffe der Art befürchtete, die nur durch körperliche Stärke abgewehrt werden könnten; daher er sich mit einem grofsen eichenen Prügel versah, um auf jeden Fall gedeckt zu seyn. Die Fahrt nach den Hebriden hatte ihm indessen so sehr gefallen, dafs er* 1775 *mit der Thraleschen Familie eine Reise nach Paris unternahm. Er fand es nicht für gut, das Tagebuch, welches er auf dieser Reise geführt hatte, bekannt zu machen. Dagegen gab er in eben diesem Jahre eine politische Schrift unter dem Titel:* Taxation no tyranny, an answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress *heraus.* Johnson *war bereits* 70 *Jahr alt, als er das berühmte Werk* The Lives of the most eminent English poets *begann. Dem ersten Plane zufolge sollten es nur kurze biographisch-literarische Umrisse seyn, welche an der Spitze einer Ausgabe der Englischen Dichter stehen sollten, deren Herausgabe einige Londoner Buchhändler unternommen hatten; allein das Werk schwoll unter* Johnson's *Händen an, und so entstand jene Reihe von Biographien, die sich durch eine meisterhafte Schreibart, und viele scharfsinnige ästhetische Bemerkungen empfehlen, ob sie gleich nicht ganz frei von dem Vorwurf der Parteilichkeit sind.* Johnson *beschäfftigte sich mit dieser Arbeit von den Jahren* 1777 *bis* 1781. *Sie erschien unter dem Titel:* Works of the English poets, with prefaces biographical and critical to each Author, by Samuel Johnson, L. L. D. illustrated with heads engraved by Bartolozzi, Caldwall etc. *unter andern London* 1790, 68 *Vols.* 12. *Die Biographien stehen jedesmal vor den Werken eines Schriftstellers, sind aber auch besonders gedruckt, unter dem Titel:* The Lives of the most eminent English Poets, with critical observations on their works by Samuel Johnson, *unter andern London* 1790 *in* 8. *Dieses war das letzte Werk* Johnson's. *Von der Zeit an kränkelte er und starb endlich den* 13*ten December* 1784. *Er ward in der Westminster-Abtei beigesetzt, zu den Füfsen des Shakspearschen Monuments, nicht weit von der Ruhestätte seines Freundes* Garrick. *Auf seinem Grabstein befindet sich folgende einfache Inschrift:*

Samuel Johnson LLD.
Obiit XIII. die Decembris
Anno Domini

MDCCLXXXIV
Aetatis Suae LXXV.

Man kann Johnson mit Recht zu den gelehrtesten Männern des verflossenen Jahrhunderts zählen. Er besaſs weitläuftige historische Kenntnisse, verstand die Griechische und insonderheit die Lateinische Sprache in einer seltenen Vollkommenheit, und hatte eine Gewandtheit in seiner Muttersprache, die ihm einen ehrenvollen Rang unter den klassischen Schriftstellern seiner Nation anweis't; vorzüglich wird seine Einleitung in die Werke Shakspeare's als ein Meisterstück der Schreibart bewundert. Auch als Dichter würde er geglänzt haben, wenn er sich mehr mit der Dichtkunst beschäftigt hätte; und das nicht bloſs im didaktischen Fache, sondern auch in denen Dichtungsarten, welche feinere Gefühle verlangen. Auſserdem war er ein Mann von reifer Beurtheilungskraft, geläutertem Geschmack und einem trefflichen Witze. Viele seiner geistreichen Antworten sind von seinen Biographen aufbewahrt worden. — Was seinen Charakter betrifft, so scheint er bei einem rauhen, zurückstoſsenden Äuſsern doch viel Humanität besessen zu haben. Goldsmith charakterisirt ihn in dieser Hinsicht sehr treffend, indem er sagt: dieser Mann hat nichts vom Bären als das Fell. Von Schwachheiten war Johnson indessen nichts weniger als frei, vorzüglich fanden sich Personen, die ihn noch nicht genug kannten, durch seine entscheidenden Urtheile, sein hochfahrendes Wesen, so wie auch insonderheit dadurch beleidigt, daſs er keinen Widerspruch ertragen konnte. — Johnson's sämmtliche Werke sind 1786 von Hawkins zu London in 12 Bänden in gr. 8. herausgegeben worden. Seine poetischen Werke erschienen einzeln London 1787 unter dem Titel: The poetical Works of Samuel Johnson, L. L. D. containing London a satire and the Vanity of human wishes etc. *Auch hat man Auszüge aus seinen Werken unter dem Titel:* The Beauties of Samuel Johnson, consisting of maxims and observations, moral, critical and miscellaneous, to which are added biographical anecdotes from the late productions of Mrs. Piozzi, Mr. Boswell and others. London 1787. — *Zu den vorzüglichsten Werken, welche über das Leben dieses berühmten Mannes erschienen sind, gehören:* Johnson's Life; an account of his studies, and numerous works in chronological order, a series of his letters to eminent persons, and several pieces of his composition never before published etc. by James Bos-

well, Esq. 2 Vols. 4. London 1787. *Deutsch: Denkwürdigkeiten aus S. Johnson's Leben von J. Boswell, Esq. nach der Englischen Ausgabe (von 1793) übersetzt, Königsberg 1797. (Vergl. die Recension in der allgem. Deutsch. Bibliothek, 36. Bd. 2tes Stück 8tes Heft 1798, welche einen gedrängten Auszug daraus enthält).* Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson during the last twenty years of his life, by Hester Lynch Piozzi, London 1786. 8. — The Life of Sam. Johnson by Sir John Hawkins, the second edition, London 1787. 8. *Diese Biographie befindet sich vor der von Hawkins besorgten Ausgabe der sämmtlichen Werke Johnson's, ist aber auch einzeln gedruckt.* Two Dialogues containing a comparative view of the lives, characters and writings of Philip the late Earl of Chesterfield and Dr. Samuel Johnson, London 1787. 8. An Essay on the life and genius of Samuel Johnson, by Arthur Murphy, Esq. London 1792. 8. *Außerdem findet man lesenswürdige Nachrichten von Johnson in Schubarts Englischen Blättern, 1793. Heft 2. Nro. 1.; ferner in dem 7ten und 8ten Bande des Brittischen Plutarch, desgleichen in Kosegarten's Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben und den Schriften der neuesten Brittischen Dichter, zweiter Band, S. 374, aus welchen beiden letztern Werken insonderheit unsere biographische Skizze entlehnt worden ist. Endlich ist auch im Jahre 1805 eine Autobiographie Johnson's erschienen, die aber nur einen geringen Theil seines Lebens umfaßt. Sie führt den Titel:* A brief account of the life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his birth to his eleventh year, written by himself; to which are added original letters to Dr. Johnson by Miss Hill Boothby, from the MS. preserved by the Doctor, 8. 4 sh. 6 den. — *Wir können nicht umhin, unsern Lesern hier eine Stelle über Johnson aus den Schriften von Helfrich Peter Sturz, erste Sammlung, S. 199 (nach der Ausgabe von 1786) in's Gedächtniß zurückzurufen. Dieser Gelehrte druckt sich in einem aus London den 18ten August 1768 datirten Schreiben also aus: „Ich komme von Samuel Johnson, dem Koloß in der Englischen Literatur, der tiefes Wissen mit Witz, und Laune mit ernsthafter Weisheit vereinigt, und dessen Menschenlarve nichts davon ankündigt; denn in seiner Gestalt ist kein Verhältniß — eines faustgerechten Trabanten — beleidigt. — Sein Anstand ist bäurisch, und sein Auge kalt, wie sein Spott; nie tagt ein Blick darin auf, der Scharfsinn oder Schalkheit verriethe; er*

scheint immer zerstreut, und ist es nicht selten. Er hatte Colmann und mich schriftlich eingeladen, und es wieder vergessen. Wir überfielen ihn im eigentlichsten Verstande auf dem Landgute des Herrn Thrale, dessen Frau, eine artige Walizerinn, Griechisch zum Zeitvertreib lies't und übersetzt. Hier lebt Johnson, und herrscht (denn er mag wohl herrschen), wie im Schoofse seiner eigenen Familie. Er empfing uns freundlich, ob ihn gleich nie eine gewisse Feierlichkeit verliefse, die in seine Sitten, wie in seinen Styl verwebt ist. Er ründet auch im Umgange seine Perioden, und spricht beinah im Theaterton; aber was er sagt, wird durch ein gewisses eignes Gepräg interessant." —

1) The Journey of Life *).

Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit aniles
*Ex re fabellas **).*

Horat. Sat. II. 6. 77.

Obidah, the son of Abensina, left the caravansera early in the morning, and pursued his journey through the plains of Indostan. He was fresh and vigorous with rest; he was animated with hope; he was incited by desire; he walked swiftly forward over the vallies, and saw the hills gradually rising before him. As he passed along, his ears were delighted with the morning song of the bird of paradise, he was fanned by the last flutters of the sinking breeze, and sprinkled with dew by groves of spices; he sometimes contemplated the towering height of the oak, monarch of the hills; and sometimes caught the gentle fragrance of the primrose, eldest daughter of the spring: all his senses were gratified, and all care was banished from his heart.

Thus he went on till the sun approached his meridian, and the increasing heat preyed upon his strength; he then looked round about him for some more commodious path. He saw, on his right hand, a grove that seemed to wave its shades as a sign of invitation: he entered it, and found the

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*) Rambler, Numb. 65. Tuesday, October 30, 1750. **) *Nach Wieland's Uebersetzung:*

Gelegenheitlich tischt uns Nachbar Cervius
In seiner eignen drolligen Manier
Ein Mährchen auf, das sich zur Sache schickt.

coolness and verdure irresistibly pleasant. He did not, however, forget whither he was travelling, but found a narrow way bordered with flowers, which appeared to have the same direction with the main road, and was pleased that, by this happy experiment, he had found means to unite pleasure with business, and to gain the rewards of diligence without suffering its fatigues. He, therefore, still continued to walk for a time, without the least remission of his ardour, except that he was sometimes tempted to stop by the musick of the birds, whom the heat had assembled in the shade; and sometimes amused himself with plucking the flowers that covered the banks on either side, or the fruits that hung upon the branches. At last the green path began to decline from its first tendency, and to wind among hills and thickets, cooled with fountains, and murmuring with water-falls. Here Obidah paused for a time, and began to consider whether it were longer safe to forsake the known and common track; but remembering that the heat was now in its greatest violence, and that the plain was dusty and uneven, he resolved to pursue the new path, which he supposed only to make a few meanders, in compliance with the varieties of the ground, and to end at last in the common road.

Having thus calmed his solicitude, he renewed his pace, though he suspected that he was not gaining ground. The uneasiness of his mind inclined him to lay hold on every new object, and give way to every sensation that might sooth or divert him. He listened to every echo, he mounted every hill for a fresh prospect, he turned aside to every cascade, and pleased himself with tracing the course of a gentle river that rolled among the trees, and watered a large region with innumerable circumvolutions. In these amusements the hours passed away uncounted, his deviations had perplexed his memory, and he knew not towards what point to travel. He stood pensive and confused, afraid to go forward lest he should go wrong, yet conscious that the time of loitering was now past. While he was thus tortured with uncertainty, the sky was overspread with clouds, the day vanished from before him, and a sudden tempest gathered round his head. He was now roused by his danger to a quick and painful remembrance of his folly; he now saw how happiness is lost when ease is consulted; he lamented the unmanly impatience that prompted him to seek shelter in the grove, and despised

the petty curiosity that led him on from trifle to trifle. While he was thus reflecting, the air grew blacker and a clap of thunder broke his meditation.

He now resolved to do what remained yet in his power, to tread back the ground which he had passed, and try to find some issue where the wood might open into the plain. He prostrated himself on the ground, and commended his life to the lord of nature. He rose with confidence and tranquillity, and pressed on with his sabre in his hand, for the beasts of the desert were in motion, and on every hand were heard the mingled howls of rage and fear, and ravage and expiration; all the horrors of darkness and solitude surrounded him; the winds roared in the woods, and the torrents tumbled from the hills.

> Work'd into sudden rage by wintry show'rs,
> Down the steep hill the roaring torrent pours;
> The mountain shepherd hears the distant noise *).

Thus forlorn and distressed, he wandered through the wild, without knowing whither he was going, or whether he was every moment drawing nearer to safety or to destruction. At length not fear but labour began to overcome him; his breath grew short, and his knees trembled, and he was on the point of lying down in resignation to his fate, when he beheld through brambles the glimmer of a taper. He advanced towards the light, and finding that it proceeded from the cottage of a hermit, he called humbly at the door, and obtained admission. The old man set before him such provisions as he had collected for himself, on which Obidah fed with eagerness and gratitude.

When the repast was over, „tell me," said the hermit, „by what chance thou hast been brought hither: I have „been now twenty years an inhabitant of the wilderness, in „which I never saw a man before." Obidah then related the occurrences of his journey, without any concealment or palliation.

„Son," said the hermit, „let the errors and follies, the dan„gers and escape of this day, sink deep into thy heart. Re„member, my son, that human life is the journey of a day. „We rise in the morning of youth, full of vigour and full „of expectation; we set forward with spirit and hope, with

*) *Vermuthlich eine Nachbildung von Virgil's Aeneis. II. 305.*

„piety and with diligence, and travel on a while in the „straight road of piety towards the mansions of rest. In a „short time we remit our fervor, and endeavour to find some „mitigation of our duty, and some more easy means of ob- „taining the same end. We then relax our vigour, and „resolve no longer to be terrified with crimes at a distance, „but rely upon our own constancy, and venture to approach „what we resolve never to touch. We thus enter the bowers „of ease, and repose in the shades of security. Here the „heart softens, and vigilance subsides; we are then willing to „enquire whether another advance cannot be made, and „whether we may not, at least, turn our eyes upon the „gardens of pleasure. We approach them with scruple and „hesitation; we enter them, but enter timorous and trembling, „and always hope to pass through them without losing the „road of virtue, which we, for a while, keep in our sight, „and to which we propose to return. But temptation succeeds „temptation, and one compliance prepares us for another; „we in time lose the happiness of innocence, and solace our „disquiet with sensual gratifications. By degrees we let fall „the remembrance of our original intention, and quit the only „adequate object of rational desire. We entangle ourselves in „business, immerge ourselves in luxury, and rove through the „labyrinths of inconstancy, till the darkness of old age begins „to invade us, and disease and anxiety obstruct our way. „We then look back upon our lives with horror, with sorrow, „with repentance; and wish, but too often vainly wish, that „we had not forsaken the ways of virtue. Happy are they, „my son, who shall learn from thy example not to despair, „but shall remember, that though the day is past, and their „strength is wasted, there yet remains one effort to be made; „that reformation is never hopeless, nor sincere endeavours „ever unassisted; that the wanderer may at length return „after all his errors, and that he who implores strength and „courage from above, shall find danger and difficulty give way „before him. Go now, my son to thy repose, commit thy- „self to the care of Omnipotence, and when the morning „calls again to toil, begin anew thy journey and thy life."

2) By what particularities of excellence Shakspeare has gained and kept the favour of his countrymen *).

The reverence due to writings that have long subsisted arises not from any credulous confidence in the superior wisdom of past ages, or gloomy persuasion of the degeneracy of mankind, but is the consequence of acknowledged and indubitable positions, that what has been longest known has been most considered, and what is most considered is best understood.

The poet, of whose works I have undertaken the revision, may now begin to assume the dignity of an ancient, and claim the privilege of established fame and prescriptive veneration. He has long outlived his century, the term commonly fixed as the test of literary merit. Whatever advantages he might once derive from personal allusions, local customs, or temporary opinions, have for many years been lost; and every topick of merriment, or motive of sorrow, which the modes of artificial life afforded him, now only obscure the scenes, which they once illuminated. The effects of favour and competition are at an end; the tradition of his friendships and his enmities has perished; his works support no opinion with arguments, nor supply any faction with invectives; they can neither indulge vanity, nor gratify malignity; but are read without any other reason, than the desire of pleasure, and are therefore praised only as pleasure is obtained; yet thus unassisted by interest or passion, they have past through variations of taste and changes of manners, and, as they devolved from one generation to another, have received new honours at every transmission.

But because human judgment, though it be gradually gaining upon certainty, never becomes infallible; and approbation though long continued, may yet be only the approbation of prejudice or fashion; it is proper to inquire, by what peculiarities of excellence Shakspeare has gained and kept the favour of his countrymen.

Nothing can please many and please long, but just representations of general nature. Particular manners can be known to few, and therefore few only can judge how nearly they are copied. The irregular combinations of fanciful in-

*) Johnson's Preface to his edition of Shakspear's works (printed in 1765).

vention may delight a while, by that novelty of which the common satiety of life sends us all in quest; the pleasures of sudden wonder are soon exhausted, and the mind can only repose on the stability of truth.

Shakspeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world; by the particularities of studies or professions, which can operate but upon small numbers; or by the accidents of transient fashions or temporary opinions: they are the genuine progeny of common humanity; such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakspeare it is commonly a species.

It is from this wide extension of design that so much instruction is derived. It is this which fills the plays of Shakspeare with practical axioms and domestic wisdom. It was said of Euripides, that every verse was a precept; and it may be said of Shakspeare, that from his works may be collected a system of civil and œconomical prudence. Yet his real power is not shown in the splendor of particular passages, but by the progress of his fable, and the tenor of his dialogue; and he that tries to recommend him by select quotations, will succeed like the pedant in Hierocles *), who, when he offered his house to sale, carried a brick in his pocket as a specimen.

It will not easily be imagined how much Shakspeare excels in accomodating his sentiments to real life, but by comparing him with other authors. It was observed of the ancient schools of declamation, that the more diligently they were frequented, the more was the student disqualified for the world, because he found nothing there which he should ever meet in any other place. The same remark may be ap-

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*) *Hierocles lebte im 5ten Jahrhundert nach Christo. Die Anekdote, welche Johnson erzählt, steht in dem ihm beigelegten Werkchen betitelt ἀστεῖα* (facetiae).

plied to every stage but that of Shakspeare. The theatre, when it is under any other direction, is peopled by such characters as were never seen, conversing in a language which was never heard, upon topicks which will never arise in the commerce of mankind. But the dialogue of this author is often so evidently determined by the incident which produces it, and is pursued with so much ease and simplicity, that it seems scarcely to claim the merit of fiction, but to have been gleaned by diligent selection out of common conversation, and common occurrences.

Upon every other stage the universal agent is love, by whose power all good and evil is distributed, and every action quickened or retarded. To bring a lover, a lady, and a rival into the fable; to entangle them in contradictory obligations, perplex them with oppositions of interest, and harrass them with violence of desires inconsistent with each other; to make them meet in rapture, and part in agony; to fill their mouths with hyperbolical joy and outrageous sorrow; to distress them as nothing human ever was distressed; to deliver them as nothing human ever was delivered, is the business of a modern dramatist. For this, probability is violated, life is misrepresented, and language is depraved. But love is only one of many passions, and as it has no great influence upon the sum of life, it has little operation in the dramas of a poet, who caught his ideas from the living world, and exhibited only what he saw before him. He knew, that any other passion, as it was regular or exorbitant, was a cause of happiness or calamity.

Characters thus ample and general were not easily discriminated and preserved, yet perhaps no poet ever kept his personages more distinct from each other. I will not say with Pope, that every speech may be assigned to the proper speaker, because many speeches there are which have nothing characteristical; but, perhaps, though some may be equally adapted to every person, it will be difficult to find any that can be properly transferred from the present possessor to another claimant. The choice is right, when there is reason for choice.

Other dramatists can only gain attention by hyperbolical or aggravated characters, by fabulous and unexampled excellence or depravity, as the writers of barbarous romances invigorated the reader by a giant and a dwarf; and he that should

form his expectations of human affairs from the play, or from the tale, would be equally deceived. Shakspeare has no heroes; his scenes are occupied only by men, who act and speak as the reader thinks that he should himself have spoken or acted on the same occasion; even where the agency is supernatural, the dialogue is level with life. Other writers disguise the most natural passions and most frequent incidents; so that he who contemplates them in the book will not know them in the world; Shakspeare approximates the remote, and familiarizes the wonderful; the event which he represents will not happen, but if it were possible, its effects would probably be such as he has assigned; and it may be said, that he has not only shewn human nature as it acts in real exigences, but as it would be found in trials, to which it cannot be exposed.

This therefore is the praise of Shakspeare, that his drama is the mirror of life; that he who has mazed his imagination, in following the phantoms which other writers raise up before him, may here be cured of his delirious ecstasies, by reading human sentiments in human language; by scenes from which a hermit may estimate the transactions of the world, and a confessor predict the progress of the passions.

His adherence to general nature has exposed him to the censure of criticks, who form their judgments upon narrower principles. Dennis and Rymer think his Romans not sufficiently Roman *); and Voltaire censures his kings as not completely royal. Dennis is offended, that Menenius, a senator of Rome should play the buffoon: and Voltaire perhaps thinks decency violated when the Danish usurper is represented as a drunkard. But Shakspeare always makes nature predominate over accident; and if he preserves the essential character, is not very careful of distinctions superinduced and adventitious. His story requires Romans or kings, but he thinks only on men. He knew that Rome, like every other city, had men of all dispositions; and wanting a buffoon, he went into the senate-house for that which the senate-house would certainly have afforded him. He was inclined to shew an usurper and a murderer not only odious, but despicable; he therefore ad-

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*) *Der erste (gest. 1734.) in seinem* Advancement and Reformation of modern Poetry, *und der andere (gest. 1713.) in seinem* View of the tragedies of the last age.

ded drunkenness to his other qualities, knowing that kings love wine like other men, and that wine exerts its natural power upon kings. These are the petty cavils of petty minds; a poet overlooks the casual distinction of country and condition, as a painter, satisfied with the figure, neglects the drapery.

The censure which he has incurred by mixing comick and tragick scenes, as it extends to all his works, deserves more consideration. Let the fact be first stated, and then examined.

Shakspeare's plays are not in the rigorous and critical sense either tragedies or comedies, but compositions of a distinct kind; exhibiting the real state of sublunary nature, which partakes of good and evil, joy and sorrow, mingled with endless variety of proportion and innumerable modes of combination; and expressing the course of the world, in which the loss of one is the gain of another; in which, at the same time, the reveller is hasting to his wine, and the mourner burying his friend; in which the malignity of one is sometimes defeated by the frolick of another; and many mischiefs and many benefits are done and hindered without design.

But of this chaos of mingled purposes and casualties, the ancient poets, according to the laws which custom had prescribed, selected, some the crimes of men, and some their absurdities; some the momentous vicissitudes of life, and some the lighter occurrences; some the terrors of distress, and some the gayeties of prosperity. Thus rose the two modes of imitation, known by the names of tragedy and comedy, compositions intended to promote different ends by contrary means, and considered as so little allied, that I do not recollect among the Greeks or Romans a single writer who attempted both *).

Shakspeare has united the powers of exciting laughter and sorrow not only in one mind, but in one composition. Almost all his plays are divided between serious and ludicrous characters, and, in the successive evolutions of the design, sometimes produce seriousness and sorrow, and sometimes levity and laughter.

That this is a practice contrary to the rules of criticism

*) From this remark it appears that Johnson was unacquainted with the Cyclops of Euripides. *Steevens.*

will be readily allowed; but there is always an appeal open from criticism to nature. The end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing. That the mingled drama may convey all the instruction of tragedy or comedy cannot be denied, because it includes both in its alternations of exhibition, and approaches nearer than either to the appearance of life, by showing, how great machinations and slender designs may promote or obviate one another, and the high and the low cooperate in the general system by unavoidable concatenation.

It is objected, that by this change of scenes the passions are interrupted in their progression, and that the principal event, being not advanced by a due gradation of preparatory incidents, wants at last the power to move, which constitutes the perfections of dramatick poetry. This reasoning is so specious, that it is received as true even by those who in daily experience feel it to be false. The interchanges of mingled scenes seldom fail to produce the intended vicissitudes of passion. Fiction cannot move so much, but that the attention may be easily transferred; and though it must be allowed that pleasing melancholy be sometimes interrupted by unwelcome levity, yet let it be considered likewise, that melancholy is often not pleasing, and that the disturbance of one man may be the relief of another: that different auditors have different habitudes: and that upon the whole, all pleasure consists in variety.

The players, who in their edition divided our author's works into comedies, histories, and tragedies, seem not to have distinguished the three kinds, by any very exact or definite ideas.

An action which ended happily to the principal persons, however serious or distressful through its intermediate incidents, in their opinion constituted a comedy. This idea of a comedy continued long amongst us, and plays were written, which, by changing the catastrophe, were tragedies to-day, and comedies to-morrow.

Tragedy was not in those times a poem of more general dignity or elevation than comedy; it required only a calamitous conclusion, with which the common criticism of that age was satisfied whatever lighter pleasure it afforded in its progress.

History was a series of actions, with no other than chronological succession, independent on each other, and without any tendency to introduce or regulate the conclusion. It is not always very nicely distinguished from tragedy. There is not much nearer approach to unity of action in the tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra, than in the history of Richard the Second. But a history might be continued through many plays; as it had no plan, it had no limits.

Through all these denominations of the drama, Shakspeare's mode of composition is the same; an interchange of seriousness and merriment, by which the mind is softened at one time, and exhilarated at another. But whatever be his purpose, whether to gladden or depress, or to conduct the story, without vehemence or emotion, through tracts of easy and familiar dialogue, he never fails to attain his purpose; as he commands us, we laugh or mourn, or sit silent with quiet expectation, in tranquillity without indifference.

When Shakspeare's plan is understood, most of the criticisms of Rymer and Voltaire vanish away. The play of Hamlet is opened, without impropriety, by two centinels, Jago bellows at Brabantio's *) window, without injury to the scheme of the play, though in terms which a modern audience would not easily endure; the character of Polonius **) is seasonable and useful; and the Gravediggers themselves may be heard with applause.

Shakspeare engaged in dramatick poetry with the world open before him; the rules of the ancients were yet known to few; the publick judgment was unformed; he had no example of such fame as might force him upon imitation, nor criticks of such authority as might restrain his extravagance: he therefore indulged his natural disposition, and his disposition, as Rymer has remarked, led him to comedy. In tragedy he often writes with great appearance of toil and study, what is written at last with little felicity; but in his comick scenes he seems to produce without labour, what no labour can improve. In tragedy he is always struggling after some occasion to be comick, but in comedy he seems to repose, or to luxuriate, as in a mode of thinking congenial to his nature. In his tragick scenes there is always something wanting, but his

*) Othello, Act. 1. Sc. 1. **) Hamlet.

comedy often surpasses expectation or desire. His comedy pleases by the thoughts and the language, and his tragedy for the greater part by incident and action. His tragedy seems to be skill, his comedy to be instinct.

The force of his comick scenes has suffered little diminution from the changes made by a century and a half, in manners or in words. As his personages act upon principles arising from genuine passion, very little modified by particular forms, their pleasures and vexations are communicable to all times and to all places: they are natural and therefore durable; the adventitious peculiarities of personal habits, are only superficial dies, bright and pleasing for a little while, yet soon faded to a dim tinct, without any remains of former lustre; but the discriminations of true passion are the colours of nature; they pervade the whole mass, and can only perish with the body that exhibits them. The accidental compositions of heterogeneous modes are dissolved by the chance which combined them; but the uniform simplicity of primitive qualities neither admits increase, nor suffers decay. The sand heaped upon one flood is scattered by another, but the rock always continues in its place. The stream of time, which is continually washing the dissoluble fabricks of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant of Shakspeare.

If there be, what I believe there is, in every nation, a style which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to the analogy and principles of its respective language, as to remain settled and unaltered; this style is probably to be sought in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without ambition of elegance. The polite are always catching modish innovations, and the learned depart from established forms of speech, in hope of finding or making better; those who wish for distinction forsake the vulgar, when the vulgar is right: but there is a conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides, and where this poet seems to have gathered his comick dialogue. He is therefore more agreeable to the ears of the present age than any other author equally remote, and among his other excellencies deserves to be studied as one of the original masters of our language.

These observations are to be considered not as unexceptionably constant, but as containing general and predominant

truth. Shakspeare's familiar dialogue is affirmed to be smooth and clear, yet not wholly without ruggedness or difficulty; as a country may be eminently fruitful, though it has spots unfit for cultivation; his characters are praised as natural, though their sentiments are sometimes forced, and their actions improbable; as the earth upon the whole is spherical though its surface is varied with protuberances and cavities. —

3) The Life of William Shenstone *).

William Shenstone, the son of Thomas Shenstone and Anne Pen, was born in November 1714, at the Leasowes in Hales-Owen, one of those insulated districts which, in the division of the kingdom, was appended, for some reason not now discoverable, to a distant country; and which, though surrounded by Warwickshire and Worcestershire, belongs to Shropshire, though perhaps thirty miles distant from any other part of it.

He learned to read of an old dame, whom his poem of the „School-mistress" has delivered to posterity; and soon received such delight from books, that he was always calling for fresh entertainment, and expected that, when any of the family went to market, a new book should be brought him, which, when it came, was in fondness carried to bed and laid by him. It is said, that when his request had been neglected, his mother wrapped up a piece of wood of the same form, and pacified him for the night.

As he grew older, he went for a while to the Grammar-school in Hales-Owen, and was placed afterwards with Mr. Crumpton, an eminent school-master at Solihul, where he distinguished himself by the quickness of his progress.

When he was young (June 1724) he was deprived of his father, and soon after (August 1726) of his grandfather; and was, with his brother, who died afterwards unmarried, left to the care of his grandmother, who managed the estate.

From school he was sent in 1732 to Pembroke College in Oxford, a society which for half a century has been eminent for English poetry and elegant literature. Here it appears that he found delight and advantage: for he continued his

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*) The Lives of the most eminent English poets etc. Vol. IV.

name in the book ten years though he took no degree *). After the first four years he put on the civilian's gown **), but without shewing any intention to engage in the profession.

About the time when he went to Oxford, the death of his grandmother devolved his affairs to the care of the reverend Mr. Dolman, of Brome in Staffordshire, whose attention he always mentioned with gratitude.

At Oxford he employed himself upon English poetry; and in 1737 published a small Miscellany, without his name.

He then for a time wandered about, to acquaint himself with life, and was sometimes at London, sometimes at Bath, or any other place of publick resort; but he did not forget his poetry. He published in 1741 his „Judgment of Hercules," addressed to Mr. Lyttelton, whose interest he supported with great warmth at an election: this was next year followed by the „School-mistress."

Mr. Dolman, to whose care he was indebted for his ease and leisure, died in 1745, and the care of his own fortune now fell upon him. He tried to escape it a while, and lived at his house with his tenants, who were distantly related; but, finding that imperfect possession inconvenient, he took the whole estate into his own hands more to the improvement of its beauty, than the increase of its produce.

Now was excited his delight in rural pleasures, and his ambition of rural elegance: he began from this time to point his prospects, to diversify his surface, to entangle his walks, and to wind his waters; which he did with such judgment and such fancy, as made his little domain the envy of the great, and the admiration of the skilful; a place to be visited by travellers, and copied by designers. Whether to plant a walk in undulating curves, and to place a bench at every turn where there is an object to catch the view; to make water run where it will be seen; to leave intervals where the eye will be pleased, and to thicken the plantation where there is

*) *Durch diese Aufzeichnung seines Namens in das Buch oder Register der Universität gehörte er derselben noch immer an, und genoſs als solcher einige Vorrechte, z. B. daſs er seine Stimme bei der Wahl der von der Universität Oxford erwählten Parliaments-glieder geben konnte.* **) *Eine besondere Tracht derer, welche sich der Jurisprudenz widmen wollen.*

something to be hidden, demands any great powers of mind, I will not enquire: perhaps a sullen and surly speculator may think such performances rather the sport than the business of human reason. But it must be at least confessed, that to embellish the form of nature is an innocent amusement; and some praise must be allowed, by the most supercilious observer, to him who does best what such multitudes are contending to do well.

This praise was the praise of Shenstone; but like all other modes of felicity, it was not enjoyed without its abatements. Lyttelton was his neighbour and his rival, whose empire, spacious and opulent, looked with disdain on the petty state that appeared behind it. For a while the inhabitants of Hagley affected to tell their acquaintance of the little fellow that was trying to make himself admired; but when by degrees the Leasowes forced themselves into notice, they took care to defeat the curiosity which they could not suppress, by conducting their visitants perversely to inconvenient points of view, and introducing them at the wrong end of a walk to detect a deception; injuries of which Shenstone would heavily complain. Where there is emulation there will be vanity; and where there is vanity there will be folly.

The pleasure of Shenstone was all in his eye; he valued what he valued merely for its looks; nothing raised his indignation more than to ask if there were any fishes in his water.

His house was mean, and he did not improve it; his care was of his grounds. When he came home from his walks, he might find his floors flooded by a shower through the broken roof; but could spare no money for its reparation.

In time his expences brought clamours about him, that overpowered the lamb's bleat and the linnet's song; and his groves were haunted by beings very different from fawns and fairies. He spent his estate in adorning it, and his death was probably hastened by his anxieties. He was a lamp that spent its oil in blazing. It is said, that if he had lived a little longer he would have been assisted by a pension: such bounty could not have been ever more properly bestowed; but that it was ever asked is not certain; it is too certain, that it never was enjoyed.

He died at the Leasowes of a putrid fever, about five on Friday morning, February 11, 1763; and was buried by the side of his brother in the church-yard of Hales-Owen.

He was never married, though he might have obtained the lady, whoever she was, to whom his „Pastoral Ballad" was addressed. He is represented by his friend Dodsley *) as a man of great tenderness and generosity, kind to all that where within his influence; but, if once offended, not easily appeased; inattentive to œconomy, and careless of his expences: in his person he was larger than the middle size, with something clumsy in his form; very negligent of his cloaths, and remarkable for wearing his grey hair in a particular manner; for he held that the fashion was no rule of dress, and that every man was to suit his appearance to his natural form.

His mind was not very comprehensive, nor his curiosity active: he had no value for those parts of knowledge which he had not himself cultivated.

His life was unstained by any crime; the Elegy on Jesse **), which has been supposed to relate an unfortunate and criminal amour of his own, was known by his friends to have been suggested by the story of Miss Godfrey in Richardson's „Pamela."

What Gray thought of his character, from the perusal of his letters, was this:

„I have read too an octavo volume of Shenstone's Let-„ters. Poor man! he was always wishing for money, for „fame, and other distinctions; and his whole philosophy „consisted in living against his will in retirement, and in a „place which his taste had adorned; but which he only en-„joyed when people of note came to see and commend it: „his correspondence is about nothing else but this place and „his own writings, with two or three neighbouring clergymen, „who wrote verses too."

His poems consist of elegies, odes, and ballads, humorous sallies, and moral pieces.

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*) *Von ihm siehe den zweiten Theil des Handbuchs.* **) *Johnson meint die 26ste Elegie von Shenstone. Sie schildert die Reue eines jungen Mannes, der ein ehemals von ihm geliebtes Frauenzimmer verlassen und dadurch zu ihrem Tode Veranlassung gegeben hat.*

His conception of an Elegy he has in his preface very judiciously and discriminately explained. It is, according to his account, the effusion of a contemplative mind, sometimes plaintive, and always serious, and therefore superior to the glitter of slight ornaments. His compositions suit not ill to this description. His topicks of praise are the domestick virtues, and his thoughts are pure and simple; but, wanting combination, they want variety. The peace of solitude, the innocence of inactivity, and the unenvied security of an humble station, can fill but a few pages. That of which the essence is uniformity will be soon described. His elegies have therefore too much resemblance of each other.

The lines are sometimes, such as elegy requires, smooth and easy; but to this praise his claim is not constant: his diction is often harsh, improper and affected; his words ill-coined, or ill-chosen, and his phrase unskilfully inverted.

The lyrick poems are almost all of the light and airy kind, such as trip lightly and nimbly along, without the load of any weighty meaning. From these, however „Rural Elegance“ has some right to be excepted. I once heard it praised by a very learned lady; and though the lines are irregular, and the thoughts diffused with too much verbosity, yet it cannot be denied to contain both philosophical argument and poetical spirit.

Of the rest I cannot think any excellent; the „Skylark“ *) pleases me best, which has however more of the epigram than of the ode.

But the four parts of his „Pastoral Ballad“ demand particular notice. I cannot but regret that it is pastoral; an intelligent reader, acquainted with the scenes of real life, sickens at the mention of the crook, the pipe, the sheep, and the kids, which it is not necessary to bring forward to notice, for the poet's art is selection, and he ought to shew the beauties without the grossness of the country life. His stanza seems to have been chosen in imitation of Rowe's **) „Despairing Shepherd.“

In the first part are two passages, to which if any mind denies its sympathy, it has no acquaintance with love or nature:

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*) *Man findet dieses Stück im zweiten Theile dieses Handbuchs.*
**) *Nicholas Rowe, ein Englischer Dichter, geboren 1673, gestorben 1718.*

I priz'd every hour that went by,
Beyond all that had pleas'd me before;
But now they are past, and I sigh,
And I grieve that I priz'd them no more.

When forc'd the fair nymph to forego,
What anguish I felt in my heart!
Yet I thought — but it might not be so,
'Twas with pain that she saw me depart.

She gaz'd, as I slowly withdrew,
My path I could hardly discern;
So sweetly she bade me adieu,
I thought that she bade me return.

In the second this passage has its prettiness, though it be not equal to the former:

I have found out a gift for my fair;
I have found where the wood-pigeons breed:
But let me that plunder forbear,
She will say 'twas a barbarous deed:

For he ne'er could be true, she averr'd,
Who could rob a poor bird of its young;
And I lov'd her the more when I heard
Such tenderness fall from her tongue.

In the third he mentions the common-places of amorous poetry with some address:

'Tis his with mock passion to glow!
'Tis his in smooth tales to unfold,
How her face is as bright as the snow,
And her bosom, be sure, is as cold:

How the nightingales labour the strain,
With the notes of his charmer to vie;
How they vary their accents in vain,
Repine at her triumphs, and die.

In the fourth I find nothing better than this natural strain of hope:

Alas! from the day that we met,
What hope of an end to my woes?

When I cannot endure to forget
The glance that undid my repose.

Yet Time may diminish the pain:
The flower, and the shrub, and the tree,
Which I rear'd for her pleasure in vain,
In time may have comfort for me.

His „Levities“ are by their title exempted from the severities of criticism; yet it may be remarked in a few words, that his humour is sometimes gross, and seldom spritely.

Of the moral poems the first is the „Choice of Hercules,“ from Xenophon. The numbers are smooth, the diction elegant, and the thoughts just; but something of vigour is still to be wished, which it might have had by brevity and compression. His „Fate of Delicacy“ has an air of gaiety, but not a very pointed and general moral. His blank verses, those that can read them may probably find to be like the blank verses of his neighbours. „Love and Honour“ is derived from the old ballad, „Did you not hear of a Spanish Lady?“ — I wish it well enough to wish it were in rhyme.

The „School-mistress,“ of which I know not what claim it has to stand among the moral works*) is surely the most pleasing of Shenstone's performances. The adoption of a particular style, in light and short compositions, contributes much to the increase of pleasure: we are entertained at once with two imitations of nature in the sentiments, of the original author in the style, and between them the mind is kept in perpetual employment.

The general recommendation of Shenstone is easiness and simplicity; his general defect is want of comprehension and variety. Had his mind been better stored with knowledge, whether he could have been great, I know not; he could certainly have been agreeable.

D R Y S D A L E.

John Drysdale *wurde zu Kirkaldy in der Grafschaft Fife den 29sten April* 1718 *geboren, und bezog, nachdem er*

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*) *Dies Stück steht nämlich unter der Rubrik der Gedichte* Shenstone's, *welche die Ueberschrift:* moral pieces *führt.*

sich gute Schulkenntnisse erworben hatte, die Universität Edinburg (1732). Hier zeichnete er sich vorzüglich durch seine schnellen Fortschritte in der Griechischen Sprache aus; aber auch in den theologischen Wissenschaften erwarb er sich nicht gemeine Kenntnisse, und man ertheilte ihm (1740) sehr gern die Erlaubnifs zu predigen. Bald darauf wählte ihn James Banatyne, ein Geistlicher zu Edinburgh, zu seinem Gehülfen, und die glänzenden Rednertalente des jungen Drysdale rechtfertigten seine Wahl. Dieser zog nämlich durch seine mit ungewöhnlicher Sorgfalt ausgearbeiteten Predigten bald die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich, so wie er sich durch seine anderweitigen Geschicklichkeiten, durch Unbescholtenheit des Wandels, durch Herzensgüte und ein einnehmendes Betragen die Freundschaft vieler angesehenen Männer erwarb. 1748 ward er Prediger zu Kirkliston in West-Lothian. Ein Vorurtheil gegen ihn erschwerte einigermafsen seine Wahl; man machte nämlich seinen Predigten den Vorwurf, dafs sie zu viel Moral enthielten. 1763 ward er Prediger in Edinburgh und 1765 von dem Marischal College of Aberdeen *zum* Doctor in Divinity *ernannt. Man bekleidete ihn seit der Zeit mit mehreren andern geistlichen Ämtern, zum Beweise der Achtung, welche man für ihn hegte. Zuletzt führte er den Titel:* one of the ministers of Edinburgh, one of his Majesty's Chaplains and Principal Clerk to the Church of Scotland. *Er starb den 16ten Junius 1788. Seine Predigten erschienen im Jahre 1793 zu Edinburgh in zwei Bänden in 8. unter dem Titel:* Sermons by the late reverend John Drysdale, *und gehören zu den vorzüglichern Produkten der neuern Kanzelberedsamkeit der Engländer. Vor denselben befindet sich* an Account of the author's life and character by Andrew Dalzel, *aus welchem die hier mitgetheilten Notizen geschöpft sind. Eine Übersetzung der Predigten ist zu Wien 1796 in 2 Bänden in 8. erschienen.*

On the Blessings of Peace *).

Psalm CVII, 22.

Let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving and declare his works with rejoicing.

Before we can be duly affected to God for any one of his benefits, we must carefully consider its nature and value, that

*) Vol. II. Sermon 16. — *Die Predigt, aus welcher hier ein*

we may have a just estimation of its greatness, and consequently of the goodness of the Giver; for, according to our opinion of the grace and favour conferred, we shall be more or less touched with gratitude on account of it. In order then to have our hearts sufficiently impressed with a sense of the goodness of God, in restoring to us the blessings of Peace at this time, it will be proper for us to reflect a little on the advantages of peace joined with liberty. Now, of all the outward blessings of life this may justly be reckoned the greatest. It is this that adds to the value of all others; and without it they lose much of their importance to mankind. It is peace, in conjunction with liberty, that renders our possessions and enjoyments properly our own, that encourages industry and promotes the growth of useful arts and science; and which secures correspondence amongst men.

Surely we need not paint the horrors of war, in order to make us value and love peace. It is our peculiar happiness that for many years we have known but little of these horrors within our own borders. But let us not be like the thoughtless man who, when possessed of health, squanders it away, little sensible of its value till he loses it, and then bemoans his folly when it is too late. Now, while the blessing is present, let us value it as it deserves; — and what worldly blessing can compare with it? This alone gives scope and free course to equity and justice. In the midst of the rage and tumult of war, the feeble voice of justice is ill heard, laws are, in a great measure, silent, and an armed multitude are too apt to give a loose to passion and exceed the bounds of humanity and right. All is at the mercy of the conqueror; and both conquerors and conquered devour the fruits of the good man's labour. What avails it in this situation, that a man has great possessions, when he knows not how soon they may be destroyed and torn from him? — I speak not, my brethren, of those men who, for disturbing the order of an equal government, are deprived justly of their property and the protection of that government they have injured, like undutiful children who are justly disinherited for their ingratitude and disobedience to a kind parent; but I speak of the innocent and quiet subject, who becomes a prey

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Bruchstück aufgenommen worden ist, wurde am 29sten Julius 1784, als dem zur Feier des Friedens bestimmten Tage, gehalten.

to force and violence. Cast your eyes abroad to those countries which have unhappily been the seat of war and all the desolation that attends it. In that situation the industrious labourer works not for himself, but for a cruel invader; the honest and peaceful citizen is often oppressed by violence, and forced to seek for shelter in a barren solitude, accompanied with his family; or obliged to leave these behind him to be, with his possessions, wasted and ruined, with small hope of relief, — sometimes without the poor comfort of uttering their complaints! The free correspondence of men is broken; there being neither safety within nor without. The enjoyments of social life are all interrupted by present oppression or the continual anxious fear of its approach. Mourning reigns instead of joy, and the spirit of heaviness banishes all cheerfulness from the abodes of men. Grief and sorrow for the loss of friends fill many hearts, while others are tormented with dreadful apprehensions of the like fate to their friends, exposed to the same danger. Little does it import a man that he has health and strength; — they only enable him to fly from the desolation that rages round about him; and even this he often cannot do, or cannot chuse to do, when the view of a helpless family fills his heart with unutterable pain, and makes him resolve to share in the common fate, rather than be safe alone. Fears and suspicions, jealousies and mutual distrust alarm the breast of every man. Confidence is all destroyed — that mutual confidence which is the great bond of society, and the foundation of all friendship and brotherly love.

How ought we then to praise God for the blessings of peace! which secures to us our friends, our families and property, restores love and confidence to mankind, banishes anxiety, fear and mourning, and makes the cry of the oppressed to be heard no more. Then only can we be said to enjoy any thing when we are secure in the possession of it; but the fear of losing it embitters all its sweets, and renders us often more unhappy than if we possessed it not. What is life without peace, but a continual dying? The pangs of death are felt at every separation from beloved objects, and at the apprehension of such separation. But when peace with its healing wings comes to the relief of men, it restores them to real life, to full confidence, and to a secure enjoyment of all that is dear. „Blessed then are the peace-makers

for they shall be called the children of God," but cursed is the man who delights in war; unnatural is he, who, wantonly or without cause, rouses its fury in a peaceful land.

But farther: Peace not only secures our possessions and enjoyments, but supports and encourages industry. Industry can never flourish where the fruits of its labour are not secured to it. Who will toil for a stranger, or an invader? Who will submit to painful labour, if he hopes not to reap the fruits of it? Protection and security can alone persuade men to application, but war takes away protection and safety. Besides the discouraging of assiduity and diligence, it withdraws many hands from being usefully employed for the happiness of society. It is peace that encourages and alone gives opportunity for every man to apply to his proper occupation, in exercising which all jointly conduce to the public welfare, to the supply of each others wants, and to the increase of mutual happiness.

Farther still: It is peace that alone promotes the growth of arts and sciences. How much these conduce to the glory, honour and real advantage of a state is evident to all. What makes us to differ from the rude inhabitants of uncultivated countries, or from our own ancient and barbarous forefathers, but the progress of arts and knowledge among us? How many real advantages of life has the growth of arts produced? What a variety of conveniences has it furnished which were unknown to the rudeness of former ages? How much is the satisfaction and real enjoyment of life heightened, by having the mind stored with wisdom, the knowledge of nature and the ways of God? How pleasing is this, compared with the ignorance and superstition of darker times! Now, though it cannot be said that peace alone first began and carried forward these things, yet certain it is that without peace, they cannot continue flourishing and vigorous; but must fade and decay. Knowledge can be acquired by those only who have leisure, and who live free from care and disturbance, advantages which are not to be had during the continuance of war and public confusion. Nay, even when a country has not the war raging in its own bowels, but sends its force abroad, the attention both of the public and of private men must be withdrawn from the pursuit of science, and fixed chiefly on the event of war, wherein all are concerned, and by which every thing is in hazard! While war

continues, liberty and every valuable thing are in danger; nor can any man certainly know the event; for *the battle is not always to the strong,* nor victory to the righteous. But peace banishes all fear, and under its auspicious influence arts are cultivated, science is improved, commerce flourishes, and labour looks cheerful. Friendship, void of distrust and cruel jealousy, revives to delight the heart of man.

But let it be always remembered that, all this while, by peace we mean peace joined with the continuance of liberty, such as that which now we enjoy. Peace without liberty hardly deserves the name. It is indeed better to enjoy quiet and to go about the common offices of life without disturbance, than to be tossed amid the tumult of war and confusion; but where liberty is wanting, that quiet must be very precarious. When neither civil commotions rend the state, nor foreign enemies invad it, if liberty is wanting, the people are ever uncertain of keeping and enjoying their own, and depend on the will and whim of a very few, or of a single mortal, for person, estate and the exercise of religion, — a situation not much less grievous than the horrors of war. It gives rise to the same kind of distresses, and is oppressive and intolerable to every generous spirit. The greatest misery the human soul can be subjected unto, is slavery to sin and its own evil passions; and the next to that, is slavery to the caprice and passions of another. Hence slaves know very little difference betwixt peace and war. What is it to a man whether he is oppressed by strangers or by his own countrymen? Oppression is always the same, whoever are the authors of it; but if there is a difference, the domestic oppressor is the most intolerable. He is like a treacherous friend, from whom injuries are harder to bear than from a known and avowed foe. In the midst of war men may comfort themselves with the hopes of seeing an end of it, but when slavery is tied down on a people, and the oppressor is fixed in the seat of power, then all comfort is gone, and the hopes of relief are at an end. In that situation, when men look for peace they find disturbance, and they from whom they should obtain protection, become their spoilers. *Where* arbitrary power *domineers, it turneth the fields into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground; and a fruitful land into barrenness; but* liberty, *on the other hand, turneth the wilderness into a fruitful land and the dry ground into*

water-springs. Under its happy influence men rejoice; undisturbed they sow their fields and plant their vineyards, sure to reap and enjoy the fruits which these yield. Liberty only can restore a perfect calm, when the storm of war is blown over, so that the waves thereof are quite still. Then are the people glad, because they are quiet and are brought into a desired haven. The righteous see this and rejoice, and all iniquity is made to stop its mouth. *Whoso then is wise will understand these things and observe the loving kindness of the Lord unto us.* In this our country liberty prevails, laws reign, and govern both prince and people. As the true liberty of the soul is to be subject to reason and the divine law; so the true liberty of a state is to be governed by equal laws, and to be independent of the humours and passions of any of the sons of men. While men in less happy countries are strangers, properly speaking, in their own home, and arbitrary will, wanton lust and brutish force bear all down before them, here we are masters of ourselves and our possessions, — protected and defended by the laws from all encroachment. Wisdom and virtue rule over us, the wisdom and virtue of the wisest and best of our forefathers, who have handed down to us that excellent constitution and those equal laws with which we are blest. It is peace then joined with liberty which we this day celebrate. All without exception, even enemies themselves partake of it, and therefore have good cause to join in rejoicing with thankfulness to God. What good subject is restrained from liberty, or can complain of oppression? Who is deprived of the fruits of his labour? or commanded to do any thing hard or unequal? Is not justice open to all? Do not the laws stretch forth their arms to protect every dutiful subject? Is not the free and safe and open exercise of religion permitted to all who do not bid open defiance to that government which protects them? Mistakes, my brethren, there may and must be in every government upon earth, — even in the best that men can contrive; but no instances of wilful and lawless encroachment, no acts of tyranny and of wanton arbitrary will have these lands known for many years. Now, all these advantages which liberty affords are secured to us by the return of peace. Let us all then *see and know and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the holy*

One of Israel hath created it. Let us give thanks to God and declare his works with rejoicing.

FRANKLIN.

Benjamin Franklin *wurde zu Boston in Neu-England im Jahre* 1706 *am* 17*ten Januar geboren. Sein Vater bestimmte ihn wegen seiner guten Fähigkeiten anfänglich zum geistlichen Stande, allein er mufste diesen Plan bald wieder aufgeben, da es ihm an Mitteln fehlte, die Kosten einer öffentlichen gelehrten Erziehung zu bestreiten. Er nahm daher seinen Sohn zu sich, damit dieser beim Lichtziehen und Seifesieden, — einer Profession, die er ergriffen hatte, weil sein eigentliches Handwerk, die Färberei, zu wenig abwarf — ihm an die Hand gehen mögte. Dem jungen Franklin war diese Beschäfftigung sehr zuwider, und er bezeigte weit mehr Neigung, ein Seefahrer zu werden; allein der Vater wollte in diesen Wunsch nicht willigen. Franklin blieb bis in sein zwölftes Jahr, bei dem Handwerk seines Vaters. Er befriedigte während der Zeit einigermaafsen seinen Hang zur Lektüre, indem er die Bücher las, welche sich in seines Vaters Bibliothek befanden. Der gröfste Theil derselben war theologischen und ascetischen Inhalts; indessen befanden sich auch Plutarch's Lebensbeschreibungen darunter, und ein Werk von de Foe, dem Verfasser des* Robinson Crusoe, *betitelt: Versuch über die Projekte. Franklin selbst gesteht, dafs die aus diesem Buche geschöpften Ideen vielleicht Einflufs auf einige der wichtigsten Begebenheiten seines Lebens gehabt haben. Er entschlofs sich hierauf, Buchdrucker zu werden, und diese Kunst bei seinem* 1717 *aus England zurückgekommenen Bruder Jacob zu erlernen. In kurzer Zeit machte er hierin bedeutende Fortschritte; dabei widmete er alle müfsige Stunden und sehr oft den gröfsten Theil der Nacht, der Lektüre. Matthiew Adam, ein Kaufmann, der eine artige Büchersammlung besafs, versah unsern Franklin mit mehrern guten Werken. Um diese Zeit erwachte in demselben eine grofse Liebe zur Dichtkunst, und eine Frucht derselben waren zwei an sich unbedeutende Balladen. Die*

eine, betitelt: die Tragödie vom Leuchtthurm, enthielt eine Schilderung von dem Schiffbruch eines Kapitains Worthilake und seiner beiden Töchter; die andere war ein Gesang eines Matrosen über die Wegnahme eines berüchtigten Kapers. Franklin trug diese selbst zum Verkauf umher. Doch die Erinnerung seines Vaters, dafs alle Versemacher arm wären, brachte ihn bald von seinem Hange zum Reimen ab. Dafür liefs er sich nun recht eifrig angelegen seyn, seine Schreibart zu verbessern. Ungefähr in seinem 16ten Jahre fiel ihm eine Schrift von Tryon in die Hände, welche vegetabilische Kost empfiehlt, und sogleich beschlofs er, dem Rath desselben zu folgen. Er bat sich zu dem Ende von seinem Bruder nur die Hälfte des Kostgeldes aus, und verfertigte sich dann, wenn dieser und dessen Leute die Druckerei verlassen hatten, seine frugale Mahlzeit selbst. Diese bestand aus Erdäpfeln, Reifs, einem Kuchen, oft auch nur aus einem Schnitte Brod und einer Handvoll Rosinen. Dadurch ersparte er nun theils Geld, theils gewann er mehr Mufse zur Lektüre. Um diese Zeit lernte er vollkommen gut rechnen, und las mehrere philosophische Schriften, unter andern Locke's Versuch über den menschlichen Verstand, Xenophon's Denkwürdigkeiten und die Schriften von Shaftsbury und Collins. Sein Bruder hatte um das Jahr 1720 oder 1721 eine Zeitung zu drucken angefangen, in welche auch allerhand unterhaltende Aufsätze von verschiedenen Verfassern eingerückt wurden. Dies machte unserm Franklin Lust, gleichfalls einen Versuch zu wagen; da er indessen befürchtete, dafs Jacob keinen Aufsatz aufnehmen würde, von dem er wüfste, dafs sein jüngerer Bruder der Verfasser sey, so verstellte er seine Hand, und legte eines Abends einen anonymen Aufsatz vor die Thür der Druckerei. Die Arbeit fand beim Publiko Beifall, und Franklin, dadurch aufgemuntert, verfertigte noch mehrere dergleichen Aufsätze. Endlich gab er sich zu erkennen. Einige Mifshelligkeiten, die er hierauf mit seinem Bruder hatte, veranlafsten ihn, Boston zu verlassen. Er ging nach Newyork, und da er dort keine Arbeit bekommen konnte, nach Philadelphia. Hier arbeitete er in zwei Druckereien, da eine allein ihn nicht ganz beschäfftigen konnte, machte Bekanntschaft mit mehrern wifsbegierigen jungen Leuten, und setzte seine Studien fort. Einer seiner Briefe fiel zufällig dem Gouverneur der Provinz William Keith in die Hände, und erwarb ihm die ganze

Achtung dieses Mannes. Dieser ermunterte ihn auch, eine eigne Druckerei anzulegen, und da es unserm Franklin dazu an Mitteln fehlte, erbot er sich, ihm 100 l. zu dem nöthigen Apparat vorzuschiessen, und ertheilte ihm zugleich den Rath, das dazu erforderliche in England selbst einzukaufen. Franklin reis'te dahin auch wirklich ab, nachdem er sich vorher mit einer Miſs Read, der Tochter seiner Wirthsleute, verlobt hatte. Er kam zwar glücklich in England an, allein er fand nicht die gehoffte Unterstützung, indem der Gouverneur hier in gar keinem Credit stand, und als ein Mann bekannt war, der gern jedermann gefällig seyn wollte, und alles versprach, ohne etwas davon halten zu können oder zu wollen. Franklin sah sich in dieser unangenehmen Lage noch überdies genöthigt, einen jungen Menschen, Namens Ralph, der ihn begleitet und als schöner Geist sein Glück zu machen gehofft hatte, zu ernähren. Beide überliessen sich hierauf einer ziemlich unordentlichen Lebensart, und Franklin schrieb sogar einen sehr kaltsinnigen Brief an seine Braut, worin er ihr andeutete, daſs er nicht sobald zurückkehren würde. Er arbeitete um diese Zeit an Wollaston's Werk über die natürliche Religion, und dies gab ihm Veranlassung, seine Meinung über dasselbe aufzusetzen und durch den Druck bekannt zu machen. Dadurch kam er mit einigen Englischen Gelehrten in nähere Verbindung. Er brachte hier übrigens achtzehn Monate zu, und kehrte 1726 wieder nach Philadelphia zurück. Denham, einer seiner Reisegefährten, hatte einen Handel mit Englischen Waaren an diesem Orte angelegt, und Franklin ward Buchhalter bei demselben; da indessen jener Mann bald darauf starb, so sah sich sein Gehülfe auf's Neue genöthigt, zur Buchdruckerei seine Zuflucht zu nehmen. Dabei beschäfftigte er sich, so wie ehemals, ununterbrochen mit den Wissenschaften, und vereinigte auch eine Gesellschaft junger wiſsbegieriger Leute, unter dem Namen Junta, die sich Freitags Abends versammelte, und in welcher über allerlei Gegenstände aus der Moral, Politik, Physik u. s. w. gesprochen wurde; auch las man zuweilen Abhandlungen vor. Franklin errichtete hierauf eine eigene Buchdruckerei, zu welcher Meredith, sein Gehülfe, den Fond hergab. Diesem miſsfiel aber dies Gewerbe sehr bald; Franklin wurde jedoch, durch die Groſsmuth einiger Freunde unterstützt, in den Stand gesetzt, sich mit demselben abzufinden und nun die Buchdruckerei auf eigene Rechnung fortzu-

setzen. Um diese Zeit trat er zuerst als politischer Schriftsteller auf. Die Veranlassung dazu gab das Papiergeld. Franklin schrieb über die Natur und Nothwendigkeit desselben, und seine Arbeit wurde vom Volke mit grofsem Beifall aufgenommen. Seine vorhin erwähnte Braut Mifs Read hatte sich, während seiner Abwesenheit in England, verheirathet, weil sie sich von ihrem Liebhaber so kalt behandelt sah; sie lebte aber in einer unglücklichen Ehe. Franklin, welcher das Unglück dieser Frau als eine Folge seines Leichtsinns betrachtete, bot ihr seine Hand an, und heirathete sie 1730. Indessen gingen Franklin's Geschäffte, der nun auch einen Papierhandel angelegt hatte, ungemein glücklich von Statten; dabei wuchs die Achtung, welche man für ihn hegte, indem er theils durch die von ihm herausgegebene Pensylvanische Zeitung, theils durch einen Almanach, welcher jährlich von ihm erschien, seltene Einsichten zu zeigen Gelegenheit hatte. Eine Folge derselben war, dafs man ihm im Jahre 1743 den ehrenvollen Auftrag gab, den Plan der philosophischen Gesellschaft von Amerika bestimmter zu entwerfen. Franklin fing um diese Zeit an, sich mit der Elektricität zu beschäfftigen. Welcher glückliche Erfolg hierin seine Bemühungen krönte, ist bekannt; die Erfindung der Gewitterableiter allein würde hinreichend seyn, seinen Namen bei der Nachwelt unvergefslich zu machen. Die Oxforder Universität gab ihm 1762 durch die Ernennung zum Doktor der Rechte einen Beweis ihrer Achtung. Unterdessen zogen die politischen Verhältnisse seiner Landsleute immer mehr seine Aufmerksamkeit an sich. Die Parteien, welche sich zu bilden anfingen, die Amerikanischen Patrioten und die Anhänger des Englischen Ministeriums, wünschten beide gleich eifrig, einen Mann näher mit sich vereinigt zu sehen, von dessen Einsichten und Einflusse sie sich so viel zu versprechen berechtigt waren. Franklin, welcher um diese Zeit eine Reise nach England unternommen hatte, ward bei seiner Rückkehr zum General-Postmeister aller Englisch-Amerikanischen Kolonien ernannt; ein Posten, der mit ansehnlichen Einkünften verbunden war. Vielleicht hatte ihn das Englische Parliament dadurch in sein Interesse ziehn wollen; indessen zeigte es sich bald, dafs einem Manne, wie Franklin, die Wahrheit über alles ging. Als nämlich die Gährung in den Kolonien immer mehr und mehr zunahm, und das Haus der Gemeinen in London die vorgebrachten Beschwerden genauer unter-

suchen wollte, beschied es alle Agenten der Provinzen vor seine Schranken. Auch Franklin *erschien (1767) als Agent von Pensylvanien. Hier sprach er für die gerechte Sache seines Vaterlandes mit Wärme und mit einer politischen Weisheit, welche Erstaunen erregte; zugleich erliefs er häufig Schreiben ähnlichen Inhalts an seine Amerikanischen Freunde. Beides beseelte seine Landsleute, und der Freiheitssinn zeigte sich überall.* Franklin *konnte bei solchen Grundsätzen allerdings nicht länger in der Gunst des Hofes bleiben; er wurde seiner General-Postmeister-Stelle entsetzt, und lief sogar Gefahr, verhaftet zu werden. Deswegen verliefs er London, und kam im Anfange des Jahrs 1775 wiederum in Philadelphia an, wo der Amerikanische Kongreſs seine Sitzungen hielt. Daſs* Franklin *kein müſsiger Zuschauer bei den Unruhen seines Vaterlandes gewesen, läſst sich leicht erachten. Er trug nicht nur nach seinen Kräften dazu bei, einen glücklichen Ausgang der damaligen Krise herbeizuführen, sondern nahm auch in dem 71sten Jahre seines Alters (1776) das Geschäfft über sich, für sein Vaterland in Frankreich zu negociiren. Anfangs wohnte er zu Passy, einem Dorfe zwischen Versailles und Paris, in völliger Eingezogenheit, und betrieb die Angelegenheiten in der Stille; als aber der Hof von Versailles nach dem für die Engländer so unglücklichen Treffen bei Saratoga die Unabhängigkeit der Amerikanischen Provinzen anerkannt hatte, wurde er 1778 dem Könige als bevollmächtigter Minister dieses Staates durch den Grafen von* Vergennes *vorgestellt. Sein ehrwürdiges Ansehen, verbunden mit dem Rufe der Weisheit, den er sich längst erworben hatte, und den auch hier jede seiner Handlungen bestätigte, erwarben ihm ungetheilte Achtung; und unstreitig trug dieses zu dem glücklichen Erfolge seiner Unterhandlungen ungemein viel bei. Er hatte endlich den 20sten Januar des Jahres 1783 die Freude, mit den Englischen Kommissarien zu Paris den Frieden zu unterzeichnen, der seinem Vaterlande Unabhängigkeit schenkte. Nachdem er dieses wichtige Geschäfft vollbracht hatte, schiffte er sich ein, und kam im Dezember des Jahres 1783 wiederum in Philadelphia an. Hier warteten seiner neue Ehrenbezeigungen oder vielmehr Triumphe. Alles wetteiferte, ihm Beweise von Achtung und Dankbarkeit zu geben; unter andern wurde er im Oktober des folgenden Jahres zum Präsidenten der* Assembly *von Pensylvanien auf zwei Jahre ernannt. In dieser Würde, so wie nachher, bewies er sich*

noch immer, seines Alters ungeachtet, ununterbrochen thätig, bis an seinen Tod, welcher den 17ten April 1790 erfolgte. — Schon in frühern Jahren hatte er sich ein Epitaphium gemacht, welches seiner Celebrität wegen auch wol hier einen Platz verdient; es lautet also:

The Body
of
Benjamin Franklin, Printer,
(like the cover of an old book
its contents torn out
and stript of its lettering and golding)
lies food for worms:
Yet the work itself shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more
in a new
and more beautiful edition
corrected and amended,
by
the Author.

Das bekannte Hemistich, mit welchem ihn d'Alembert bei seiner Aufnahme in die Französische Akademie bewillkommnet haben soll: Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis, *und welches beinah in dem buchstäblichsten Sinne und mit Recht auf ihn angewandt werden kann, hätte ohne Bedenken auf das Grab dieses grofsen Mannes gesetzt werden können. Doch, die allgemeine Trauer, welche seine Landsleute bei seinem Tode nicht blofs äufserlich bewiesen, sondern auch wirklich fühlten, war noch ehrenvoller für ihn, als alle Denkmähler. Als die Nachricht von seinem Tode nach Frankreich kam, stand Mirabeau in der National-Versammlung auf, und sprach:*

Messieurs,

„Franklin est mort" . . . Il est retourné au sein de la Divinité, le génie qui affranchit l'Amérique et versa sur l'Europe des torrens de lumières! Le sage que deux mondes réclament, l'homme que se disputent l'histoire des sciences et l'histoire des empires, tenoit sans doute un rang élevé dans l'espèce humaine. Assez long-temps les cabinets politiques ont notifié la mort de ceux qui ne furent grands, que dans leur éloge funèbre; assez long-temps l'étiquette des cours a proclamé des deuils hypocrites. Les nations ne doivent porter le deuil que de leurs bienfaiteurs. Les représentants des nations, ne doivent recommander à leur hom-

mage que les héros de l'humanité. Le Congrès a ordonné dans tous les états confédérés un deuil de deux mois pour la mort de Franklin, et l'Amérique acquitte en ce moment ce tribut de vénération pour l'un des pères de sa constitution. Ne seroit-il pas digne de vous, Messieurs, de nous unir à cet acte vraiment religieux, de participer à cet hommage rendu à la face de l'univers, et aux droits de l'homme et au philosophe qui a le plus contribué à en propager la conquête sur toute la terre? L'antiquité eût élevé des autels à ce puissant génie, qui, au profit des humains, embrassant dans sa pensée le ciel et la terre, sut dompter la foudre et les tyrans. L'Europe éclairée et libre doit du moins un témoignage de souvenir et de regrets à l'un des plus grands hommes qui ayent jamais servi la philosophie et la liberté. Je propose qu'il soit décrété, que l'Assemblée nationale portera, pendant trois jours, le deuil de Benjamin Franklin. — *Mirabeau's Vorschlag ward einmüthig angenommen. — Schlichtegroll entwirft in seinem vortrefflichen Nekrolog, auf das Jahr 1790, folgende Charakterschilderung von dem berühmten Franklin: „Angeborne und erworbene Eigenschaften vereinigten sich, diesen Mann achtungswerth zu machen. Menschenliebe und Freimüthigkeit waren die Grundlage seines Charakters; eine ungetrübte Heiterkeit, eine angenehme Gefälligkeit im gemeinen Leben, und eine beständige Gleichmüthigkeit in grofsen Unternehmungen, verbanden sich in ihm mit der gröfsten Vorsicht in seinem Betragen. Während seines ganzen Aufenthalts in Frankreich, wo er doch so beobachtet wurde, kann man ihm kein Wort, keine Bemerkung vorwerfen, welche diesem Lobe widerspräche. In allen Dingen, bei allen philosophischen oder politischen Untersuchungen, hatte er es sich zu eigen gemacht, immer die einfachste Ansicht der Sache aufzufassen, und sie darnach zu prüfen. Sein System von Lebensweisheit war eben so einfach; er suchte Schmerz und Langeweile durch Mäfsigkeit und Arbeit zu entfernen; „die Glückseligkeit, pflegte er zu sagen, ist, wie die Körper, aus unmerklichen Bestandtheilen zusammengesetzt.“ Ohne gleichgültig gegen den Ruhm zu seyn, verachtete er doch ungerechte Urtheile; und wenn ihn die Dankbarkeit erfreute, so wufste er doch auch dem Neide zu verzeihen. In seiner Jugend war er dem Pyrrhonismus ergeben, sogar bis zu den Grundsätzen der Moral; damals waren natürliche Güte und gerader Sinn seine einzigen Führer, und bewahrten ihn vor weitern Verirrungen. Späterhin überzeugte er*

sich von einer Moral, die sich auf die Natur des Menschen gründete, die unabhängig von der Spekulation und älter, als unsere verabredeten Einrichtungen ist. Er hielt sich von der Fortdauer der Seele und von einem Zustande der Vergeltung überzeugt; er glaubte an einen gerechten und wohlwollenden Gott, dem er in der Stille reine Opfer der Verehrung brachte. Äusserliche Gebräuche feierte er selten mit, ob er sie gleich als nützlich zur Beförderung der Sittlichkeit empfahl. Er hatte Achtung für alle Religionen, sobald sie nur auf eine allgemeine Duldung gegründet waren, und Andersdenkenden die Belohnung ihres Wohlverhaltens nicht absprachen. Selbst die einzige übrige Einschränkung, die den Gottesleugner und den Faulen aus Philadelphia ausschliesst, hielt er nur für eine Drohung, die niemals Wirklichkeit bekommen könnte; „denn, sagte er, wenn es in der übrigen Welt einen Gottesleugner geben sollte, so würde er sich bekehren, wenn er in eine Stadt tritt, wo alles so gut eingerichtet ist; und wenn sich ein Träger in ihr finden sollte, so würde er, da er immer drei liebenswürdige Schwestern vor sich sieht, den Reichthum, die Wissenschaft und die Tugend, welche Töchter der Arbeit sind, sie liebgewinnen, und sich Mühe geben, sie von ihrer Mutter zu erhalten." Zugleich aber schonte er mit einer Zärtlichkeit, die nur ein Mensch besitzt, der an Geist und Herz gleich vollendet ist, aller religiösen Schwachheiten anderer, aller Ängstlichkeiten eines getäuschten Gewissens, und hatte jene sorgfältige Aufmerksamkeit für sie, die ein gutes Herz für die Schwächen der Kindheit zeigt. Sein Umgang war äusserst anziehend; er drang gern in die Kleinigkeiten des bürgerlichen und häuslichen Lebens ein, und setzte sie durch die Fülle seines Geistes und seiner Erfahrungen in ein neues Licht. Einen Beweis, wie er seine Kenntnisse zum Vergnügen der Gesellschaft benutzte, bietet die erfindungsreiche Einrichtung eines elektrischen Festes dar, das er einmal zu Skuyskill seinen Freunden gab. Ein elektrischer Funke zündete, ohne einen andern Leiter als das Wasser des Flusses zu haben, auf beiden Ufern den flüchtigen Geist an, der dazu bereitet war, das Fest zu erleuchten; ein elektrischer Schlag tödtete vor den Augen der Gäste das Geflügel, das man zur Mahlzeit bestimmt hatte; elektrische Maschinen drehten das Fleisch, um es an dem elektrischen Feuer zu braten; Becher, mit diesem feinen Fluidum gefüllt, ersetzten die Weine, und die Gäste, die auf eine geschickte Weise die Berührung mit den Lippen zu vermeiden wussten, tranken auf das Wohl aller berühmten Phy-

aller, beym Donner elektrischer Batterien. Man braucht es nicht erst zu sagen, daſs ein Mann von solchem Talent der angenehmste und belehrendste Schriftsteller seyn muſste. Er hatte in England die ausgebreitete Wirkung periodischer Blätter gesehen, und wählte sich daher diese Form und die Kalender, um seine menschenfreundlichen und beglückenden Grundsätze zu verbreiten. Es möchte schwer seyn, ihn zu übertreffen in der Kunst, die Lehren der Moral zu entwickeln, und sie auf die Pflichten der Freundschaft und der allgemeinen Liebe, auf die Benutzung der Zeit, auf das Glück der Wohlthätigkeit, auf die nothwendige Verbindung des eignen Wohls mit dem allgemeinen, auf die Früchte der Arbeitsamkeit, auf den süſsen Genuſs, den uns die gesellschaftlichen Tugenden verschaffen, besser anzuwenden, als er es that. Man kann nichts schöneres in dieser Art lesen, als die Sprichwörter des alten Heinrich, oder die Weisheit des guten Richard, die durch Einkleidung und Inhalt Muster der wahren Popularität sind. Er wuſste sich mit seltner Kunst jener Manier zu bedienen, welche die Wahrheit etwas umhüllt, um sie nur desto wirksamer zu machen. So gab er sich, um das unzweckmäſsige Verfahren des Englischen Ministeriums zu zeigen, die Miene, als wollte er die sichersten Mittel lehren, wie man einen Staat verkleinern müsse, den man zu groſs fände, um ihn regieren zu können. Um die Ansprüche Groſsbritanniens auf Amerika zu beleuchten, erdichtete er ein Schreiben, in welchem der König von Preuſsen England mit Taxen belegt, weil die Einwohner an der Oder ehemals diese Insel erobert oder bevölkert hätten." — Weitläuftigere biographische Nachrichten von Franklin findet man unter andern, theils in dem angeführten Jahrgange des Schlichtegrollschen Nekrologs, aus welchem die hier mitgetheilten Notizen gröſstentheils entlehnt sind, theils in der, von Franklin zum Theil selbst aufgesetzten und von seinem Freunde, dem Doktor Stuber in Philadelphia, fortgesetzten Biographie. Letztere befindet sich in Deutscher Sprache vor der, 1794 in Weimar in 2 Bänden in 8. herausgekommenen schönen Übersetzung seiner kleinen Schriften, von Schatz. Von Franklin's Werken giebt es übrigens, so weit uns bekannt ist, noch keine ganz vollständige Ausgabe; ob eine solche von dem Enkel dieses berühmten Mannes, William Temple Franklin, dem durch ein Vermächtniſs die sämmtlichen Handschriften seines Oheims zugefallen sind, schon veranstaltet worden ist, haben wir nicht in Erfahrung gebracht. Sein „Privat-Correspondenz" ist zu

London 1817 *bei* Colburn *unter dem Titel erschienen:* The private correspondence of Benjamin Franklin etc., comprising a series of letters etc., illustrating the memoirs of his public and private life, published by his grandson William Temple Franklin, 2 Vols. *Bei der vorhin angeführten Deutschen Übersetzung der kleinen Schriften liegt eine Ausgabe der Werke* Franklin's *zum Grunde, welche zu London* 1793 *in 2 Bänden in kl. 8. erschienen ist, und den Titel führt:* Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin consisting of his Life written by himself, together with Essays humorous, moral and literary chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. *In dieser Sammlung befindet sich auch das hier abgedruckte vortreffliche Stück, welches, wie die meisten übrigen Schriften* Franklin's, *als Muster eines wahrhaft populären Vortrags dienen kann.*

The Way to Wealth *).

Courteous Reader,

I have heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure, as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse, lately, where a great number of people were collected at an auction of merchants' goods. The hour of the sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times; and one of the company called to a plain, clean, old man, with white locks, 'Pray, father Abraham, what think you of the times? Will not those heavy taxes quite ruin the country? how shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to?' — Father Abraham stood up, and replied, 'If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short; „for a word to the wise is enough," as Poor Richard says.' They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows **).

*) *Zuerst als Vorrede zu einem Pensylvanischen Almanach erschienen.* **) Dr. Franklin, wishing to collect into one piece all the sayings upon the following subjects, which he had dropped in the course of publishing the almanacks called Poor Richard, introduces father Abraham for this purpose. Hence it is, that Poor Richard is so often quoted.

„Friends,' says he, 'the taxes are indeed very heavy; and, if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; „God helps them that help themselves," as Poor Richard says.'

I. „It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time to be employed in its service: but idleness taxes many of us much more; sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. „Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears, while the used key is always bright," as Poor Richard says. — „But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of," as Poor Richard says. — How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep! forgetting that „The sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave," as Poor Richard says.'

‚If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be," as Poor Richard says, „the greatest prodigality;" since, as he elsewhere tells us, „Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough." Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose: so by diligence shall we do more with less perplexity. „Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy; and he that riseth late, must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee; and early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise," as Poor Richard says.'

'So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We may make these times better, if we bestir ourselves. „Industry need not wish, and he that lives upon hope will die fasting. There are no gains without pains; then help hands, for I have no lands," or, if I have, they are smartly taxed. „He that hath a trade, hath an estate; and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour," as Poor Richard says; but then the trade must be worked at, and the

calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. — If we are industrious, we shall never starve; for, „at the working man's house hunger looks in, but dares not enter.“ Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for „industry pays debts, while despair increaseth them.“ What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, „Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry. Then plow deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep.“ Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow. „One to-day is worth two to-morrows,“ as Poor Richard says: and farther, „Never leave that till to-morrow, which you can do to-day.“ — If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master? Be ashamed to catch yourself idle, when there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, your country, and your king. Handle your tools without mittens: remember, that „The cat in gloves catches no mice,“ as Poor Richard says. It is true, there is much to be done, and, perhaps, you are weak-handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects; for „Constant dropping wears away stones; and by diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable; and little strokes fell great oaks.“

'Methinks I hear some of you say, „Must a man afford himself no leisure?“ I will tell thee, my friend, what Poor Richard says; „Employ thy time well, if thou meanest to gain leisure; and, since thou art not sure of a minute, throw not away an hour.“ Leisure is time for doing something useful; this leisure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man never; for, „A life of leisure and a life of laziness are two things. Many, without labour, would live by their wits only, but they break for want of stock;“ whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty, and respect. „Fly pleasures, and they will follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift; and now I have a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good-morrow.“

II. 'But with our industry we must likewise be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others; for, as Poor Richard says,

„I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family,
That throve so well as those that settled be.“
'And again, „Three removes is as bad as a fire:“ and again, „Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee:“ and again, „If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.“ And again,

„He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.“

'And again, „The eye of the master will do more work than both his hands:“ and again, „Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge:“ and again, „Not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse open.“ Trusting too much to others care is the ruin of many; for, „In the affairs of this world, men are saved, not by faith, but by the want of it:“ but a man's own care is profitable; for, „If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, — serve yourself. A little neglect may breed great mischief; for want of a nail the shoe was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost,“ being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.'

III. 'So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, „keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth *) a groat at last. A fat kitchen makes a lean will;“ and,

„Many estates are spent in the getting,
Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,
And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting.“

„If you would be wealthy, think of saving, as well as of getting. The Indies have not made Spain rich, because her out-goes are greater than her in-comes.“

'Away, then, with your expensive follies, and you will not then have so much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families; for,

„Women and wine, game and deceit,
Make the wealth small, and the want great.“

'And farther, „What maintains one vice, would bring up two

*) *Ein Mann ist so und so viel werth*, bezeichnet bekanntlich im Englischen: *er hat so und so viel im Vermögen*.

children." You may think, perhaps, that a little tea, or a little punch now and then, diet a little more costly, cloaths a little finer, and a little entertainment now and then, can be no great matter; but remember, „Many a little makes a mickle." Beware of little expences; „A small leak will sink a great ship, as Poor Richard says; and again, „Who dainties love, shall beggars prove, „and moreover, „Fools make feasts, and wise men eat them."

'Here you are all got together to this sale of fineries and nick-nacks. You call them goods; but, if you do not take care, they will prove evils to some of you. You expect they will be sold cheap, and, perhaps, they may for less than they cost; but, if you have no occasion for them, they must be dear to you. Remember what Poor Richard says, „Buy what thou hast no need of, and ere long thou shalt sell thy necessaries." And again, „At a great penny-worth pause a while:" he means, that perhaps the cheapness is apparent only, and not real; or the bargain, by straitening thee in thy business, may do thee more harm than good. For in another place he says, „Many have been ruined by buying good penny-worths." Again, „It is foolish to lay out money in a purchase of repentance; and yet this folly is practised every day at auctions, for want of minding the Almanack. Many a one, for the sake of finery on the back, have gone with a hungry belly, and half starved their families; „Silks and sattins, scarlet and velvets put out the kitchen-fire," as Poor Richard says. These are not the necessaries of life; they can scarcely be called the conveniences: and yet only because they look pretty, how many want to have them? — By these, and other extravagancies, the genteel are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom they formerly despised, but who, through industry and frugality, have maintained their standing; in which case it appears plainly, that „A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees," as Poor Richard says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left them, which they knew not the getting of; they think „It is day, and will never be night:" that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding; but „Always taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to the bottom," as Poor Richard says; and then, „When the well is dry, they know the worth of water:" But this they might have known before, if they had taken his advice. „If you

would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing, goes a sorrowing," as Poor Richard says; and, indeed, so does he that lends to such people, when he goes to get it in again. Poor Dick farther advises, and says,

„Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse,
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse."

And again, „Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, and a great deal more saucy." When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance may be all of a piece; but Poor Dick says, „It is easier to suppress the first desire, than to satisfy all that follow it." And it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell, in order to equal the ox.

„Vessels large may venture more,
But little boats should keep near shore."

It is, however, a folly soon punished; for, as Poor Richard says, „Pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt; — Pride breakfasted with Plenty, dined with Poverty, and supped with Infamy." And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, nor ease pain; it makes no increase of merit in the person, it creates envy, it hastens misfortune.'

'But what madness it must be to run in debt for these superfluities? We are offered, by the terms of this sale, six months credit; and that, perhaps, has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money, and hope now to be fine without it. But, ah! think what you do when you run in debt; you give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at the time, you will be ashamed to see your creditor; you will be in fear when you speak to him; you will make poor pitiful sneaking excuses, and, by degrees, come to lose your veracity, and sink into base, down-right lying; for, „The second vice is lying, the first is running in debt," as Poor Richard says; and again, to the same purpose, „Lying rides upon Debt's back:" whereas a free-born Englishman ought not to be ashamed nor afraid to see or speak to any man living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. „It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright." —

'What would you think of that prince, or of that government, whou should issue an edict forbidding you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman, on pain of imprisonment or servitude? Would you not say that you were free, have a right to dress as you please, and that such an edict would be a breach of your privileges, and such a government tyrannical? and yet you are about to put yourself under that tyranny, when you run in debt for such dress! Your creditor has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you of your liberty, by confining you in gaol for life, or by selling you for a servant, if you should not be able to pay him *). When you have got your bargain, you may, perhaps, think little of payment; but, as Poor Richard says, „Creditors have better memories than debtors; creditors are a superstitious sect, great observers of set days and times.“ The day comes round before you are aware, and the demand is made before you are prepared to satisfy it; or, if you bear your debt in mind, the term, which at first seemed so long, will, as it lessens, appear extremely short: Time will seem to have added wings to his heels as well as his shoulders. „Those have a short Lent *), who owe money to be paid at Easter.“ At present, perhaps, you may think yourselves in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear a little extravagance without injury; but

„For age and want save while you may,
No morning-sun lasts a whole day.“

'Gain may be temporary and uncertain; but ever, while you live, expence is constant and certain; and „It is easier to build two chimneys, than to keep one in fuel,“ as Poor Richard says: So, „Rather go to bed supperless, than rise in debt.“

Get what you can, and what you get hold,
'Tis the stone that will turn all your lead into gold.

*) *Der Herr A. v. Kotzebue führt aus* Fenwicks general history of Connecticut *ein Gesetz an, nach welchem der Schuldner, wenn er nicht bezahlen kann, verkauft wird. Es ist wenigstens jetzt noch in Nordamerica gebräuchlich und fand schon vor der Unabhängigkeit Statt, dafs arme Europäer, welche Fracht und Kost nicht bezahlen können, von den Schiffscapitänen öffentlich ausgeboten und den Herrschaften, die für sie bezahlen, auf gewisse Jahre, nach abgeschlossenem Contract zum Dienst überlassen wurden.* **) Lent, *die Zeit von der Aschermittwoch bis Ostern; die Fasten.*

'And when you have got the philosopher's stone, sure you will not longer complain of bad times, or the difficulty of paying taxes.'

IV. 'This doctrine, my friends, is reason and wisdom: but, after all, do not depend too much upon your own industry, and prudence, though excellent things; for they may all be blasted without the blessing of Heaven; and therefore, ask that blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present seem to want it, but comfort and help them. Remember, Job suffered, and was afterwards prosperous.

'And now to conclude, „Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other," as Poor Richard says, and scarce in that; for it is true, „We may give advice, but we cannot give conduct." However, remember this, „They that will not be counselled cannot be helped;" and farther, that „If you will not hear reason, she will surely rap your knuckles," as Poor Richard says.'

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it, and approved the doctrine, and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon, for the auction opened and they began to buy extravagantly. — I found the good man had thoroughly studied my Almanacks, and digested all I had dropt on those topics during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me must have tired any one else; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own, which he ascribed to me; but rather the gleaning that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the better for the echo of it; and though I had at first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went away, resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine. — I am, as ever, thine to serve thee.

Richard Saunders.

SMITH.

Adam Smith *wurde den 5ten Junius 1723 zu Kirkaldy, wenige Monate nach dem Tode seines Vaters, geboren. Seine erste Bildung erhielt er in der Schule seines Geburtsorts; von hier ging er 1737 nach Glasgow, woselbst er bis 1740 blieb, und wurde dann* Exhibitioner *) *im Balliol-College zu Oxford. In Glasgow hatte er sich viel mit Mathematik und Naturkunde beschäfftigt; er entsagte indessen bald diesen Wissenschaften, und machte, vorzüglich seitdem er Oxford verlassen hatte, das Studium der menschlichen Natur, insonderheit das der Geschichte der Menschheit um so lieber zu seinem Hauptstudio, da es ihm Mittel an die Hand zu geben versprach, wodurch er seine herrschende Neigung, zur Glückseligkeit und Verbesserung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft beizutragen, befriedigen konnte. Von seinen ersten jugendlichen Versuchen, welche vorzüglich aus Übersetzungen bestanden, und die er zur Verbesserung seines Style oft vornahm, hat sich nichts erhalten; man sieht indessen aus seinen Werken selbst, dafs er keine geringe Gewandheit im guten Ausdruck und gründliche philologische Kenntnisse gehabt haben mufs. Nach einem siebenjährigen Aufenthalt zu Oxford, ging er nach Kirkaldy zurück, hielt sich hier zwei Jahre bei seiner Mutter auf, und studierte eifrig, ohne sich indessen einen bestimmten Plan vorgezeichnet zu haben. Eigentlich sollte er auf der zuletzt genannten Universität Theologie studieren; allein er verliefs dieses Studium, folgte seiner Neigung, und kehrte lieber in der unsichern Erwartung, in seinem Vaterlande irgend einen Posten zu erhalten, zurück, als dafs er von den Anerbietungen seiner Freunde, ihm zu einem geistlichen Amte behülflich zu seyn, hätte Gebrauch machen sollen. Im Jahre 1748 liefs er sich zu Edinburgh nieder, und las unter dem Schutze des*

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*) Exhibitioners *sind eigentlich Stipendiaten. Man hat nämlich in vielen Collegien gewisse Summen, die unter so und so viele junge Leute, welche entweder* Undergraduates *oder Baccalaureen der Künste sind, jährlich vertheilt werden müssen, wofür sie verbunden sind, sich gewissen Prüfungen zu unterwerfen, und auch wol gewisse Ausarbeitungen zu machen. In den mehrsten Collegien sind diese Stipendien nicht beträchtlich; s. Beiträge zur Kenntnifs vorzüglich des Innern von England und seiner Bewohner, eilftes Stück. S. 77.*

Lord Kaimes in diesem und dem folgenden Jahre über Rhetorik und schöne Wissenschaften. Während dieser Zeit stand er mit mehrern berühmten Männern, vorzüglich mit **David Hume**, *in genauer Verbindung.* 1751 *erhielt er einen Ruf als Professor der Logik nach Glasgow, und im folgenden Jahre ward ihm die Professur der Moralphilosophie auf derselben Universität übertragen. In dieser Lage blieb er dreizehn Jahre, welchen Zeitraum er für den glücklichsten seines Lebens hielt, da er sich während desselben täglich mit seinem Lieblingsstudio, und vorläufig mit den wichtigen Untersuchungen, welche einst der Welt vorgelegt werden sollten, zu beschäfftigen Gelegenheit fand. Im Jahre* 1759 *erschien die erste Ausgabe seines Systems der Moralphilosophie, unter dem Titel:* 'the Theory of Moral Sentiments *(in's Deutsche übersetzt von Kosegarten, Leipzig,* 1791*). Bisher hatte man ihn nur als einen geschickten Lehrer gekannt; denn, einige kleine Aufsätze in* the Edinburgh critical review *abgerechnet, hatte er bis dahin nichts von sich drucken lassen; nun aber verbreitete sich sein Ruhm über ganz Grofsbritannien, und wenn man gleich nicht mit allen Behauptungen des Verfassers übereinstimmte, so schätzte man ihn doch überall als einen denkenden Mann, und dankte es ihm, dafs er die Aufmerksamkeit der Philosophen auf eine Seite der menschlichen Natur geleitet habe, die bis dahin der Aufmerksamkeit entgangen war. Über die Schreibart, welche in diesem Werke herrscht, urtheilt der Verfasser seiner Biographie,* **Dugald Stewart**, *also:* The style in which Mr. Smith has conveyed the fundamental principles on which his theory rests, does not seem to me to be so perfectly suited to the subject as that which he employs on most other occasions. In communicating ideas, which are extremely abstract and subtile, and about which it is hardly possible to reason correctly, without the scrupulous use of appropriated terms, he sometimes presents to us a choice of words, by no means strictly synonymous, so as to divert the attention from a precise and steady conception of his proposition; and a similar effect is, in other instances, produced by that diversity of forms which, in the course of his copious and seducing composition, the same truth insensibly assumes. When the subject of his work leads him to address the imagination and the heart; the variety and felicity of his illustrations, the richness and fluency of his eloquence, and the skill with which he wins the attention and commands the

passions of his readers, leave him, among our English moralists without a rival. *Übrigens befindet sich bei diesem Werke auch eine* Dissertation on the origin of languages. *Gegen das Ende des Jahres 1763 ward er von Charles Townsend aufgefordert, den Herzog von Buccleugh auf seinen Reisen zu begleiten. Die verbindliche Art, mit der man ihn einlud, verbunden mit seinem Verlangen das feste Land zu sehen, bewogen ihn, seine Stelle niederzulegen. Im März des folgenden Jahres trat er die Reise an. Er hielt sich nur einige Tage zu Paris auf, blieb aber 18 Monate zu Toulouse, während welcher Zeit er Gelegenheit hatte, durch mehrere Französische Parlamentsräthe, genaue Nachrichten über die innere Staatsverwaltung Frankreichs zu erhalten. Hierauf durchreis'te er das südliche Frankreich, ging nach Genua, und gegen das Ende des Jahres 1765 nach Paris, wo er bis zum Oktober des folgenden Jahres blieb. Hier lernte er viele berühmte Männer Frankreichs kennen, unter andern Marmontel, Helvétius, d'Alembert, Necker, Turgot u. a. m. In dem angeführten Monat kehrte er mit dem Herzoge nach London zurück. Während der Reise hatte nie Kaltsinn unter diesen beiden Männern geherrscht. Smith brachte nun die nächsten zehn Jahre seines Lebens in der Einsamkeit bei seiner Mutter in Kirkaldy zu, und theilte seine Zeit zwischen dem Studieren und dem Umgange mit seinen jugendlichen Freunden, denen er sehr theuer war, und die er mit gleicher Wärme liebte. Endlich erschien im Anfang des Jahres 1776 die Frucht dieser langen Zurückgezogenheit, nämlich sein berühmtes Werk:* Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations *(ein guter Nachdruck davon kam zu Basel 1791 in 4 Bänden heraus). Es besteht aus fünf Büchern. Das erste ist überschrieben:* of the causes of improvement in the productive powers of labour, and of the order, according to which its produce is naturally distributed among the different ranks of the people; *das zweite handelt,* of the nature, accumulation and employment of stock; *das dritte,* of the different progress of opulence in different nations; *das vierte,* of systems of political œconomy, *und das fünfte,* of the revenue of the sovereign or commonwealth. *Das schöne Resultat, welches aus diesem System hervorgeht, ist, dass nur durch eine gänzliche Befreiung von allen Gewaltthätigkeiten und von jeder Art von Einschränkungen und Belästigungen, die Staatskraft und das Natio-*

talsvermögen **zur beabsichtigten Grösse erheben werden kann.** *Staatsmänner haben übrigens diesem Werke einen hohen Werth beigelegt, und es als einen wohlgeordneten und sachreichen Grundriss der gesammten Staats-Ökonomie betrachtet. Auch von Seiten des Styls empfielt es sich. Eine, zum Theil von Garve herrührende, Deutsche Übersetzung dieses Buchs erschien in 4 Bänden, Breslau 1794–1796. — Smith erhielt zwei Jahre nach der Bekanntmachung dieses Werks, auf Betrieb des Herzogs von Buccleugh, die Stelle eines königlichen Kommissar's der Zölle in Schottland* (Commissioner of his Majesty's Customs in Scotland). *Er begab sich dem zu Folge nach Edinburgh, und brachte hier die letzten zwölf Jahre seines Lebens im Überflusse zu, geehrt und geliebt von allen, die ihn kannten. Der Tod seiner geliebten Mutter im Jahre 1784 unterbrach eine lange Reihe glücklicher Tage. Er ertrug diesen Verlust mit scheinbarem Gleichmuth der Seele; seine Gesundheit nahm indessen merklich ab, er verfiel in eine kurze Krankheit, und starb den 17ten Julius 1790. Auf seinen Befehl wurde der grösste Theil seiner hinterlassenen Papiere, unter denen sich wahrscheinlich auch seine im Jahre 1748 zu Edinburgh gehaltenen Vorlesungen über Rhetorik, desgleichen die über die natürliche Religion und das Naturrecht befanden, verbrannt. Nach seinem Tode erschienen:* Essays on philosophical subjects by the late Adam Smith. *Sie enthalten folgende Aufsätze:* 1) the Principles which lead and direct philosophical inquiries, illustrated by the history of astronomy, by the history of the ancient physics, by the history of ancient logics and metaphysics; 2) of the nature of that imitation which takes place in what are called the imitative arts; 3) of the Affinity between certain English and Italian words; 4) on the external Senses. *Vor diesem (zu Basel 1799 nachgedruckten) Werke findet man einen wohlgerathenen* Account of the life and writings of the author; by Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. E. *). *Man vergleiche übrigens noch die schöne Parallele „Adam Smith und Christian*

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*) *Bedeutet:* Fellow of the Royal Society at Edinburgh. — *Dugald Stewart, Sohn eines guten Mathematikers zu Edinburgh, erst Professor der Mathematik, seit 1784 Ferguson's Nachfolger auf dem philosophischen Lehrstuhl. Er ist als Verfasser der* Elements of the philosophy of the human mind *und durch die oben angeführte Biographie bekannt; auch soll von ihm eine Lebensbeschreibung Robertson's vorhanden seyn.*

Garve" von Gruner, im Julius der neuen Berlinischen Monatsschrift, von 1801.

On the Division of Labor *).

The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is any where directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labor.

The effects of the division of labor, in the general business of society, will be more easily understood, by considering in what manner it operates in some particular manufactures. It is commonly supposed to be carried furthest in some very trifling ones; not perhaps that it really is carried further in them than in others of more importance; but in those trifling manufactures which are destined to supply the small wants of but a small number of people, the whole number of workmen must necessarily be small; and those employed in every different branch of the work can often be collected into the same workhouse and placed at once under the view of the spectator. In those great manufactures on the contrary, which are destined to supply the great wants of the great body of the people, every different branch of the work employs so great a number of workmen, that it is impossible to collect them all into the same workhouse. We can seldom see more, at one time, than those employed in one single branch. Though in such manufactures, therefore, the work may really be divided into a much greater number of parts, than in those of a more trifling nature, the division is not near so obvious, and has accordingly been much less observed.

To take an example, therefore, from a very trifling manufacture, but one in which the division of labor has been very often taken notice of, the trade of the pin-maker; a workman not educated to this business, which the division of labor has rendered a distinct trade, nor acquainted with the use of the machinery employed in it, to the invention of which the same division of labor has probably given occasion, could scarce, perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way

*) An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of nations etc. Vol. I. Book I. chap. 1.

in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the wire, another straights it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on, is a peculiar business, to whiten the pins is another, it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this particular business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly, not the two hundredth and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth part of what they are at present capable of performing, in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations.

In every other art and manufacture, the effects of the division of labor are similar to what they are in this very trifling one; though, in many of them, the labor can neither be so much subdivided, nor reduced to so great a simplicity of operation, the division of labor, however, so far as it can be introduced, occasions, in every art, a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labor. The separation of different trades and employments from one another, seems to have taken place, in consequence of this advantage. This separa-

tion too is generally carried furthest in those countries which enjoy the highest degree of industry and improvement; what is the work of one man in a rude state of society, being generally that of several in an improved one. In every improved society, the farmer is generally nothing but a farmer; the manufacturer, nothing but a manufacturer. The labor too which is necessary to produce any one complete manufacture, is almost always divided among a great number of hands. How many different trades are employed in each branch of the linen and woollen manufactures, from the growers of the flax and the wool, to the bleachers and smoothers of the linen, or to the dyers and dressers of the cloth! The nature of agriculture, indeed, does not admit of so many subdivisions of labor, nor of so complete a separation of one business from another, as manufactures. It is impossible to separate so entirely, the business of the grazier from that of the corn-farmer, as the trade of the carpenter is commonly separated from that of the smith. The spinner is almost always a distinct person from the weaver; but the ploughman, the harrower, the sower of the seed, and the reaper of the corn, are often the same. The occasions for those different sorts of labor returning with the different seasons of the year, it is impossible that one man should be constantly employed in any one of them. This impossibility of making so complete and entire a separation of all the different branches of labor employed in agriculture, is perhaps the reason why the improvement of the productive powers of labor in this art, does not always keep pace with their improvement in manufactures. The most opulent nations, indeed, generally excel all their neighbours in agriculture as well as in manufactures; but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former. Their lands are in general better cultivated, and having more labor and expense bestowed upon them, produce more in proportion to the extent and natural fertility of the ground. But this superiority of produce is seldom much more than in proportion to the superiority of labor and expense. In agriculture, the labor of the rich country is not always much more productive than that of the poor; or, at least, it is never so much more productive, as it commonly is in manufactures. The corn of the rich country, therefore, will not always, in the same degree of goodness, come cheaper to market than that of the

poor. The corn of Poland, in the same degree of goodness, is as cheap as that of France, notwithstanding the superior opulence and improvement of the latter country. The corn of France is, in the corn-provinces, fully as good, and in most years nearly about the same price with the corn of England, though, in opulence and improvement, France is perhaps inferior to England. The corn-lands of England, however, are better cultivated than those of France, and the corn-lands of France are said to be much better cultivated than those of Poland. But though the poor country, notwithstanding the inferiority of its cultivation, can, in some measure, rival the rich in the cheapness and goodness of its corn, it can pretend to no such competition in its manufactures; at least if those manufactures suit the soil, climate, and situation of the rich country. The silks of France are better and cheaper than those of England, because the silk manufacture, at least under the present high duties upon the importation of raw silk, does not so well suit the climate of England as that of France. But the hardware and the coarse woollens of England are beyond all comparison superior to those of France, and much cheaper too in the same degree of goodness. In Poland there are said to be scarce any manufactures of any kind, a few of those coarser household manufactures excepted, without which no country can well subsist.

This great increase of the quantity of work, which, in consequence of the division of labor, the same number of people are capable of performing, is owing to three different circumstances; first, to the increase of dexterity in every particular workman; secondly, to the saving of the time which is commonly lost in passing from one species of work to another; and lastly, to the invention of a great number of machines which facilitate and abridge labor, and enable one man to do the work of many.

First, the improvement of the dexterity of the workman necessarily increases the quantity of the work he can perform; and the division of labor, by reducing every man's business to some one simple operation, and by making this operation the sole employment of his life, necessarily increases very much the dexterity of the workman. A common smith, who, though accustomed to handle the hammer, has never been used to make nails, if upon some particular occasion he is obliged to attempt it, will scarce, I am assured, be able to make above

two or three hundred nails in a day, and those too very bad ones. A smith who has been accustomed to make nails, but whose sole or principal business has not been that of a nailer, can seldom with his utmost diligence make more than eight hundred or a thousand nails in a day. I have seen several boys under twenty years of age who had never exercised any other trade but that of making nails, and who, when they exerted themselves, could make, each of them, upwards of two thousand three hundred nails in a day. The making of a nail, however, is by no means one of the simplest operations. The same person blows the bellows, stirs or mends the fire as there is occasion, heats the iron, and forges every part of the nail: in forging the head too he is obliged to change his tools. The different operations into which the making of a pin, or of a metal button, is subdivided are all of them much more simple, and the dexterity of the person, of whose life it has been the sole business to perform them, is usually much greater. The rapidity with which some of the operations of those manufactures are performed, exceeds what the human hand could, by those who had never seen them, be supposed capable of acquiring.

Secondly, the advantage which is gained by saving the time commonly lost in passing from one sort of work to another, is much greater than we should at first view be apt to imagine it. It is impossible to pass very quickly from one kind of work to another, that is carried on in a different place and with quite different tools. A country weaver, who cultivates a small farm, must lose a good deal of time in passing from his loom to the field, and from the field to his loom. When the two trades can be carried on in the same workhouse, the loss of time is no doubt much less. It is even in this case, however, very considerable. A man commonly saunters a little in turning his hand from one sort of employment to another. When he first begins the new work he is seldom very keen and hearty; his mind, as they say, does not go to it, and for some time he rather trifles than applies to good purpose. The habit of sauntering and of indolent careless application, which is naturally, or rather necessarily acquired by every country workman who is obliged to change his work and his tools every half hour, and to apply his hand in twenty different ways almost every day of his life, renders him almost always slothful and lazy, and inca-

pable of any vigorous application even on the most pressing occasions. Independent, therefore, of his deficiency in point of dexterity, this cause alone must always reduce considerably the quantity of work which he is capable of performing.

Thirdly, and lastly, every body must be sensible how much labor is facilitated and abridged by the application of proper machinery. It is unnecessary to give any example. I shall only observe, therefore, that the invention of all those machines by which labor is so much facilitated and abridged, seems to have been originally owing to the division of labor. Men are much more likely to discover easier and readier methods of attaining any object, when the whole attention of their minds is directed towards that single object, than when it is dissipated among a great variety of things. But in consequence of the division of labor, the whole of every man's attention comes naturally to be directed towards some one very simple object. It is naturally to be expected, therefore, that some one or other of those who are employed in each particular branch of labor should soon find out easier and readier methods of performing their own particular work, wherever the nature of it admits of such improvement. A great part of the machines made use of in those manufactures in which labor is most subdivided, were originally the inventions of common workmen, who, being each of them employed in some very simple operation, naturally turned their thoughts towards finding out easier and readier methods of performing it. Whoever has been much accustomed to visit such manufactures, must frequently have been shown very pretty machines, which were the inventions of such workmen, in order to facilitate and quicken their own particular part of the work. In the first fire-engines *), a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and the cylinder, according as the piston either ascended or descended. One of those boys, who loved to play with his companions, observed that, by tying a string from the handle of the valve which opened this communication to another

*) *Der eigentliche Erfinder der Dampfmaschine soll der Marquis von Worcester seyn; wenigstens äusserte er zuerst den Gedanken davon in einer Schrift, nach welcher Thomas Savery, der insgemein für den Erfinder gehalten wird, eine solche Maschine verfertigte. (Man sehe Gehlers physikalisches Wörterbuch. Theil I. S. 561.).*

part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance, and leave him at liberty to divert himself with his play-fellows. One of the greatest improvements that has been made upon this machine, since it was first invented, was in this manner the discovery of a boy who wanted to save his own labor.

All the improvements in machinery, however, have by no means been the inventions of those who had occasion to use the machines. Many improvements have been made by the ingenuity of the makers of the machines, when to make them became the business of a peculiar trade; and some by that of those who are called philosophers or men of speculation, whose trade it is not to do any thing, but to observe every thing; and who, upon that account, are often capable of combining together the powers of the most distant and dissimilar objects. In the progress of society, philosophy or speculation becomes, like every other employment, the principal or sole trade and occupation of a particular class of citizens. Like every other employment too, it is subdivided into a great number of different branches, each of which affords occupation to a peculiar tribe or class of philosophers; and this subdivision of employment in philosophy, as well as in every other business, improves dexterity, and saves time. Each individual becomes more expert in his own peculiar branch, more work is done upon the whole, and the quantity of science is considerably increased by it.

It is the great multiplication of the productions of all the different arts, in consequence of the division of labor, which occasions, in a well-governed society, that universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people. Every workman has a great quantity of his own work to dispose of beyond what he himself has occasion for; and every other workman being exactly in the same situation, he is enabled to exchange a great quantity of his own goods for a great quantity, or, what comes to the same thing, for the price of a great quantity of theirs. He supplies them abundantly with what they have occasion for, and they accommodate him as amply with what he has occasion for, and a general plenty diffuses itself through all the different ranks of the society.

Observe the accommodation of the most common artificer or day-laborer in a civilized and thriving country, and you

will perceive that the number of people of whose industry a part, though but a small part, has been employed in procuring him this accommodation, exceeds all computation. The woollen coat, for example, which covers the day-laborer, as coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint labor of a great multitude of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of the wool, the woolcomber or carder, the dyer, the scribbler, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must all join their different arts in order to complete even this homely production. How many merchants and carriers, besides, must have been employed in transporting the materials from some of those workmen to others who often live in a very distant part of the country! how much commerce and navigation in particular, how many ship-builders, sailors, sail-makers, rope-makers, must have been employed in order to bring together the different drugs made use of by the dyer, which often come from the remotest corners of the world! What a variety of labor too is necessary in order to produce the tools of the meanest of those workmen! To say nothing of such complicated machines as the ship of the sailor, the mill of the fuller, or even the loom of the weaver, let us consider only what a variety of labor is requisite in order to form that very simple machine, the shears with which the shepherd clips the wool. The miner, the builder of the furnace for smelting the ore, the feller of the timber, the burner of the charcoal to be made use of in the smeltinghouse, the brick-maker, the brick-layer, the workmen who attend the furnace, the mill-wright, the forger, the smith, must all of them join their different arts in order to produce them. Were we to examine, in the same manner, all the different parts of his dress and household furniture, the coarse linen shirt which he wears next his skin, the shoes which cover his feet, the bed which he lies on, and all the different parts which compose it, the kitchen-grate at which he prepares his victuals, the coals which he makes use of for that purpose, dug from the bowels of the earth, and brought to him perhaps by a long sea and a long land carriage, all the other utensils of his kitchen, all the furniture of his table, the knives and forks, the earthen or pewter plates upon which he serves up and divides his victuals, the different hands employed in preparing his bread and his beer, the glass-window which lets in the heat and the light and keeps out the wind

and the rain, with all the knowledge and art requisite for preparing that beautiful and happy invention, without which these northern parts of the world could scarce have afforded a very comfortable habitation, together with the tools of all the different workmen employed in producing those different conveniencies; if we examine, I say, all these things, and consider what a variety of labor is employed about each of them, we shall be sensible that without the assistance and co-operation of many thousands, the very meanest person in a civilized country could not be provided, even according to, what we very falsely imagine, the easy and simple manner in which he is commonly accommodated. Compared, indeed, with the more extravagant luxury of the great, his accommodation must no doubt appear extremely simple and easy; and yet it may be true, perhaps, that the accommodation of an European prince does not always so much exceed that of an industrious and frugal peasant, as the accommodation of the latter exceeds that of many an African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages.

ROBERTSON.

William Robertson *wurde im Jahre* 1721 *zu Borthwick, woselbst sein Vater eine Zeitlang Prediger war, geboren. Seine erste Bildung erhielt er zu Dalkeith (in Schottland), wo eine damals berühmte Schule war.* 1733 *bezog er die hohe Schule zu Edinburgh,* 1743 *wurde er Prediger zu Gladsmuir, eine Stelle, die nur* 100 *Pfund eintrug, von der er indessen doch seine sieben, nach dem Tode ihrer Eltern hülflosen, Geschwister ernährte. Während des Drucks seiner Geschichte von Schottland erhielt er den Ruf an eine der Kirchen zu Edinburgh.* 1761 *ernannte ihn der König zu einem seiner Kaplane von Schottland;* 1762 *wurde er Principal der Universität zu Edinburgh, und zwei Jahre nachher erhielt er, mit einem Jahrgehalt von* 200 *Pfund, die Würde eines Historiographen von Schottland. Sein vollständiger Titel war eigentlich:* D. William Robertson, Principal of the university

of Edinburgh, Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland, one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Scotland, and one of the Ministers of the old Greyfriars parish in Edinburgh. *Er starb den 11ten Junius* 1793 *auf seinem Landsitze* Grange-House *bei Edinburgh. Von drei Söhnen, die er hinterliefs, dienen die beiden jüngern in der Armee, der ältere ist Prokurator der Schottischen Kirche; die eine seiner beiden Töchter ist an den bekannten* Brydone, *Verfasser der Reise durch Sicilien verheirathet. — Theologische Schriften von Belang hat Robertson nicht geschrieben. Uns ist nur eine Predigt bekannt, welche er vor der Schottischen Societät zur Fortpflanzung der christlichen Religion im Jahre 1755 an dem Stiftungstage dieser Gesellschaft hielt. Der Zweck derselben ist, zu zeigen, daſs Gott das Christenthum gerade zu einer Zeit offenbaret habe, wo die Welt dessen am meisten bedurfte. Zu dem Ende nimmt der Verfasser nach Anleitung der Stelle im Briefe Pauli an die Kolosser, Kap. 1. 26. „nämlich das Geheimniſs, das verborgen gewesen ist von der Welt her, und von den Zeiten her, nun aber geoffenbaret ist seinen Heiligen," Veranlassung, seinen Zuhörern eine Übersicht des sittlichen, politischen, kirchlichen und häuslichen Zustandes der Welt zur Zeit der Erscheinung Christi zu geben. — Seine historischen Schriften haben seinen Namen unsterblich gemacht. Zuerst erschien im Jahre 1759 seine* History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI, till to his access into the crown of England, 2 Vols. 8., *der im Jahre 1787 noch Zusätze* (Additions) *folgten. In wenig Tagen hatte ihm die allgemeine Stimme des Publikums eine der ersten Stellen unter den Geschichtschreibern angewiesen. Und in der That verdiente er diese günstige Meinung wegen seines nervigen und korrekten Styls sowohl, als wegen seiner treffenden und gründlichen Urtheile. Von diesem Augenblick an gewannen seine häuslichen Umstände ein andres Ansehen, und er sah sich in eine glückliche Unabhängigkeit versetzt; denn seine Geschichte erlebte vierzehn Ausgaben vor seinem Tode. Diesem Werke folgte* the History of the Emperour Charles the fifth, with a view of the progress of society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire to the beginning of the XVI th. century, *zuerst London* 1769. 3 *Vols. in* 4. (*auch Basel,* 1788. *in* 4. *Vols.* 8.). *Der Verfasser erhielt für das Manuskript* 4500 l., *ein Beweis, wie gespannt die Erwartung von diesem Werke war. Im Jahre* 1777 *erschien* the History of

America, with notes and a catalogue of Spanish books, London 2 Vols. 4. *(in 8 Büchern), nachgedruckt Basel* 1790, *in* 3 *Bänden* 8. *Das 4te Buch dieses vortrefflichen Werks, welches eine Schilderung des physischen Zustandes von Amerika, nebst einer Untersuchung über die Sitten und Einrichtungen seiner Bewohner enthält, wird mit Recht für Robertson's Meisterwerk gehalten; und wirklich zeigt sich das schriftstellerische Talent dieses Mannes, sein eindringender Beobachtungsgeist und die Schönheit seiner Diktion nirgends in einem so schönen Lichte, als hier. Die Zusätze zu diesem Werke, welche im Jahre* 1788. 8. *erschienen, wurden auf Veranlassung der im Jahre* 1787 *in England übersetzten Geschichte Mexiko's von Clavigero, herausgegeben, worin einige Angriffe auf Robertson vorkamen. Es ist unstreitig das schätzbarste unter den Geschichtsbüchern von Amerika, das aber einen noch höhern Werth haben würde, wenn Robertson die Spanischen Archive zu Simancas hätte benutzen können. — Die Spanier ernannten unsern Robertson im Jahre* 1777 *zum Mitgliede der Königlichen Akademie der Geschichte zu Madrid. Robertson's letztes Werk war seine* historical Disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India, London 1791. 4. *Zur Ausarbeitung dieser Schrift wurde der Verfasser zunächst durch Rennell's*) Erklärung seiner Karte von Hindostan veranlaſst. Er forscht in derselben den Kenntnissen nach, welche die Alten von Indien hatten, und untersucht, was in ihren Berichten von diesem entfernten Lande wahr, und was fabelhaft ist. — Nach seinem Tode erschien eine Fortsetzung seiner Geschichte von Amerika unter dem Titel:* the History of America, *Book* IX and X, containing the history of Virginia to the year 1652 by William Robertson. *„Dieses nachgelassene Werk des berühmten Verfassers, sagt Herr Schubart im* 11*ten Bande seiner Englischen Blätter, hat sein Sohn genau nach der Handschrift, ohne Zusätze und Veränderung, herausgegeben. Während seiner letzten langwierigen Krankheit vernichtete Robertson zu verschiedenen Zeiten viele seiner Papiere; nach seinem Tode aber fand sich die Fortsetzung seiner Geschichte von Amerika so sorgfältig von ihm zum Drucke zubereitet, als irgend eines seiner frü-*

**) Einige Notizen von dem berühmten Mayor James Rennell, (geboren den* 22*sten November* 1742*) findet man im* 3*ten Stücke des achten Bandes der Englischen Miszellen, S.* 184.

kern Manuskripts. Im Ganzen genommen steht dieses Fragment auch in keinem Betracht gegen die übrigen Werke des Verfassers zurück, ausser etwa im lebhaften Kolorit, und man erkennt fast auf jeder Seite die karakteristischen Vorzüge dieses Geschichtschreibers, dieselbe Kombinationsgabe, eben die Gründlichkeit der Reflexionen, eben den reizenden Fluſs einer geistreichen Diktion. Das Werk beginnt mit der Geschichte der Seeunternehmungen Englands, deren Geist durch das Beispiel des groſsen Columbus *unter den Britten geweckt wurde, und setzt die Ursachen auseinander, welche diesen Unternehmungsgeist bald befördert, bald geschwächt haben. — Eine vollständige Biographie dieses groſsen Geschichtschreibers ist unter dem Titel erschienen:* Account of the life and writings of William Robertson; read before the royal society of Edinburgh, London, Cadell, 1801. *Ein Auszug daraus steht in den Englischen Miszellen von J. C. Hüttner, 6ten Bandes 2tem Stück, S. 116. Unser Geschichtschreiber wird übrigens auch wegen der Vortrefflichkeit seines Charakters allgemein gepriesen.*

1) Death and character of Martin Luther *).

While appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long a-gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the protestant church, Luther was saved by a seasonable death from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season to his native city of Eisleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age (Febr. 18. 1546.). As he was raised up by Providence to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded in history, there is not any person, perhaps, whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. In his own age, one party, struck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they saw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be sacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices

*) The history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V. Book 8.

of a man, but the qualities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited, as the restorer of light and liberty to the Christian church, ascribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which should be paid only to those who are guided by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undistinguishing censure, nor the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities both natural and acquired to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity, and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a Reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness, as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his disciples; remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor in the university, and pastor to the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty, and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praise-worthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in asserting them, to rashness; his firmness in adhering to them, to obstinacy; and

his zeal in confuting his adversaries, to rage and scurrility. Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth, against those who disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character, when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries, indiscriminately, with the same rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII., nor the eminent learning and ability of Erasmus, screened them from the same abuse with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

But these indecencies of which Luther was guilty, must not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with those maxims, which, by putting continual restraint on the passions of individuals, have polished society, and rendered it agreeable, disputes of every kind, were managed with heat, and strong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reserve or delicacy. At the same time, the works of learned men were all composed in Latin; and they were not only authorised, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to use their antagonists with the most illiberal scurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear less shocking than in a living language, whose idioms and phrases seem gross, because they are familiar.

In passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, and a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited those to whom it was addressed. A spirit, more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dangers, which

he braved and surmounted. Towards the close of Luther's life, though without a perceptible declension of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be witness of his own amazing success, to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines, and to shake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause. He must have been indeed more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind rising in his breast *).

Some time before his death he felt his strength declining, his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him at the approach of death: his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future world, of which he spoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wished to enter soon upon the enjoyment of it. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with excessive as well as indecent joy, and damped the spirits of all his followers; neither party sufficiently considering that his doctrines were now so firmly

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*) A remarkable instance of this, as well as of a certain singularity and elevation of sentiment, is found in his last will. Though the effects which he had to bequeath were very inconsiderable, he thought it necessary to make a testament, but scorned to frame it with the usual legal formalities. Notus sum, says he, in coelo, in terra et in inferno, et auctoritatem ad hoc sufficientem habeo, ut mihi soli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licet damnabili, et miserabili peccatori, ex paterna misericordia Evangelium filii sui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax et fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, et me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint, spreto banno Papæ, Cæsaris, Regum, Principum et sacerdotum, immo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad dispositionem hanc in re exigua, sufficiat, si adsit manus meæ testimonium, et dici possit, hæc scripsit D. Martinus Luther, notarius Dei, et testis Evangelii ejus. *Seck. l. III. p.* 651.

rooted, as to be in a condition to flourish, independent of the hand which first had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony, with extraordinary pomp. He left several children *) by his wife, Catharine Bora, who survived him. Towards the end of the last century, there were in Saxony some of his descendants in decent and honourable stations **).

2) The Conspiracy of John Lewis Fiesco, Count of Lavagna ***).

The form of government, which had been established in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former dissensions, and received at first with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give universal satisfaction to those turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire administration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many envying them the pre-eminence, wished for the restitution of a popular government, to which they had been accustomed; and though all reverenced the desinterested virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that ascendant which he had acquired in the councils of the commonwealth. His age however, his moderation, and love of liberty, afforded ample security to his countrymen, that he would not abuse his power, nor stain the close of his days by attempting to overturn that fabrick, which it had been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But the authority and influence which in his hands were innocent, they easily saw would prove destructive, if usurped by any citizen of greater ambition, or less virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed such pretensions, and with some prospect of success. Giannetino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise at being his successor in power. His temper haughty, insolent, and

*) *Drei Söhne und drei Töchter.* **) *Sein Geschlecht starb mit Martin Gottlob Luther, Rechtsconsulenten zu Dresden, den 3. November 1759 aus; die, welche sich noch jetzt zur Nachkommenschaft des grossen Reformators rechnen, sind Abkömmlinge seines Bruders Jacob.* ***) History of the reign of the Emperor Charles V. Book. 8.

overbearing so such a degree, as would hardly have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether insupportable in the citizen of a free state. The more sagacious among the Genoese already feared and hated him as the enemy of those liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himself, blinded by that violent and indiscerning affection which persons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, set no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; seeming less solicitous to secure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that undeserving kinsman.

But whatever suspicion of Doria's designs, or whatever dissatisfaction of the system of administration in the commonwealth, these circumstances might have occasioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fiesco count of Lavagna observing this growing disgust, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldest actions recorded in history. That young nobleman, the richest and most illustrious subject in the republick, possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command respect, or secure attachment. He was graceful and majestic in his person; magnificent to profusion; of a generosity that prevented the wishes of his friends and exceeded the expectations of strangers; of an insinuating address, gentle manners, and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of these virtues, which seemed to form him for enjoying and adorning civil life, he concealed all the dispositions which mark men out for taking the lead in the most dangerous and dark conspiracies; an insatiable and restless ambition, a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that disdained subordination. Such a temper could ill brook that station of inferiority, wherein he was placed in the republick; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its descending, like an hereditary possession, to Giannetino. These various passions, preying with violence on his turbulent and aspiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not submit.

At first he thought of an alliance with Francis, and even proposed it to the French ambassador at Rome, as the most effectual means of accomplishing this; and after expelling

Doria, together with the Imperial faction, by his assistance he, resolved to put the republick once more under the protection of that Monarch, hoping in return for that service to be entrusted with the principal share in the administration of government. But having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidents, from whom he kept nothing secret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of desperate fortune, capable alike of advising and executing the most audacious deeds, remonstrated with earnestness against the folly of exposing himself to the most imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his success; and exhorted him warmly to aim himself at that pre-eminence in his country, to which he was destined by his illustrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raised by the zeal of his friends. This discourse opened such vast prospects to Fiesco, and so suitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other persons present, though sensible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not choose to condemn what their patron had so warmly approved. It was instantly resolved, in this dark cabal, to assassinate the two Dorias, as well as the principal persons of their party, to overturn the established system of government, and to place Fiesco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requisite to ripen such a design for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on these, Fiesco made it his chief care to guard against every thing that might betray his secret, or create suspicion. The disguise he assumed, was of all others the most impenetrable. He seemed to be abandoned entirely to pleasure and dissipation. A perpetual gaiety, diversified by the pursuit of all the amusements becoming his age and rank, engrossed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidst this hurry of dissipation, he prosecuted his plan with the most cool attention, neither retarding the design by a timid hesitation, nor precipitating the execution by an excess of impatience. He continued his correspondence with the French ambassador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might secure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he should find it necessary to call them to his aid. He entered into a close confederacy with Farnese Duke

of Parma *), who being disgusted with the Emperor for refusing to grant him the investiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any measure that tended to diminish his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family so implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being sensible that, in a maritime state, the acquisition of naval power was what he ought chief to aim at, he purchased four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the design, which he had formed, and did not disapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of these galleys to sail on a cruise against the Turks, he not only assembled a good number of his own vassals, but engaged in his service many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their usual occupation and subsistence.

While Fiesco was taking these important steps, he preserved so admirably his usual appearance of being devoted entirely to pleasure and amusement, and paid court with such artful address to the two Dorias, as imposed not only on the generous and insuspicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who, conscious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to distrust the designs of others. So many instruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to strike the blow. Various consultations were held by Fiesco with his confidents, in order to settle the manner of doing it with the greatest certainty and effect. At first, they proposed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high mass in the principal church; but as Andrew was often absent from religious solemnities, on account of his great age, that design was laid aside. It was then concerted that Fiesco should invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom they had marked out as victims, to his house; where it would be easy to cut them off at once without danger or resistance; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had chosen, it became necessary likewise to alter this plan. They at last

*) *Peter Paul Farnese, erster Herzog von Parma und Piacenza, erhielt 1545 vom Pabst Paul III., dessen natürlicher Sohn er war, die genannten Länder als päbstliches Lehen, gegen eine jährliche Abgabe von 8000 Thalern. Er lebte mit seinen Unterthanen und mit Kaiser Karl V. in Uneinigkeit und wurde ermordet.*

determined to attempt by open force what they found difficult to effect by stratagem, and fixed on the night between the second and third of January (1547), for the execution of their enterprize. The time was chosen with great propriety; for as the Doge of the former year was to quit his office, according to custom, on the first on the month, and his successor could not be elected sooner than the fourth, the republick remained during that interval in a sort of anarchy, and Fiesco might with less violence take possession of the vacant dignity.

The morning of that day, Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours among them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court to the Dorias with his usual marks of respect, and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long a gathering, and was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court, surrounded by a high wall. The gates had been set open in the morning, and all persons, without distinction, were allowed to enter, but strong guards posted within the court suffered no one to return. Verrina, meanwhile, and a few persons trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his galleys into the palace in small bodies, with as little noise as possible, dispersed themselves through the city, and, in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled, the rest astonished at finding, instead of the preparations for a feast, a court crowded with armed men, and apartments filled with the instruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curiosity, impatience, and terror.

While their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation, Fiesco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence, he addressed himself to the persons of chief distinction, telling them, that they were not now called to par-

take of the pleasure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He set before their eye the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannetino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination, continued he, you have it now in your power to subvert, and to establish the freedom of your country on a firm basis. The tyrants must be cut off. I have taken the most effectual measures for this purpose. My associates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if necessary. Happily the tyrants are as secure as I have been provident. Their insolent contempt of their countrymen has banished the suspicion and timidity which usually render the guilty quick-sighted to discern, as well as sagacious to guard against the vengeance which they deserve. They will now feel the blow, before they suspect any hostile hand to be nigh. Let us then sally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almost unaccompanied with danger, and certain of success. These words, uttered with that irresistible fervour which animates the mind when roused by great objects, made the desired impression on the audience. Fiesco's vassals, ready to execute whatever their master should command, received his discourse with a murmur of applause. To many whose fortunes were desperate, the licence and confusion of an insurrection afforded an agreeable prospect. Those of higher rank and more virtuous sentiment, durst not discover that surprise or horror with which they were struck at the proposal of an enterprize no less unexpected than atrocious; as each of them imagined the other to be in the secret of the conspiracy, and saw himself surrounded by persons who waited only a signal from their leader to perpetrate the greatest crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud the undertaking.

Fiesco having thus fixed and encouraged his associates, before he gave them his last orders, he hastened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble house of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whose beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noise of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before reached her ears, she concluded some

hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and she trembled for her husband. He found her in all the anguish of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impossible to keep his design concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The prospect of a scene so full of horror as well as danger, completed her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal issue of it, she endeavoured, by her tears, her entreaties, and her despair, to divert him from his purpose. Fiesco, after trying in vain to sooth and to inspire her with hope, broke from a situation into which an excess of tenderness had unwarily seduced him, though it could not shake his resolution. „Farewell," he cried, as he quitted the apartment, „you shall either never see me more, or you shall behold to-morrow every thing in Genoa subject to your power."

As soon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper station; some were appointed to assault and seize the different gates of the city; some to make themselves masters of the principal streets or places of strength: Fiesco reserved for himself the attack of the harbour where Doria's galleys were laid up, as the post of chief importance, and of greatest danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens slept in the security of peace, when this band of conspirators, numerous, desperate, and well-armed, rushed out to execute their plan. They surprized some of the gates, without meeting with any resistance. They got possession of others after a sharp conflict with the soldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out against the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darsena or little harbour where Doria's fleet lay. All possibility of escape being cut off by this precaution, when Fiesco attempted to enter the galleys from the shore to which they were made fast, they were in no condition to make resistance, as they were not only unrigged and disarmed, but had no crew on board, except the slaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noise and tumult, all the streets resounding with the cry of *Fiesco* and *Liberty*. At that name, so popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conspirators. The nobles and partisans of the aristocracy, astonished or affrighted, shut the gates of their houses, and thought of nothing but of securing them from pillage. At last, the noise excited by this scene of violence and confusion, reached the

palace of Doria; Giannetino started immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occasioned by some mutiny among the sailors, rushed out with a few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to pass, was already in the possession of the conspirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmost fury, and murdered him on the spot. The same must have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fiesco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the sordid consideration of preventing its being plundered amidst the confusion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horseback, saved himself by flight. Amidst this general consternation, a few senators had the courage to assemble in the palace of the republick *). At first, some of the most daring among them attempted to rally the scattered soldiers, and to attack a body of the conspirators; but being repulsed with loss, all agreed that nothing now remained, but to treat with the party which seemed to be irresistible. Deputies were accordingly sent to learn of Fiesco what were the concessions with which he would be satisfied, or rather to submit to whatever terms he should please to prescribe.

But by this time Fiesco, with whom they were empowered to negociate, was no more. Just as he was about to leave the harbour, where every thing had succeeded to his wish, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard some extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral galley. Alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains, and overpower his associates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel happening to overturn, he fell into the sea, whilst he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he sunk to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of every thing that his ambitious heart could desire. Verrina was the first who discovered this fatal accident, and foreseeing, at once, all its consequences, concealed it with the utmost industry from every one but a few leaders of the conspiracy. Nor was it

*) Il palazzo della Signoria.

difficult, amidst the darkness and confusion of the night, to have kept it secret, until a treaty of the senators should have put the city in the power of the conspirators. All their hopes of this were disconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fiesco, who, when the deputies of the senate enquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their proposals to him, replied with a childish vanity, „I am now the only person to whom that title belongs, and with me you must treat.“ These words discovered as well to his friends as to his enemies what had happened, and made the impression which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occasion such a sudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, assumed instantly, with admirable presence of mind, a new tone, suitable to the change in their circumstances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the rest of the senators were busy in assembling their partisans, and in forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republick. On the other hand, the conspirators, astonished at the death of a man whom they adored and trusted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing secrecy with which the conspiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of those who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place, or to finish his plan; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had passed unobserved, and might remain unknown. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, most of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

Next morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be seen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conspirators having conducted their enterprize with more noise than bloodshed, and gained

all their advantages by surprise, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the disgrace as well as danger of the preceeding night, were fresh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinsman still before his eyes, such was his moderation as well as magnanimity, that the decree issued by the senate against the conspirators, did not exceed that just measure of severity, which was requisite for the support of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of resentment, nor the rancour of revenge *).

G I B B O N.

Edward Gibbon wurde den 8ten Mai 1737 zu Putney in Surrey geboren. Er war von Natur sehr schwächlich, und nur die zärtliche Sorgfalt seiner unverheiratheten Tante, Katharina Porten, erhielt ihn der Welt. Nachdem er einigen Unterricht von einem Hauslehrer genossen hatte, besuchte er 1749 die Westminsterschule, und ging von hier 1752 auf das Magdalenen-Collegium zu Oxford. Hier fielen ihm, bei seiner Vorbereitung zur Konfirmation, die Schriften des Jesuiten Parson in die Hände, deren Lektüre ihn so dahin riſs, daſs er im Sommer des Jahres 1753 zur katholischen Kirche übertrat. Sein Vater, ein angesehener Gutsbesitzer, ward durch dieses Ereigniſs tief gekränkt, schickte seinen Sohn nach Lausanne, und übergab ihn hier der Sorgfalt eines aufgeklärten reformirten Geistlichen, Namens Pavillard. Im Jahre 1754 trat Gibbon wieder zur protestantischen Kirche über, und communicirte zu Lausanne. Sein Aufenthalt an diesem Orte dauerte bis zum Jahre 1758, und er benutzte diese Zeit aufs gewissenhafteste; insonderheit beschäfftigte

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*) Thuan. 93. Sigonii vita Andreae Doria 1196. La conjuration du Comte de Fiesque, par Cardin. de Retz. Adriani Istoria, lib. VI. 369. Folietae Conjuratio Jo. Lud. Fiesci ap. Graev. Thes. Ital. I. 883. — *Man vergleiche mit der hier aufgenommenen Stelle die meisterhaften Erzählungen derselben Begebenheit in von Archenholtz kleinen historischen Schriften, und in Woltmann's historischem Journal von 1800.*

um das Studium der Französischen und Lateinischen Klassiker, und der Geschichte, zu welcher letztern Wissenschaft er bereits auf der Westminsterschule eine entschiedene Neigung bewiesen hatte. Ein Jahr vor seiner Abreise schenkte er der Demoiselle Curchod, Tochter des Pfarrers zu Crassy auf dem Berge Jura, einem schönen, gebildeten Mädchen, sein Herz; allein er konnte seines Vaters Einwilligung zur Heirath nicht erhalten. Seine Geliebte wurde nachmals die Gattinn des berühmten Necker. Der junge Gibbon ward in dem älterlichen Hause liebevoll aufgenommen. Sein Vater wünschte nun, daſs er sich der Rechtsgelehrsamkeit widmen, oder eine Stelle als Legationssekretär bei einem damals vorseyenden Friedenscongreſs annehmen, oder sich der Ökonomie widmen möchte; allein seine Lieblingsneigung blieb immer das Studieren. Im Jahre 1759 erschien sein Essai sur l'étude de la littérature, den er wahrscheinlich bereits in Lausanne ausgearbeitet hatte, ursprünglich in Französischer Sprache, nachmals auch in einer Englischen Übersetzung, unter dem Titel: Essay on the study of literature, London 1764. 8. (aus dem Französischen übersetzt von Eschenburg, Hamburg 1792). Im Jahre 1760 und 1761 unterbrach Gibbon den Lauf seiner bis dahin ununterbrochen fortgesetzten Studien dadurch, daſs er als Hauptmann bei der, aus Furcht vor einer feindlichen Invasion, ausgehobenen Nationalarmee Dienste nahm; sein Vater bekleidete in eben demselben Heere die Stelle eines Majors. Nachdem dasselbe entlassen worden war, legte sich der junge Gibbon mit neuer Munterkeit, Erfahrungen mancherlei Art und mit verstärkter Gesundheit, wieder auf die Wissenschaften. Die Lektüre des Homer vollendete er in 21 Wochen. Dabei hatte er drei geschichtliche Themata im Kopfe, die er auszuarbeiten Willens war, eine Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Walter Raleigh, die Geschichte von Florenz unter den Medicis, und die Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Seine Reise unterbrach indessen die Ausführung dieser Entwürfe. Er besuchte nämlich Frankreich, und kam im Januar des Jahres 1763 in Paris an, lebte hier 14 Wochen im Umgange mit den berühmtesten Männern jener Zeit, z. B. mit Barthélemy, Helvétius, Raynal, Bougainville und andern, und begab sich von da nach Lausanne. Hier blieb er bis zum April 1764, und trat darauf seine Reise nach Italien an. Den 15ten Oktober des Jahres 1764 war es, wo er in tiefes

Nachdenken versunken, auf den Trümmern des Kapitols sitzend, indefs die Mönche im ehemaligen Tempel des Jupiter die Vesper sangen, den Gedanken fafste, die Geschichte des Untergangs des Römischen Reichs zu schreiben. Er besuchte hierauf noch Neapel, und kam, nach einem dreizehnmonatlichen Aufenthalt in Italien, im Junius des Jahres 1765 wieder nach England zurück. Er diente nun eine kurze Zeit als Obrist-Lieutenant in der Nationalmiliz, gab indessen, der Zerstreuungen des Soldatenstandes müde, und zu den sanftern Beschäfftigungen mit den Wissenschaften mächtig hingezogen, diese Stelle bald wieder auf. Die erste Frucht seiner wieder gewonnenen Mufse war die Geschichte der Schweiz. Er schrieb das erste Buch, theilte es einer Gesellschaft literarischer Freunde mit, in der es indessen keinen Beifall fand. Hume aber billigte die Arbeit, und fand an derselben nur das zu tadeln, dafs sie in Französischer Sprache abgefafst war, welcher dieser Gelehrte keine so lange Existenz als der Englischen versprach, da diese schon in Amerika und Ostindien Wurzel gefafst habe. Gibbon war mit seinem Werke selbst nicht zufrieden, und vernichtete dasselbe. Hierauf schrieb er 1770 gegen die Warburtonische mystische Erklärung des 6ten Buchs der Äneide ein Buch, unter dem Titel: Critical Observations on the sixth Book of the Aeneid, London 1770. (s. Heyne's 10ten Exkursus zu Virgil's 6tem Gesang). Seit dem Jahre 1768 begann er sich zu seiner Römischen Geschichte anzuschicken und Materialien zu sammeln. Schon durch seine jugendlichen Studien mit einem schätzbaren Vorrath dahin einschlagender historischer Kenntnisse versehen, vermehrte er denselben nun noch durch unermüdete Lektüre immer mehr. 1770 starb sein Vater. Nachdem er seine ökonomischen Angelegenheiten in Ordnung gebracht hatte, begab er sich nach London, wählte diese Stadt wegen der Bequemlichkeit der Buchläden zu seinem beständigen Wohnort, und begann nun sein unsterbliches Werk. Der Buchhändler Thomas Cadell *) übernahm den Verlag desselben. Der erste

*) Dieser verdienstvolle und wegen seines humanen Verkehrs mit verschiedenen Englischen Schriftstellern, z. B. Blair, Gillies, Mitford, Robertson, Adam Smith, Gilpin, Rumford u. s. w. berühmte Buchhändler, war zu Bristol 1743 geboren, lernte den Buchhandel bei Andreas Millar, nahm nach dessen 1767 erfolgtem Tode die Buchhandlung desselben an, und schwang sich bald zu dem ersten Buchhändler Englands

Theil erschien, und alle Kenner liefsen dem Verfasser Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren; insonderheit beehrten Robertson und Hume denselben mit ihrem Beifall. Gibbon war um diese Zeit Mitglied des Parliaments geworden, in welchem damals gerade die wichtigen Debatten über den Kampf zwischen England und Amerika vorfielen; dies, und eine Reise, die er auf Necker's und dessen Gattinn Einladung, in deren Hause er sehr freundschaftlich aufgenommen wurde, nach Paris unternahm, verzögerten die Vollendung des Werks, und es verflossen zwei Jahre nach der Bekanntmachung des ersten Bandes, ehe der zweite, und wiederum einige Jahre, bevor der dritte Band erschien. Letzterer geht bis zu dem anfänglich von ihm gesteckten Ziel, nämlich bis zum Untergang des Weströmischen Reichs; er entschlofs sich indessen dieses Werk bis zum Untergang des morgenländischen Kaiserthums fortzusetzen. Da ihm aber der Aufenthalt in der Hauptstadt zu kostspielig wurde, und er sich in seinen Hoffnungen, ein Amt zu erhalten, welches, ohne ihm viel Zeit zu rauben, seine Einkünfte verbesserte, getäuscht sah, so begab er sich zu seinem Freunde Deyverdun nach Lausanne. Hier vollendete er, ein Jahr nach der Bekanntmachung des dritten Bandes, den vierten (angefangen im März 1782, geendet im Junius 1784), den fünften (angefangen im Julius 1784, geendet im Mai 1786), den sechsten und letzten (angefangen im Mai 1786, geendet den 27sten Junius 1787. Nach Vollendung dieses grofsen Werkes begab er sich nach England, um die letzten Bände desselben selbst dem Drucke zu übergeben. Dieser begann den 15ten August 1787, und ward im April 1788 beendigt. Die Bekanntmachung selbst wurde bis auf den 8ten Mai, seinen Geburtstag, verschoben, und durch ein frohes Mahl bei seinem Verleger Cadell gefeiert. Der Titel des ganzen Werks ist: History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, 6 Vols. 4. London 1775 — 1788, *nachmals öfters in England, auch in Basel, 1787 in 8. in 13. Vols. gedruckt, (in das Deutsche übersetzt von F. A. W. Wenk und Schreiter, Theil 1 — 8, Leipzig 1779 — 91. in 8., in 15 Bänden, Wien 1788 — 92, abgekürzt von G. K. F. Seidel, Berlin 1790 8.). So war*

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emper. 1798 wurde er, nachdem er Alters halber seine merkantilischen Geschäffte seinem Sohne abgetreten hatte, Alderman des Viertels Walbrook in London, und starb 1802 im December.

die Englische historische Literatur mit einem Werke bereichert, welches ewig als eine Zierde derselben genannt werden wird. Eine nähere Würdigung dieses Buchs gehört nicht hieher; wir begnügen uns folgendes Urtheil aus Wiggers *vermischten Aufsätzen, welches uns ungemein passend zu seyn dünkt, unsern Lesern mitzutheilen: „Sollte* Gibbon, *heifst es daselbst, auch als Geschichtschreiber unter* Hume *und* Robertson *stehen, so ist er doch gewifs einer von Britanniens ersten Schriftstellern. Denn, wie wenige giebt es, welche so viel Gelehrsamkeit mit so vieler Urtheilskraft vereinigen, eine solche Menge philologischer Kenntnisse mit einer solchen Tiefe in den Wissenschaften, welche auf das Glück der Staaten unmittelbaren und wichtigen Einflufs haben. In Absicht des Styls steht er* Hume *und* Robertson *nach.* Tacitus *ist sein Muster, aber es fehlt ihm, wie diesem, oft an Klarheit und Leichtigkeit. Überhaupt hat sein Styl, der gemeiniglich da, wo er räsonnirt, zu metaphysisch, wo er beschreibt, zu blühend, und wo er erzählt, zu kostbar ist, einen Hang zur Neologie. Der Verfasser wird von seinem Triebe, überall wohlredend zu seyn, oft verleitet, auch da Verzierung anzubringen, wo ohne Zweifel nur Simplicität Statt finden sollte. Er wird in dieser Rücksicht oft dem* Ammian *ähnlich." —* Gibbon *kehrte nach Vollendung des Drucks nach seinem geliebten Aufenthalt bei Lausanne zurück, wo er bis zum Ausbruch der Französischen Revolution, die schon damals auch auf die Schweiz ihren Einflufs zeigte, in ungestörter philosophischer Ruhe lebte. Im Jahre 1793 that er abermals eine Reise nach England. Er starb den 16ten Januar 1794 zu London in seiner Wohnung in St. James Street an einem heftigen Anfall von Magengicht, von welcher er seit einigen Jahren zuweilen sehr plötzlich überfallen wurde. Er selbst glaubte seinen Tod nicht so nahe, und unterhielt sich noch den letzten Abend mit einem seiner vertrauten Freunde über den Tod und die Fortdauer nach dem Tode, und bestimmte die wahrscheinliche Dauer seines Lebens noch auf 13 bis 14 Jahre. Er hinterliefs keine nahen Erben. Seine ansehnliche und auserlesene Bibliothek fiel einem jungen Schweizer, Namens* Bury, *zu, den er zärtlich liebte, und den er auch mit sich nach England genommen hatte, als er 1793 der Kriegesunruhen wegen seinen vieljährigen Aufenthalt in Lausanne verliefs. — Wir tragen hier noch einige minder erhebliche literarische Notizen nach:* Gibbon's *berühmtes Werk wurde in vielen*

Schriften angegriffen. Wegen einer Parteilichkeit gegen die christliche Religion, deren er beschuldigt ward, vertheidigte er sich selbst in seiner Vindication of some passages in the fifteenth and sixteenth Chapter of the History of the decline etc. 1779. *Der Prediger* **Whitaker** *gab* 1792 *ein* Review of Mr. Gibbon's history *heraus, ein äußerst mühsames Werk, worin er Blatt für Blatt jeden scheinbaren Verstoß* **Gibbon's** *aufzudecken, und vorzüglich die Sache der Religion in Schutz zu nehmen sucht. Ob* **Gibbon** *noch auf die letztere Schrift geantwortet habe, ist uns unbekannt. Die Hauptquelle für die Geschichte seines Lebens ist seine Autobiographie, welche unter dem Titel erschienen ist:* Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq. with Memoirs of his Life and writings, composed by himself, illustrated from his Letters with occasional notes etc., by John Lord Sheffield, London 1776, 2 Vols. 4.; *übersetzt unter dem doppelten Titel:* **Edward Gibbon's** *Esq. Leben von ihm selbst beschrieben, und* **E. Gibbon's** *vermischte Werke, ein literarischer Nachlaß; erster Band, welcher* **Gibbon's** *Leben enthält, Leipzig* 1797. *Eine andere Übersetzung erschien Braunschweig, 1ster und 2ter Band* 1796 — 1797. *Von beiden Übersetzungen, so wie vom Original, findet man eine gründliche Beurtheilung, nebst einem gedrängten Auszuge, der Hauptquelle gegenwärtiger biographischen Skizze, in der neuen allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliothek, Band* 37, *Stück* 1, *Seite* 3. *Eine zweite Ausgabe der Urschrift erschien London* 1814, 6 *Vols.* 8. — *Zur Charakteristik* **Gibbon's** *führen wir hier noch folgende Schilderung dieses berühmten Geschichtschreibers aus* **Matthison's Briefen**, *Zürich* 1795, *an. „Ich war (heißt es daselbst in einem aus Lausanne den 11ten Oktober* 1789 *geschriebenen Briefe) gestern bei* **Gibbon**. *Sein Äußeres hat viel Auffallendes. Er ist groß, und von starkem Gliederbau, dabei etwas unbehülflich in seinen Bewegungen. Sein Gesicht ist eine der sogenannten physiognomischen Erscheinungen, wegen des unrichtigen Verhältnisses der einzelnen Theile zum Ganzen. Die Augen sind so klein, daß sie mit der hohen und prächtig gewölbten Stirn den härtesten Kontrast machen. Die etwas stumpfe Nase verschwindet fast zwischen den stark hervorspringenden Backen, und die weit herabhangende Unterkehle macht das an sich schon sehr längliche Oval des Gesichts noch frappanter. Ungeachtet dieser Unregelmäßigkeit hat* **Gibbon's** *Physiognomie einen ausserordentlichen Ausdruck von Würde, und kündigt bei'm ersten*

Blicke den tiefen und scharfsinnigen Denker an. Nichts geht über das geistvolle Feuer seiner Augen. Gibbon hat ganz den Ton und die Manieren eines abgeschliffenen Weltmannes; ist kalthöflich, spricht das Französische mit Eleganz, und hat (ein Phänomen bei einem Engländer) fast die Aussprache eines Pariser Gelehrten. Er hört sich mit Wohlgefallen, und redet langsam, weil er jede Phrase sorgfältig zu prüfen scheint, ehe er sie ausspricht. Mit immer gleicher Miene unterhält er sich von angenehmen und unangenehmen Dingen, von frohen und tragischen Begebenheiten, und sein Gesicht verzog sich, so lange wir beisammen waren, ungeachtet er veranlaßt wurde, eine drollige Geschichte zu erzählen, nicht ein einziges Mal zum Lächeln. In seinem Hause herrscht die strengste Pünktlichkeit und Ordnung. Seine Leute müssen die Geschäffte beinah zur bestimmten Minute verrichten, oder sie laufen Gefahr, verabschiedet zu werden. Er giebt ihnen aber auch selbst das Beispiel. Sein Tag ist eingetheilt, wie der Tag des Angelsächsischen Königs Alfred. Mit dem Glockenschlage geht er an die Arbeit, zu Tische, und in Gesellschaft, und bleibt in keiner von ihm abhangenden Lebenslage eine Minute länger, als die festgesetzte Tagesordnung es gestattet. Ein Friseur wurde verabschiedet, weil er einige Minuten nach sieben Uhr kam. Sein Nachfolger stellte sich, um mehrerer Sicherheit Willen, etwas früher ein, und hatte gleiches Schicksal. Nur der dritte, der mit dem Glockenschlage in die Hausthür trat, wurde beibehalten. — In den Ruinen des Kapitols faßte er die erste Idee zu seinem unsterblichen Werke. — Mit der Englischen, Französischen, Spanischen und Italiänischen Literatur ist er bekannt, mit der Deutschen nicht.“

The State of Germany till the Invasion of the Barbarians, in the Time of the Emperor Decius *).

The government and religion of Persia have deserved some notice from their connexion with the decline and fall of the Roman empire. We shall occasionally mention the Scythian, or Sarmatian tribes, which with their arms and horses, their flocks and herds, their wives and families, wandered over the immense plains, which spread themselves from the Caspian

*) The History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. I. Chap. IX.

Sea to the Vistula, from the confines of Persia to those of Germany. But the warlike German, who first resisted, then invaded, and at length overturned, the western monarchy of Rome, will occupy a much more important place in this history and possess a stronger, and if we may use the expression, a more domestic claim to our attention, and regard. The most civilized nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany, and in the rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners. In their primitive state of simplicity and independence, the Germans were surveyed by the discerning eye, and delineated by the masterly pencil of Tacitus, the first of historians, who applied the science of philosophy to the study of facts. In his incomparable treatise, which contains, perhaps, more ideas than words, he has comprehended a description of the German manners, that has formerly exercised the diligence of innumerable antiquarians, and employed the genius and penetration of the philosophic historians of our own time. The subject, however various and important, has already been so frequently, so ably, and so successfully discussed, that it is now grown familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, and indeed with repeating, some of the most important circumstances of climate, of manners, and of institution, which rendered the wild barbarians of Germany such formidable enemies to the Roman power.

Extent of Germany.

Ancient Germany, excluding from its independent limits the province westward of the Rhine, which had submitted to the Roman yoke, extended itaelf over a third part of Europe. Almost the whole of modern Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and the greater part of Poland, were peopled by the various tribes of one great nation, whose complexion, manners, and language denoted a common origin, and preserved a striking resemblance. On the west, ancient Germany was divided by the Rhine from the Gallic, and on the south, by the Danube, from the Illyrian provinces of the empire. A ridge of hills rising from the Danube, and called the Carpathian Mountains, covered Germany on the side of Dacia or Hungary. The eastern

frontier was faintly marked by the mutual fears of the Germans and the Sarmatians, and was often confounded by the mixture of warring and confederating tribes of the two nations. In the remote darkness of the north, the ancients imperfectly descried a frozen ocean that lay beyond the Baltic sea, and beyond the Peninsula or islands of Scandinavia.

Climate.

Some ingenious writers have suspected that Europe was much colder formerly than it is at present; and the most ancient descriptions of the climate of Germany tend exceedingly to confirm their theory. The general complaints of intense frost, and eternal winter, are perhaps little to be regarded, since we have no method of reducing to the accurate standard of the thermometer, the feelings, or the expressions of an orator, born in the happier regions of Greece or Asia. But I shall select two remarkable circumstances of a less equivocal nature. 1) The great rivers which covered the Roman provinces, the Rhine and the Danube, were frequently frozen over, and capable of supporting the most enormous weights. The barbarians who often chose that severe season for their inroads, transported, without apprehension or danger, their numerous armies, their cavalry and their heavy waggons, over a vast and solid bridge of ice. Modern age have not presented an instance of a like phænomenon. 2) The rein deer, that useful animal, from whom the savage of the North derives the best comforts of his dreary life, is of a constitution that supports, and even requires, the most intense cold. He is found on the rock of Spitzberg, within ten degrees of the pole; he seems to delight in the snows of Lapland and Siberia; but at present he cannot subsist, much less multiply, in any country, to the south of the Baltic. In the time of Cæsar, the rein deer, as well as the elk, and the wild bull was a native of the Hercynian forest, which then overshadowed a great part of Germany, and Poland. The modern improvements sufficiently explain the causes of the diminution of the cold. These immense woods have been gradually cleared, which intercepted from the earth the rays of the sun. The morasses have been drained, and in proportion, as the soil has been cultivated, the air has become more temperate. Canada, at this day, is an exact picture of ancient Germany. Although situated in the same pa-

rallel with the finest provinces of France and England, that country experiences the most rigorous cold. The rein deer are very numerous, the ground is covered with deep and lasting snow, and the great river of St. Lawrence is regularly frozen, in a season when the waters of the Seine and the Thames are usually free from ice.

Its effects on the natives.

It is difficult to ascertain, and easy to exaggerate the influence of the climate of ancient Germany over the minds and bodies of the natives. Many writers have supposed, and most have allowed, though, as it should seem, without any adequate proof, that the rigorous cold of the North was favourable to long life and generative vigour, that the women were more fruitful, and the human species more prolific, than in warmer or more temperate climates. We may assert, with greater confidence, that the keen air of Germany formed the large and masculine limbs of the natives, who were, in general, of a more lofty stature than the people of the south, gave them a kind of strength better adapted to violent exertions than to patient labour, and inspired them with constitutional bravery, which is the result of nerves and spirits. The severity of a winter campaign, that chilled the courage of the Roman troops, was scarcely felt by these hardy children of the North, who, in their turn, were unable to resist the summer heats, and dissolved away in languor and sickness under the beams of an Italian sun.

Origin of the Germans.

There is not any where upon the globe, a large tract of country, which we have discovered destitute of inhabitants, or whose first population can be fixed with any degree of historical certainty. And yet, as the most philosophic minds can seldom refrain from investigating the infancy of great nations, our curiosity consumes itself in toilsome and disappointed efforts. When Tacitus considered the purity of the German blood, and the forbidding aspect of the country, he was disposed to pronounce those barbarians *Indigenæ*, or natives of the soil. We may allow with safety, and perhaps with truth, that ancient Germany was not originally peopled by any foreign colonies, already formed into a political society; but that the name and nation received their

existence from the gradual union of some wandering savages of the Hercynian woods. To assert those savages to have been the spontaneous production of the earth which they inhabited, would be a rash inference, condemned by religion, and unwarranted by reason.

Fables and conjectures.

Such rational doubt is but ill-suited with the genius of popular vanity. Among the nations who have adopted the Mosaic history of the world, the ark of Noah has been of the same use, as was formerly to the Greeks and Romans the siege of Troy. On a narrow basis of acknowledged truth, an immense but rude superstructure of fable has been erected; and the wild Irishman, as well as the wild Tartar, could point out the individual son of Japhet, from whose loins his ancestors were lineally descended. The last century abounded with antiquarians of profound learning and easy faith, who, by the dim light of legends and traditions, of conjectures and etymologies, conducted the great grandchildren of Noah from the Tower of Babel to the extremities of the globe. Of these judicious critics, one of the most entertaining was Olaus Rudbeck *), professor in the university of Upsal. Whatever is celebrated either in history or fable, this zealous patriot ascribes to this country. From Sweden (which formed so considerable a part of ancient Germany) the Greeks themselves derived their alphabetical characters, their astronomy, and their religion. Of that delightful region, (for such it appeared to the eyes of a native) the Atlantis of Plato, the country of the Hyperborians, the gardens of the Hesperides, the Fortunate Islands and even the Elysian Fields were all but faint and imperfect transcripts. A clime so profusely favoured by nature, could not long remain desert after the flood. The learned Rudbeck allows the family of Noah

*) His work, entitled Atlantica, is uncommonly scarce. Bayle has given two most curious extracts from it. République des lettres, Janvier et Février 1685. — *Eine zum Zwecke genügende Nachricht von diesem Werke giebt unter der bescheidenen Ueberschrift: „Flüchtige Ansicht der Rudbeckschen* Atlantica,“ *ein, Karl Cappe, unterzeichneter und im* 26*sten Stück der Zeitung für die elegante Welt vom Jahre* 1818 *abgedruckter Aufsatz. Hiernach besteht „Olf Rudbecks Atland“ aus drei Folianten — der vierte ist in dem Upsalaischen Brande gerade aus der Presse kommend, in Rauch aufgegangen.*

a few years, to multiply from eight to about twenty thousand persons. He then disperses them into small colonies to replenish the earth, and to propagate the human species. The German or Swedish detachment, (which marched, if I am not mistaken, under the command of Askenaz the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet) distinguished itself by a more than common diligence in the prosecution of this great work. The northern hive cast its swarms over the greatest part of Europe, Africa, and Asia; (to use the author's metaphor) the blood circulated from the extremities to the heart.

The Germans ignorant of letters, of arts and agriculture, and of the use of metals.

But all this well-laboured system of German antiquities is annihilated by a single fact, too well attested to admit of any doubt, and of too decisive a nature, to leave room for any reply. The Germans, in the age of Tacitus, were unacquainted with the use of letters; and the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilized people from a herd of savages, incapable of knowledge or reflection. Without that artificial help, the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas intrusted to her charge; and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or with materials, gradually forget their powers: the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid or irregular. Fully to apprehend this important truth, let us attempt, in an improved society, to calculate the immense distance between the man of learning, and the illiterate peasant. The former by reading and reflection, multiplies his own experience, and lives in distant ages, and remote countries; whilst the latter, rooted to a single spot, and confined to a few years of existence, surpasses, but very little, his fellow-labourer the ox in the exercise of his mental faculties. The same, and even a greater difference will be found between nations than between individuals; and we may safely pronounce, that without some species of writing, no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of their history, ever made any considerable progress in the abstract sciences or ever possessed, in any tolerable degree of perfection, the useful and agreeable arts of life.

Of these arts, the ancient Germans were wretchedly destitute. They passed their lives in a state of ignorance and po-

verty, which it has pleased some declaimers to dignify with the appellation of virtuous simplicity. Modern Germany is said to contain about two thousand three hundred walled towns. In a much wider extent of country, the geographer Ptolemy could discover no more than ninety places, which he decorates with the name of cities: though, according to our ideas, they would but ill deserve that splendid title. We can only suppose them to have been rude fortifications, constructed in the centre of the woods, and designed to secure the women, children and cattle, whilst the warriors of the tribe marched out to repel a sudden invasion. But Tacitus asserts, as a well known fact, that the Germans, in his time, had no cities; and that they affected to despise the works of Roman industry, as places of confinement rather than of security. Their edifices were not even contiguous, or formed into regular villas; each barbarian fixed his independent dwelling, on the spot to which a plain, a wood, or a stream of fresh water, had induced him to give the preference. Neither stone, nor brick, nor tiles were employed in these slight habitations. They were indeed no more than low huts of a circular figure, built of rough timber, thatched with straw and pierced at the top to leave a free passage for the smoke. In the most inclement winter, the hardy German was satisfied with a scanty garment made of the skin of some animal. The nations who dwelt towards the North, clothed themselves in furs; and the women manufactured for their own use a coarse kind of linen. The game of various sorts, with which the forests of Germany were plentifully stocked, supplied its inhabitants with food and exercise. Their monstrous herds of cattle, less remarkable indeed for their beauty than for utility, formed the principal object of their wealth. A small quantity of corn was the only produce exacted from the earth: the use of orchards or artificial meadows was unknown to the Germans; nor can we expect any improvements in agriculture from a people, whose property every year experienced a general change by a new division of the arable lands, and who, in that strange operation, avoided disputes, by suffering a great part of their territory to lie waste, and without tillage.

Gold, silver and iron, were extremely scarce in Germany. Its barbarous inhabitants wanted both skill and patience to investigate those rich veins of silver, which have so liberally rewarded the attention of the princes of Brunswick, and Saxo-

ny. Sweden, which now supplies Europe with iron, was equally ignorant of its own riches; and the appearance of the arms of the Germans furnished a sufficient proof, how little iron they were able to bestow on what they must have deemed the noblest use of that metal. The various transactions of peace and war had introduced some Roman coins, (chiefly silver) among the borderers of the Rhine and Danube; but the more distant tribes were absolutely unacquainted with the use of money, carried on their confined traffic by the exchange of commodities, and prized their rude earthen vessels as of equal value with the silver vases, the presents of Rome to their princes and ambassadors. To a mind capable of reflection, such leading facts convey more instruction, than a tedious detail of subordinate circumstances. The value of money has been settled by general consent to express our wants, and our property; as letters were invented to express our ideas: and both these institutions, by giving a more active energy to the powers and passions of human nature, have contributed to multiply the objects they were designed to represent. The use of gold and silver, is in a great measure factitious, but it would be impossible to enumerate the important, and various services which agriculture, and all the arts, have received from iron, when tempered and fashioned by the operation of fire, and the dexterous hand of man. Money, in a word, is the most universal incitement, iron the most powerful instrument, of human industry; and it is very difficult to conceive by what means a people, neither actuated by the one, nor seconded by the other, could emerge from the grossest barbarism.

Their indolence.

If we contemplate a savage nation in any part of the globe, a supine indolence, and a carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their general character. In a civilized state, every faculty of man is expanded and exercised; and the great chain of mutual dependence connects and embraces the several members of society. The most numerous portion of it is employed in constant and useful labour. The select few, placed by fortune above that necessity, can, however, fill up their time by the pursuits of interest or glory, by the improvement of their estate or of their understanding, by the duties, the pleasures, and even the follies of social life. The

Germans were not possessed of these varied resources. The care of the house and family, the management of the land and cattle, were delegated to the old and the infirm, to women and slaves. The lazy warrior, destitute of every art that might employ his leisure hours, consumed his days and nights in the animal gratifications of sleep and food. And yet, by a wonderful diversity of nature, (according to the remark of a writer who had pierced into its darkest recesses) the same barbarians are by turns the most indolent, and the most restless of mankind. They delight in sloth, they detest tranquillity *). The languid soul, oppressed with its own weight, anxiously required some new and powerful sensation; and war and danger were the only amusements adequate to its fierce temper. The sound that summoned the German to arms was grateful to his ear. It roused him from his uncomfortable lethargy, gave him an active pursuit, and by strong exercise of the body, and violent emotions of the mind, restored him to a more lively sense of his existence. In the dull intervals of peace, these barbarians were immoderately addicted to deep gaming and excessive drinking; both of which, by different means, the one by inflaming their passions, the other by extinguishing their reason, alike relieved them from the pain of thinking. They gloried in passing whole days and nights at table; and the blood of friends, and relations, often stained their numerous and drunken assemblies. Their debts of honour, (for in that light, they have transmitted to us those of play) they discharged with the most romantic fidelity. The desperate gamester, who had staked his person and liberty on a last throw of the dice, patiently submitted to the decision of fortune, and suffered himself to be bound, chastised, and sold into remote slavery, by his weaker, but more lucky antagonist.

Their taste for strong liquors.

Strong beer, a liquor extracted with very little art from wheat or barley, and corrupted, (as it is strongly expressed by Tacitus) into a certain semblance of wine, was sufficient for the gross purposes of German debauchery. But those who had tasted the rich wines of Italy, and afterwards of Gaul, sighed for that more delicious species of intoxication. They

*) Tacitus Germ. 15.

attempted not, however, (as has since been executed with so much success), to naturalize the vine on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; nor did they endeavour to procure by industry the materials of an advantageous commerce. To solicit by labour what might be ravished by arms, was esteemed unworthy of the German spirit. The intemperate thirst of strong liquors often urged the barbarians to invade the provinces, on which art or nature had bestowed those much envied presents. The Tuscan who betrayed his country to the Celtic nations, attracted them into Italy, by the prospect of the rich fruits and delicious wines, the production of a happier climate. And in the same manner the German auxiliaries, invited into France during the civil wars of the sixteenth century, were allured by the promise of plenteous quarters in the provinces of Champaigne and Burgundy. Drunkenness, the most illiberal, but not the most dangerous of *our* vices, was sometimes capable, in a less civilized state of mankind, of occasioning a battle, a war, or a revolution.

State of population.

The climate of ancient Germany has been mollified, and the soil fertilized, by the labour of ten centuries from the time of Charlemagne. The same extent of ground, which at present maintains, in ease and plenty, a million of husbandmen and artificers, was unable to supply an hundred thousand lazy warriors with the simple necessaries of life. The Germans abandoned their immense forests to the exercise of hunting, employed in pasturage the most considerable part of their lands, bestowed on the small remainder a rude and careless cultivation, and then accused the scantiness and sterility of a country that refused to maintain the multitude of its inhabitants. When the return of famine severely admonished them of the importance of the arts, the national distress was sometimes alleviated by the emigration of a third, or, perhaps, a fourth part of their youth. The possession and the enjoyment of property are the pledges which bind a civilized people to an improved country. But the Germans, who carried with them what they most valued, their arms, their cattle, and their women, cheerfully abandoned the vast silence of their woods for the unbounded hopes of plunder and conquest. The innumerable swarms that issued, or seemed to issue, from the great storehouse of nations, were

multiplied by the fears of the vanquished, and by the credulity of succeeding ages. And from facts thus exaggerated, an opinion was gradually established, and has been supported by writers of distinguished reputation, that, in the age of Cæsar and Tacitus, the inhabitants of the North were far more numerous than they are in our days. A more serious inquiry into the causes of population, seems to have convinced modern philosophers of the falsehood, and indeed the impossibility of the supposition. To the names of Mariana and of Machiavel *), we can oppose the equal names of Robertson and Hume **).

German freedom.

A warlike nation like the Germans, without either cities, letters, arts or money, found some compensation for this savage state in the enjoyment of liberty. Their poverty secured their freedom, since our desires and our possessions are the strongest fetters of despotism. „Among the Suiones, (says „Tacitus) riches are held in honour. They are *therefore* „subject to an absolute monarch, who, instead of intrusting „his people with the free use of arms, as is practised in the „rest of Germany, commits them to the safe custody, not of „a citizen, or even of a freedman, but of a slave. The neigh„bours of the Suiones, the Sitones, are sunk even below ser„vitude: they obey a woman.“ In the mention of these exceptions, the great historian sufficiently acknowledges the general theory of government. We are only at a loss to conceive by what means riches and despotism could penetrate into a remote corner of the North, and extinguish the generous flame that blazed with such fierceness on the frontiers of the Roman provinces: or how the ancestors of those Danes and Norwegians, so distinguished in latter ages, by their unconquered spirit, could thus tamely resign the great character of German liberty. Some tribes, however, on the coast of Baltic, acknowledged the authority of kings, though without relinquishing the rights of men; but in the far greater part of Germany, the form of government was a democracy, tempered, indeed, and controlled, not so much by general and

*) Machiavel Hist. di Firenza, l. i. — Mariana Hist. Hispan. l. V. c. 1. **) Robertson's Charles V. Hume's political Essays.

positive laws, as by the occasional ascendant of birth or valour, of eloquence or superstition.

Assemblies of the people.

Civil governments, in their first institutions, are voluntary associations for mutual defence. To obtain the desired end, it is absolutely necessary, that each individual should conceive himself obliged to submit his private opinion and actions, to the judgment of the greater number of his associates. The German tribes were contented with this rude but liberal outline of political society. As soon as a youth, born of free parents, had attained the age of manhood, he was introduced into the general council of his countrymen, solemnly invested with a shield and spear, and adopted as an equal and worthy member of the military commonwealth. The assembly of the warriors of the tribe, was convened at stated season, or on sudden emergencies. The trial of public offences, the election of magistrates, and the great business of peace and war, were determined by its independent voice. Sometimes, indeed, these important questions were previously considered, and prepared in a more select council of the principal chieftains. The magistrates might deliberate and persuade, the people only could resolve and execute; and the resolutions of the Germans were for the most part hasty and violent. Barbarians accustomed to place their freedom in gratifying the present passion, and their courage in overlooking all future consequences, turned away with indignant contempt from the remonstrances of justice and policy, and it was the practice to signify, by a hollow murmur, their dislike of such timid counsels. But whenever a more popular orator proposed to vindicate the meanest citizen from either foreign or domestic injury, whenever he called upon his fellow-countrymen to assert the national honour, or to pursue some enterprise full of danger and glory, a loud clashing of shields and spears expressed the eager applause of the assembly. For the Germans always met in arms, and it was constantly to be dreaded, lest an irregular multitude, inflamed with faction and strong liquors, should use those arms to enforce, as well as to declare, their furious resolves. We may recollect, how often the diets of Poland have been polluted with blood and the more numerous party has been compelled to yield to the more violent and seditious.

Authority of the princes and magistrates more absolute over the property than over the persons of the Germans.

A general of the tribe was elected on occasions of danger; and, if the danger was pressing, and extensive, several tribes concurred in the choice of the same general. The bravest warrior was named to lead his countrymen into the field, by his example rather than by his commands. But this power, however limited, was still invidious. It expired with the war, and in time of peace, the German tribes acknowledged not any supreme chief. *Princes* were, however, appointed, in the general assembly, to administer justice, or rather to compose differences, in their respective districts. In the choice of these magistrates, as much regard was shewn to birth as to merit. To each was assigned, by the public, a guard, and a council of an hundred persons; and the first of the princes appears to have enjoyed a pre-eminence of rank and honour, which sometimes tempted the Romans to compliment him with the regal title.

The comparative view of the powers of the magistrates, in two remarkable instances, is alone sufficient to represent the whole system of German manners. The disposal of the landed property within their district, was absolutely vested in their hands, and they distributed it every year according to a new division. At the same time they were not authorized to punish with death, to imprison, or even to strike a private citizen. A people thus jealous of their persons, and careless of their possessions, must have been totally destitute of industry and the arts, but animated with a high sense of honour and independence.

Voluntary engagements.

The Germans respected only those duties, which they imposed on themselves. The most obscure soldier resisted with disdain the authority of the magistrates. „The noblest „youths blushed not to be numbered among the faithful com„panions of some renowned chief, to whom they devoted „their arms and service. A noble emulation prevailed among „the companions to obtain the first place in the esteem of „their chief; amongst the chiefs, to acquire the greatest num„ber of valiant companions. To be ever surrounded by a „band of select youths, was the pride and strength of the

„chiefs, their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The „glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond „the narrow limits of their own tribe. Presents and ambas- „sies solicited their friendship, and the fame of their arms „often ensured victory to the party which they espoused. In „the hour of danger it was shameful for the chief to be sur- „passed in valour by his companions; shameful for the com- „panions not to equal the valour of their chief. To survive „his fall in battle, was indelible infamy. To protect his „person, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of „their own exploits, were the most sacred of their duties. „The chiefs combated for victory, the companions for the „chief. The noblest warriors, whenever their native country „was sunk in the laziness of peace, maintained their nume- „rous bands in some distant scene of action, to exercise their „restless spirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. „Gifts worthy of soldiers, the warlike steed, the bloody and „ever victorious lance, were the rewards, which the compa- „nions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude „plenty of his hospitable board, was the only pay that *he* „could bestow or *they* would accept. War, rapine, and the „freewill offerings of his friends, supplied the materials of „this munificence *)." This institution, however it might accidentally weaken the several republics, invigorated the general character of the Germans, and even ripened amongst them all the virtues of which barbarians are susceptible; the faith and valour, the hospitality, and the courtesy, so conspicuous long afterwards in the ages of chivalry. The honourable gifts, bestowed by the chief on his brave companions, have been supposed, by an ingenious writer, to contain the first rudiments of the fiefs, distributed, after the conquest of the Roman provinces, by the barbarian lords among their vassals, with a similar duty of homage and military service. These conditions are, however, very repugnant to the maxims of the ancient Germans, who delighted in mutual presents; but without either imposing, or accepting the weight of obligations.

German chastity; its probable causes.

„In the days of chivalry, or more properly of romance, „all the men were brave, and all the women were chaste;"

*) Taciti Germania 13, 14.

and notwithstanding the latter of these virtues is acquired and preserved with much more difficulty than the former, it is ascribed, almost without exception, to the wives of the ancient Germans. Polygamy was not in use, except among the princes, and among them only, for the sake of multiplying their alliances. Divorces were prohibited by manners rather than by laws. Adulteries were punished as rare and inexpiable crimes; nor was seduction justified by example and fashion. We may easily discover, that Tacitus indulges an honest pleasure in the contrast of barbarian virtue, with the dissolute conduct of the roman ladies; yet there are some striking circumstances that give an air of truth, or at least of probability to the conjugal faith and chastity of the Germans.

Although the progress of civilization has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity, whose most dangerous enemy is the softness of the mind. The refinements of life corrupt while they polish the intercourse of the sexes. The gross appetite of love, becomes most dangerous when it is elevated, or rather, indeed, disguised by sentimental passion. The elegance of dress, of motion, and of manners, give a lustre to beauty, and inflames the senses through the imagination. Luxurious entertainments, midnight dances, and licentious spectacles, present at once temptation and opportunity to female frailty. From such dangers the unpolished wives of the barbarians were secured, by poverty, solitude, and the painful cares of a domestic life. The German huts, open, on every side, to the eye of indiscretion or jealousy, were a better safeguard of conjugal fidelity, than the walls, the bolts, and the eunuchs of a Persian haram. To this reason, another may be added of a more honourable nature. The Germans treated their women with esteem and confidence, consulted them on every occasion of importance, and fondly believed, that in their breasts resided a sanctity and wisdom, more than human. Some of these interpreters of fate, such as Velleda in the Batavian war, governed in the name of the deity, the fiercest nations of Germany. The rest of the sex, without being adored as goddesses, were respected as the free, and equal companions of soldiers; associated even by the marriage ceremony to a life of toil, of danger and of glory *). In their

*) The marriage present was a yoke of oxen, horses

great invasions, the camps of the barbarians were filled with a multitude of women, who remained firm and undaunted amidst the sound of arms, the various forms of destruction, and the honourable wounds of their sons and husbands. Fainting armies of Germans have more than once been driven back upon the enemy, by the generous despair of the women, who dread death much less then servitude. If the day was irrecoverably lost, they well knew how to deliver themselves and their children, with their own hands, from an insulting victor. Heroines of such a cast may claim our admiration; but they were most assuredly neither lovely, nor very susceptible of love. Whilst they affected to emulate the stern virtues of *man*, they must have resigned that attractive softness in which principally consists the charm and weakness of woman. Conscious pride taught the German females, to suppress every tender emotion that stood in competition with honour, and the first honour of the sex has ever been that of chastity. The sentiments and conduct of these high-spirited matrons may, at once, be considered as a cause, as an effect, and as a proof of the general character of the nation. Female courage, however, it may be raised by fanaticism or confirmed by habit, can be only a faint and imperfect imitation of the manly valour that distinguishes the age or country in which it may be found.

Religion; its effects in peace and in war.

The religious system of the Germans (if the wild opinions of savages can deserve that name) was dictated by their wants, their fears, and their ignorance. They adored the great visible objects and agents of nature, the Sun and the Moon, the Fire and the Earth; together with those imaginary deities, who were supposed to preside over the most important occupations of human life. They were persuaded, that, by some ridiculous arts of divination, they could discover the will of the superior beings, and that human sacrifices were the most precious and acceptable offering to their altars. Some applause has been hastily bestowed on the sublime notion, entertained by that people, of the Deity, whom they neither confined within the walls of a temple, nor represented by any

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and arms. See Germ. c. 18. Tacitus is somewhat too florid on the subject.

human figure; but when we recollect, that the Germans were unskilled in architecture, and totally unacquainted with the art of sculpture, we shall readily assign the true reason of a scruple, which arose not so much from a superiority of reason, as from a want of ingenuity. The only temples in Germany were dark and ancient groves, consecrated by the reverence of succeeding generations. Their secret gloom, the imagined residence of an invisible power, by presenting no distinct object of fear or worship, impressed the mind with a still deeper sense of religious horror: and the priests, rude and illiterate as they were, had been taught by experience the use of every artifice that could preserve and fortify impressions so well suited to their own interest.

The same ignorance, which renders barbarians incapable of conceiving or embracing the useful restraints of laws, exposed them naked and unarmed to the blind terrors of superstition. The German priests, improving this favourable temper of their countrymen, had assumed a jurisdiction, even in temporal concerns, which the magistrate could not venture to exercise; and the haughty warrior patiently submitted to the lash of correction, when it was inflicted, not by any human power, but by the immediate order of the god of war. The defects of civil policy were sometimes supplied by the interposition of ecclesiastical authority. The latter was constantly exerted to maintain silence and decency in the popular assemblies; and was sometimes extended, to a more enlarged concern for the national welfare. A solemn procession was occasionally celebrated in the present countries of Mecklenburg and Pomerania. The unknown symbol of the *Earth*, covered with a thick veil, was placed on a carriage drawn by cows; and in this manner the goddess, whose common residence was in the isle of Rugen, visited several adjacent tribes of her worshippers. During her progress, the sound of war was hushed, quarrels were suspended, arms laid aside, and the restless Germans had an opportunity of tasting the blessings of peace and harmony. The *truce of God*, so often and so ineffectually proclaimed by the clergy of the eleventh century, was an obvious imitation of this ancient custom *).

But the influence of religion was far more powerful to inflame, than to moderate, the fierce passions of the Germans.

*) See Robertson's history of Charles V. Vol. I. note 10.

Interest and fanaticism often prompted its ministers to sanctify the most daring and the most unjust enterprises, by the approbation of Heaven and full assurances of success. The consecrated standards, long revered in the groves of superstition, were placed in the front of the battle; and the hostile army was devoted with dire execrations to the gods of war and of thunder. In the faith of soldiers (and such were the Germans) cowardice is the most unpardonable of sins. A brave man was the worthy favourite of their martial deities: the wretch, who had lost his shield, was alike banished from the religious and the civil assemblies of his countrymen. Some tribes of the north seem to have embraced the doctrine of transmigration, others imagined a gross paradise of immortal drunkenness. All agreed, that a life spent in arms, and a glorious death in battle, were the best preparations for a happy futurity, either in this or in another world.

The bards.

The immortality so vainly promised by the priests, was, in some degree, conferred by the bards. That singular order of men has most deservedly attracted the notice of all who have attempted to investigate the antiquities of the Celts, the Scandinavians, and the Germans. Their genius and character, as well as the reverence paid to that important office, have been sufficiently illustrated. But we cannot so easily express, or even conceive, the enthusiasm of arms and glory, which they kindled in the breast of their audience. Among a polished people, a taste for poetry is rather an amusement of the fancy, than a passion of the soul. And yet, when in calm retirement we peruse the combats described by Homer or Tasso, we are insensibly seduced by the fiction, and feel a momentary glow of martial ardour. But how faint, how cold is the sensation which a peaceful mind can receive from solitary study! It was in the hour of battle, or in the feast of victory, that the bards celebrated the glory of heroes of ancient days, the ancestors of those warlike chieftains, who listened with transport to their artless, but animated strains. The view of arms and of danger heightened the effect of military song; and the passions which it tended to excite, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death, were the habitual sentiments of a German mind.

Causes which checked the progress of the Germans.

Such was the situation, and such were the manners of the ancient Germans. Their climate, their want of learning, of arts, and of laws, their notions of honour, of gallantry, and of religion, their sense of freedom, impatience of peace, and thirst of entreprise, all contributed to form a people of military heroes. And yet we find, that, during more than two hundred and fifty years that elapsed from the defeat of Varus to the reign of Decius, these formidable barbarians made few considerable attempts, and not any material impression on the luxurious and enslaved provinces of the empire. Their progress was checked by their want of arms and discipline, and their fury was diverted by the intestine divisions of ancient Germany. — —

C A M P B E L L.

George Campbell *wurde im Jahre* 1719 *zu Aberdeen in Schottland, wo sein Vater Prediger war, geboren. Er studierte auf dieser Universität die Theologie, erhielt hierauf die Predigerstelle zu Banchary Ternan an der Dee, und* 1759 *eine geistliche Stelle in Aberdeen selbst. In eben dem Jahre ward er Vorsteher* (Principal) *des Marshal-College, und* 1771 *folgte er dem berühmten* Alexander Gerard *) *in der Professorstelle der Theologie. Als Geistlicher zeichnete er sich durch Gelehrsamkeit und Toleranz aus; dies beweiset unter andern seine auch in's Deutsche übersetzte* Dissertation on miracles containing an examination of the principles advanced by Mr. Hume 1762. *Im Jahre* 1777 *hielt er beim Ausbruch der Amerikanischen Unruhen eine Predigt über die Pflicht gegen den König* (on allegiance), *welche den Beifall der Regierung in dem Maſse erhielt, daſs sie* 6000 *durch An-*

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*) *Alexander Gerard ist auch in Deutschland durch seinen* Essay on Taste *und seinen* Essay on Genius *bekannt. Er gehört gleichfalls zu den, von Seiten des Styls, schätzbarsten neuern Schriftstellern der Engländer. Nur die Beschränktheit des Raumes verhindert uns, auch aus seinen Werken unsern Lesern ein Probestück vorzulegen.*

nerkungen erläuterte Exemplare derselben nach Nordamerika sandte. Freilich kam diese Schrift zu spät, da die Gemüther schon zu sehr erbittert waren. Sein Address to the people of Scotland on the alarms which have been raised in regard to popery hatte die Absicht, die um 1780 durch die sogenannte Papistenbill unter dem gemeinen Mann in Schottland entstandene Gährung zu dämpfen. Aufser diesen theologischen Schriften hat man von ihm auch noch eine Übersetzung und Erklärung der vier Evangelisten, unter dem Titel: the four Gospels translated from the greek, with preliminary Dissertations and notes critical and explanatory, London 1789 in 2 Vol. 4, durch welche Arbeit er der veralteten Kirchenübersetzung zu Hülfe kommen wollte. In Deutschland ist er am meisten durch seine Philosophy of Rhetoric bekannt, wovon wir die Ausgabe von 1776 2 Vol. 8. vor uns haben. Dieses schätzbare Werk besteht aus drei Hauptabschnitten; der erste hat die Überschrift: the nature and foundations of eloquence, in 11 Kapiteln; der zweite ist überschrieben: the foundations and essential properties of elocution, in 9 Kapiteln, und der dritte: the discriminating properties of elocution, in 5 Kapiteln. Wir haben von diesem Werke eine gute, jedoch nicht vollendete Übersetzung, unter dem Titel: die Philosophie der Rhetorik von George Campbell, aus dem Englischen, mit Bemerkungen begleitet, und auf die Deutsche Sprache angewandt von Dr. D. Jenisch, Berlin 1791. Sie enthält nur den ersten Theil des Originals. „Der Verfasser, sagt der Übersetzer in der Einleitung, behandelt einen Gegenstand, der in verwandten Werken, als z. B. in dem berühmten Werke des Home über die Kritik, oder in den Blairschen Vorlesungen und anderen, mehr berührt, als vollständig abgehandelt worden: und der theils für die Philosophie und Psychologie überhaupt, theils für die Kritik der schönen Wissenschaften, sehr wichtig ist, nämlich die Philosophie der Rhetorik, wie der Verfasser auch sein Werk benennt; worunter er nichts anders versteht, als alles das, was durch die Gesetze der Ästhetik und einer wahren Kenntnifs des Menschen und seiner Leidenschaften, so wie seiner ganzen Art zu denken und zu empfinden, dem Redner zu seinem Zweck zu wissen und zu thun nöthig ist. — Da Sachen sowohl als Worte der Gegenstand des Redners sind, so zerfällt die Philosophie der Rhetorik natürlich in zwei Theile, deren einen ich den philosophischen, den andern den grammatischen nen-

nen würde: indem jener die allgemeinen Grundsätze der Redekunst philosophisch entwickelt; dieser aber die praktischen Grundsätze einer zweckmäſsigen Behandlung der Sprache theils mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Rednerkunst, theils auf die Schriftstellerei überhaupt, vorträgt. Und das ist auch der Plan des Englischen Verfassers. — Das ganze Werk kann als ein würdiges Gegenstück der Rhetorik des Aristoteles und des Quintilian, so wie nicht weniger der theoretisch-oratorischen Schriften des Cicero angesehen werden; denn die Homische Kritik und die Vorlesungen des Blair, so wie andere ähnliche Werke, haben theils einen ausgedehntern, theils einen ganz verschiedenen Plan, als die eben genannten Werke der alten Schriftsteller, wenn gleich die Idee dazu von diesen entlehnt ist. Der Englische Verfasser behandelt seine Materie durchgängig mit einem tiefgreifenden Scharfsinn, und mit nicht gemeiner Menschenkenntniſs: der Leser wird hier viele, besonders philosophisch-ästhetische Erörterungen, vorzüglich in Rücksicht dessen, was die Rhetorik betrifft, finden, die er bei einem Home, Blair, Beattie, vergebens sucht: selbst das von andern Gesagte und Behandelte erhält unter seiner Hand den Reiz der Neuheit und der Originalität. — Ich leugne es nicht, heiſst es weiterhin in der lesenswerthen Vorrede des Übersetzers zu diesem Werke, daſs die philosophischen, psychologischen und ästhetischen Abschnitte, mit welchen der Verfasser den ersten Theil seines Werks so reichlich versehen, Abschweifungen, und dem eigentlichen Plan der Philosophie der Rhetorik nicht wesentlich sind: aber zu geschweigen, daſs der Engländer hier die alten Schriftsteller über die Rhetorik nachahmt, als deren Werke uns eben durch diese Abschweifungen beinah am meisten interessiren: so hat er seine Materien fast durchgängig so vortrefflich behandelt, daſs seine Abhandlungen dieser Art als wichtige Beiträge zur Kritik, Psychologie und Philosophie angesehen werden können. Das, weswegen ich ihn am meisten schätze und bewundere, ist seine Manier die Ideen zu entwickeln: er gehört von dieser Seite zu den wenigen Schriftstellern, von denen man philosophiren d. h. denken lernt, und deren Vortrag, selbst unabhängig von den abgehandelten Materien, für den Leser unterrichtend und bildend ist; als worauf ich mit jedem, der Talente zu schätzen weiſs, einen groſsen Werth setze. Denn ich habe immer gefunden, daſs ich mehr lernte aus einem selbst rhapsodistischen Werk voll origineller und selbstgedach-

ter Paradoxen, als aus einem System bekannter und andern nachgesagter Alltagswahrheiten, welches letztere, leider! der Familienfehler unserer Deutschen philosophischen Schriftsteller von jeher gewesen ist. Ich bewundere die Ideenentwickelungsgabe des Englischen Verfassers so wie fast durchgängig, also besonders in dem mit vielem Tiefsinn geschriebenen Kapitel über die Evidenz, und in seiner Widerlegung der Hypothesen über das Vergnügen an traurigen Gegenständen." — Die Bemerkungen des Übersetzers enthalten theils Fingerzeige zu näherer Erläuterung, theils Berichtigungen, theils Anschliessungen an die neuere Revolution der Philosophie. Möchte doch die Deutsche Literatur durch eine ähnliche Bearbeitung des ten Theils des Originals bereichert werden! — Gern hätten wir die von dem Übersetzer mit Recht gepriesenen Stücke unsern Lesern vorgelegt, wenn sie nicht von so beträchtlicher Länge wären. Das hier aufgenommene Stück dürfte vielleicht denen nicht unlieb seyn, welche etwas genauer in das Wesen der Englischen Poesie eindringen wollen. — Campbell genoss einer fast ununterbrochenen Gesundheit, und sah sich erst zwei Monate vor seinem Tode genöthigt, alle seine Ämter niederzulegen. Er starb den 6sten April 1796, im 77sten Jahre seines Alters. Sein Nachfolger Dr. *W. L. Brown errichtete ihm im* Monthley Magazine May 1796 *ein schönes biographisches Denkmal; außerdem findet man eine kurze Biographie von ihm im* 51*sten Stücke des Intelligenz-Blattes der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung von* 1797, *woraus die hier mitgetheilten Nachrichten zum Theil genommen sind.*

What are articulate sounds capable of imitating, and in what degree *).

The human voice is doubtless capable of imitating, to a considerable degree of exactness, almost any sound whatever. But our present inquiry is solely about what may be imitated by articulate sounds, for articulation greatly confines the natural powers of the voice; neither do we inquire what an extraordinary pronunciation may effectuate, but what power in this respect the letters of the alphabet have, when combined into syllables, and these into words, and these again

*) The Philosophy of Rhetoric, Book III. Chap. I. Sect. 3.

into sentences, uttered audibly indeed and distinctly, bu
without any uncommon effort. Nay, the orator in this spe
cies of imitation, is still more limited. He is not at libert
to select whatever articulate sounds he can find to be fitte
for imitating those concerning which he is discoursing. Tha
he may be understood, he is under a necessity of confinin
himself to such sounds as are rendered by use the signs o
the things he would suggest by them. If there be a variet
of these signs, which commonly cannot be great, he hat
some scope for selection, but not otherwise. Yet so remot
is the resemblance here at best, that in no language, ancien
or modern, are the meanings of any words, except perhap
those expressing the cries of some animals, discoverable, o
the bare hearing, to one who doth not understand the lan
guage.

Indeed, when the subject is articulate sound, the speak
or the writer may do more than produce a resemblance, h
may even render the expression an example of that whic
he affirms. Of this kind precisely are the three last lines o
the following quotation from Pope:

> These equal syllables alone require,
> Tho' oft the ear the open vowels tire,
> While expletives their feeble aid *do* join,
> And ten low words oft creep in one dull line *).

But this manner, which, it must be owned, hath a very goo
effect in enlivening the expression, is not imitation, thoug
it hath sometimes been mistaken for it, or rather confounde
with it.

As to sounds inarticulate, a proper imitation of them
hath been attempted in the same piece, in the subsequen
lines, and with tolerable success, at least in the concludin
couplet:

> Soft is the strain when Zephyr gently blows,
> And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows;
> But when loud surges lash the sounding shore,
> The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar **).

An attempt of the same kind of conformity of the soun
to the sense, is perhaps but too discernible in the followin
quotation from the same author:

*) Essay on Criticism. **) Essay on Criticism.

O'er all the dreary coasts!
Dreadful gleams,
Dismal screams,
Fires that glow,
Shrieks of woe,
Sullen moans,
Hollow groans,
And cries of injur'd ghosts *).

Milton's description of the opening of hell-gates ought not here to be overlooked.

— — On a sudden open fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder **). — —

The same author has, in another performance, given an excellent specimen in this way,

Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw ***);

He succeeds the better here, that what he says is evidently accompanied with a design of exciting contempt. This induceth us to make allowance for his leaving the beaten road in search of epithets. In this passage of the Odyssey,

— — His bloody hand
Snatch'd two unhappy of my martial band,
And dash'd like dogs against the stony floor ****);

the sound, but not the abruptness of the crash, is, I imagine, better imitated than in the original, which, on account of both, especially the last, was much admired by the critic of Halicarnassus *****). An excellent attempt in this way we have in a poem of Dyer:

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*) Ode on St. Cecilia's day. *(s. den 2ten Theil des Handbuchs.)* **) Paradise Lost, B. II. ***) Lycidas. An imitation of a line of Virgil, Ecl. 3, 27. *Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen.* *Nach der Uebersetzung von Voss:*
Dein armseliges Spiel auf schnarrendem Stroh, zu verstümpern.

****) Pope's Od. In Homer (Odyss. IX. 289, 290.) thus
Σὺν δὲ δύω μάρψας, ὥςε σκύλακας, ποτι γαίη
Κόπτ'. — — *Nach der Uebersetzung von Voss:*
Deren er zween anpackt', und wie junge Hund' auf den Boden schlug. —

*****) *Dionysius von Halicarnass, um die Zeit des Cäsar lebend, ist als Rhetor und Geschichtschreiber bekannt. Er schrieb außer seiner römischen Geschichte ein Werk über die Wortfolge und eine Rhetorik.*

— — The pilgrim oft
At dead of night mid his oraison hears
Aghast the voice of time, disparting towers,
Tumbling all precipitate down-dash'd,
Rattling around, loud thundering to the moon *).

But the best example to be found in our language are, in my opinion, the following lines of Mr. Pope:

What! like Sir Richard, rumbling, rough and fierce,
With arms, and George, and Brunswic croud the verse,
Rend with tremendous sounds your ears asunder,
With gun, drum, trumpet, blunderbuss, and thunder?
Then all your Muse's softer art display,
Let Carolina smoothe the tuneful lay,
Lull with Amelia's liquid name the Nine,
And sweetly flow thro' all the royal line **).

The success here is the greater that the author appears through the whole to deride the immoderate affectation of this overrated beauty, with which some modern poetasters are so completety dazzled. On the whole, the specimens produced, though perhaps as good as any of the kind extant in our language, serve to evince rather how little than how much can be done in this way, and how great scope there is here for the fancy to influence the judgment.

But there are other subjects beside sound, to which language is capable of bearing some resemblance. Time and motion, for example, or whatever can admit the epithets of quick and slow, is capable in some degree of being imitated by speech. In language there are long and short syllables, one of the former being equal or nearly equal to two of the latter. As these may be variously combined in a sentence, and syllables of either kind may be made more or less to predominate, the sentence may be rendered by the sound, more or less expressive of celerity or tardiness. And though even here the power of speech seems to be much limited, there being but two degrees in syllables, whereas the natural degrees of quickness or slowness in motion or action may be infinitely varied, yet on this subject the imitative power of articulate sound seems to be greater and more distinctive than on any other. This appears to particular advantage in verse, when, without violating the rules of prosody, a greater

*) Ruins of Rome, Dodsley's collection, Vol. 1. **) Sat. 1.

or a less number of syllables is made to suit the time. Take the following example from Milton:

> When the merry bells ring round,
> And the jocund rebecs sound
> Tŏ mānў a yōuth ănd mānў a māid
> Dancing in the checker'd shade *).

In this passage the third line, though consisting of ten syllables, is, by means of two anapests, pronounced, without hurting the measure, in the same time with an iambic line of eight syllables, and therefore well adapted in sound to the airy diversion he is describing. At the same time it must be owned, that some languages have in this particular a remarkable superiority over others. In English the iambic verse, which is the commonest, admits here and there the insertion of a spondee, for protracting, or of an anapest, as in the example quoted, for quickening the expression **).

But, in my opinion, Greek and Latin have here an advantage, at least in their heroic measure, over all modern tongues. Accordingly Homer and Virgil furnish us with some excellent specimens in this way. But that we may know what our own tongue and metre is capable of effecting, let us recur to our own poets, and first of all to the celebrated translator of the Grecian bard ***). I have made choice of him the rather as he was perfectly sensible of this beauty in the original, which he copied, and endeavoured, as much as the materials he had to work upon would permit him, to exhibit it in his version. Let us take for an example the punishment of Sisyphus in the other world, a passage which had on this very account been much admired in Homer by all the cities both ancient and modern.

> Up the high hill he heaves a huge round stone;
> The huge round stone resulting with a bound,
> Thunders impetuous down, and smoaks along the ground ****).

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*) L'allegro. **) Perhaps the feet employed in ancient poetry, are not in strict propriety applicable to the measures adopted by the English prosody. It is not my business at present to enter into this curious question. It suffices that I think there is a rhythmus in our verse plainly discernible by the ear, and which, as it at least bears some analogy to the Greek and Latin feet, makes this application of their names sufficiently intelligible. ***) Pope. ****) In Greek thus:

— — Λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον — —
Αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής. Od. XI. 595-597.

It is remarkable that Homer (though greatly preferable to his translator in both) hath succeeded best in describing the fall of the stone, Pope, in relating how it was heaved up the hill. The success of the English poet here is not to be ascribed entirely to the length of the syllables, but partly to another cause, to be explained afterwards.

I own I do not approve the expedient which this admirable versifier hath used, of introducing an Alexandrine line for expressing rapidity. I entirely agree with Johnson *), that this kind of measure is rather stately than swift; yet our poet hath assigned this last quality as the reason of his choice. „I was too sensible," says he in the margin, „of the beauty „of this, not to endeavour to imitate it, though unsuccess„fully. I have therefore thrown it into the swiftness of an „Alexandrine, to make it of a more proportionable number „of syllables with the Greek." Ay, but to resemble in length is one thing, and to resemble in swiftness is another. The difference lies here: In Greek, an hexameter verse whereof all the feet save one are dactyls, though it hath several syllables more, is pronounced in the same time with an hexameter verse whereof all the feet save one are spondees, and is therefore a just emblem of velocity; that is, of moving a great way in a short time. Whereas the Alexandrine line, as it consists of more syllables than the common English heroic, requires proportionably more time to the pronunciation. For this reason the same author, in another work, has, I think, with better success, made choice of this very measure to exhibit slowness;

A needless Alexandrine ends the song,
That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along **).

It deserves our notice, that in this couplet he seems to give it as his opinion of the Alexandrine, that it is a dull and tardy measure. Yet, as if there were no end of his inconsistency on this subject, he introduceth a line of the same

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(Nach der Uebersetzung von Voſs 593-598.
Auch den Sisyfos sah ich, von schrecklicher Mühe gefoltert,
Eines Marmors Schwere mit groſser Gewalt fortheben,
Angestemmt, arbeitet' er stark mit Händen und Füſsen,
Ihn von der Au aufwälzend zur Berghöh. Glaubt' er ihn aber
Schon auf dem Gipfel zu drehn; da mit Einmal stürzte die Last um,
Hurtig mit Donnergepolter entrollte der tückische Marmor.)

*) Rambler No. 92. **) Essay on Criticism.

And a little after in the same piece, to represent uncommon speed:

Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o'er th'unbending corn, and skims along the main *).

A most wonderful and peculiar felicity in this measure to be alike adapted to imitate the opposite qualities of swiftness and slowness. Such contradictions would almost tempt one to suspect, that this species of resemblance is imaginary altogether. Indeed, the fitness of the Alexandrine to express, in a certain degree, the last of these qualities, may be allowed, and is easily accounted for. But no one would ever have dreamt, of its fitness for the first, who had not been misled by an erroneous conclusion from the effect of a very different measure, Greek and Latin hexameter. Yet Pope is not the only one of our poets who hath fallen into this error. Dryden had preceeded him in it, and even gone much farther. Not satisfied with the Alexandrine, he hath chosen a line of fourteen syllables, for expressing uncommon celerity:

Which urg'd, and labour'd, and forc'd up with pain,
Recoils, and rowls impetuous down, and smoaks along the plain **).

Pope seems to have thought that in this instance, though the principle on which Dryden proceeded was good, he had exceeded all reasonable bounds in applying it; for it is this very line which he hath curtailed into an Alexandrine in the passage from the Odyssey already quoted. Indeed the impropriety here is not solely in the measure, but also in the diphthongs *oi*, and *ow*, and *oa*, so frequently recurring, than which nothing, not even a collision of jarring consonants, is less fitted to express speed. The only word in the line that seems adapted to the poet's view, is the term *impetuous*, in which two short syllables being crowded into the time of one, have an effect similar to that produced by the dactyl in Greek and Latin. Creech *), without the aid of an Alexandrine, hath been equally, if not more unsuccessful. The same line of the Latin poet he thus translates,

And with swift force roll thro' the humble plain.

Here the sentiment, instead of being imitated, is contrasted

*) Essay on Criticism. **) Lucretius, B. III. ***) Th. Creech, *gest.* 1701, *Uebersetzer des Lukrez.*

by the expression. A more crawling spondaic verse our heroic measure hardly ever admits.

At the same time, in justice to English prosody, it ought to be remarked, that it compriseth one kind of metre, the anapestic, which is very fit for expressing celerity, perhaps as much as any kind of measure ancient or modern. But there is in it a light familiarity, which is so ill adapted to the majesty of the iambic, as to render it but rarely admissible into poems written in this measure, and consequently either into tragedy or into epic.

Ere I conclude what may be said on the subject of motion, I shall observe further, that there are other affections of motion besides swiftness and slowness, such as vibration, intermission, inequality, which to a certain degree may be imitated in the sound of the description. The expression

' Troy's turrets totter'd — —

in the translation of the Iliad, is an instance of the first, the vibration being represented by the frequent and quick recurrence of the same letters ranged a little differently. In the line

Tumbling all precipitate down dash'd,

already quoted from the Ruins of Rome, there is an attempt to imitate the motion as well as the sound. The last of the four following lines from Milton, contains also a tolerable imitation of both:

Oft on a plat of rising ground
I hear the far-off curfew sound
Over some wide-water'd shore,
Swinging slow with sullen roar *).

Another very natural subject of imitation is size, or whatever the terms great or little may be applied to, literally or metaphorically. Things grand may be imitated by long and well-sounding words, things bulky by long and ill-sounding words, things little by short words. The connection here is as obvious as in either of the two former cases; but the power of our language is rather less. It affords so little variety in the choice of words in respect of length, that often the grandest objects in nature cannot be expressed with propriety otherwise than by a poor monosyllable. Bulkiness

*) Il Penseroso.

accompanied with motion, will fall to be exemplified in the next article.

A fourth subject of imitation in language is difficulty and ease. There is a considerable difference in this respect in the pronunciation of different words and sentences, which, if happily accommodated to the sentiment, adds to the effect of the expression. If, for instance, what is difficultly acted, be difficultly pronounced, and if, on the contrary, what is performed with facility, be uttered with ease, there will result a certain degree of vivacity from this slight resemblance. For it is an invariable maxim, that the ear is grated with hearing what the organs of speech find it uneasy to articulate. Several things contribute to render pronunciation difficult. First, the collision of vowels; that is, when one syllable ends with a vowel, and the next (it matters not whether it be in the same word or not) begins with the same vowel, or with one which approaches to it in sound. R*e*-*e*nter, c*o*-*o*perate, r*e*-*i*nforce, r*e*-*a*nimate, tho' oft, th*e* *e*ar, th*e* *o*pen, are examples of this. A certain effort is required to keep them as it were asunder, and make both be distinctly heard as belonging to different syllables. When then vowels are very unlike in sound, or the formation of the one is easily accomplished after the articulation of the other, they have not the same effect. Thus in the words var*ie*ty, c*oe*val, the collision doth not create a perceptible difficulty. Now as difficulty is generally the cause of slowness in any operation, such a clashing of vowels is often employed to represent a tardy or lingering motion *). A second cause of difficulty in utterance, is the frequent recurring of the aspiraty (h), especially when placed between two vowels that are both sounded. It is this which renders the translation of the passage above quoted from the Odyssey, so significant of the same qualities:

Up the *h*igh *h*ill *h*e *h*eaves a *h*uge round stone.

A like effect is produced by any of the mutes that are aspirated, as the *th* and *ph* or *f*, especially if combined with other consonants. The following line of Chaucer is not a bad example of this:

He through the thickest of the throng gan threke **).

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*) It is chiefly from this cause that the line in the Odyssey above quoted is so expressive of both. *Λααν ἄνω ὤθεσκε.* — **) Knight's Tale. — gan *zusammengezogen für* began; — threke *ein veraltetes Wort für* thrust.

A third cause of difficulty in pronunciation, is the clash of two or more jarring consonants. Some consonants are easily combined; the combinations of such are not expressive of this quality, but it is not so with all. An instance of this difficulty we have in the following line,

And strains from hard bound brains six lines a-year *)

We have here once five consonants, sometimes four, and sometimes three, which are all pronounced without an intervening vowel. The difficulty is rendered still more sensible by the double pause, which occasions a very drawling movement. Another example I shall take from the same author:

When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow **).

In the first of these lines the harsh combinations of consonants make the difficulty of pronunciation very observable; in the second the author hath not been so successful. I know not how it might affect the more delicate ear of an Italian, but if we compare it with the generality of English verses, we shall find it remarkably easy and flowing. It has nothing in respect of sound, either in the syllables separately, or in the measure, that in the least favours the sentiment, except only in its ending in a spondee, instead of an iambus. But this is too common in our poesy to have any effect that is worthy of notice. Vida's translator, in a passage extremely similar, hath been happier, if he may not be thought to have exceeded in this respect:

If some large weight his huge arm strive to shove,
The verse too labours, the throng'd words scarce move ***).

First, the word *verse* is harsher than line; secondly, the ending is in two spondees, which, though perhaps admissible into the iambic measure, is very rare, and hath for that reason a more considerable effect. A fourth cause of difficulty in the pronunciation, is the want of harmony in the numbers. This is frequently an effect of some of the examples already quoted. In the following passage from Milton, one of the most unharmonious in the book, hugeness of size, slowness and difficulty of motion, are at once aptly imitated:

*) Pope, Fragment of Satire. **) Essay on Criticism. ***) Pitt.

— — Part, huge of bulk!
Wallowing, unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
Tempest the ocean *). — —

An illustration of tardiness, difficulty, and hesitancy through fear, the same author hath also given us in the ill-compacted lines which follow:

He came,λ and with him Eve,λ more loth,λ tho' first
To offend, discountenanc'd both, and discompos'd **).

Several of the foregoing causes concur in the following couplet:

So he with difficulty, and labour hard,
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour he ***).

A fifth cause of difficulty, the last I shall take notice of, is when there is a frequent recurrence of the same letters or syllables, especially where the measure requires a quick pronunciation, because then there is the greatest risk of mistake and confusion ****).

I shall just mention another subject of imitation by sound, which is very general, and may be said to comprehend every thing not included in those above mentioned. The agreeable in things may be adumbrated to us by smooth and pleasant sounds, the disagreeable by such as are harsh and grating. Here, it must be owned, the resemblance can be but very remote, yet even here it will sometimes serve to enliven the expression.

Indeed the power of numbers, or of a series of accordant sounds, is much more expressive than that of single sounds. Accordingly, in poetry we are furnished with the best examples in all the kinds; and as the writer of odes hath in this respect a much greater latitude than any other kind of versifier, and at pleasure may vary his measure with his subject, I shall take a few illustrations from our lyric poets. All sorts of English verse, it hath been justly remarked,

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*) Paradise Lost, B. VII. **) Paradise Lost, B. X. ***) Ibid. B. II. ****) An excellent example of this kind we have from the Iliad, XIII. 116.

Πολλὰ δ᾽ ἄναντα, κάταντα, πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ᾽ ἦλθον,
(d. i. sie gingen einen weiten Weg bergauf, bergunter, schief und in die Quere).

This recurrence is the happier here, as it is peculiarly descriptive of rugged ways and jolting motion.

are reducible to three, the iambic, the trochaic, and the anapestic. In the first of these, the even syllables are accented, as some choose to express it, or as others, the even syllables are long; in the second, it is on the odd syllables that the accent rests; in the third, two unaccented syllables are followed by one accented. The nearer the verses of the several kinds are to perfection, the more exactly they correspond with the definitions just now given; though each kind admits deviations to a certain degree, and in long poems even requires them for the sake of variety. The iambus is expressive of dignity and grandeur; the trochee on the contrary, according to Aristotle *), is frolicsome and gay. It were difficult to assign a reason of this difference, that would be satisfactory; but of the thing itself, I imagine, most people will be sensible on comparing the two kinds together. I know not whether it will be admitted as a sufficient reason, that the distinction into metrical feet hath a much greater influence in poetry on the rise and the fall of the voice, than the distinction into words; and if so, when the cadences happen mostly after the long syllables, the verse will naturally have an air of greater gravity, than when they happen mostly after the short. An example of the different effects of these two measures, we have in the following lines of an admired modern, whose death lately afforded a just subject of lamentation to every good man, as well as to every friend of the muses.

Thee the voice, the dance obey,
Temper'd to thy warbled lay.
O'er Idalia's velvet green
The rosy crowned loves are seen
On Cytherea's day,
With antic sports, an blue ey'd pleasures,
Frisking light in frolic measures;
Now pursuing, now retreating,
Now in circling troops they meet;
To brisk notes in cadence beating,
Glance their many-twinkling feet.
Slow melting strains their queen's approach declare:
Where'er she turns, the Graces homage pay.
With arms sublime, that float upon the air,

*) Rhet. Lib. III.

In gliding state she wins her easy way:
O'er her warm cheek and rising bosom move
The bloom of young desire, and purple light of love *).

The expression of majesty and grace in the movement of the six last lines is wonderfully enhanced by the light and airy measure of the lines that introduce them. — The anapest is capable, according as it is applied, of two effects extremely different; first, it is expressive of ease and familiarity, and, accordingly, is often used with success both in familiar epistles and in pastoral. The other effect is an expression of hurry, confusion, and precipitation. These two, however different, may be thus accounted for. The first is a consequence of its resemblance to the style of conversation: there are so many particles in our language, such as monosyllabic pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and articles, on which the accent never rests, that the short syllables are greatly supernumerary. One consequence of this is, that common chat is with greater ease, as I imagine, reduced to this measure, than to any other. The second consequence ariseth purely from its rapidity compared with other measures. This effect it is especially fitted to produce, when it is contrasted with the gravity of the iambic measure, as may be done in the ode; and when the style is a little elevated, so as to be sufficiently distinguished from the style of conversation. All these kinds have been employed with success in the Alexander's Feast**), an ode that hath been as much celebrated as perhaps any in our language, and from which I propose to produce some illustrations. The poet, on recognizing Jove as the father of his hero, hath used the most regular and perfect iambics —

The list'ning crówd admíre the lófty sóund,
A présent déitý they shóut aróund,
A présent déitý the váulted róofs rebóund.
With rávish'd eárs
The mónarch heárs,
Assúmes the gód,
Afféets to nód,
And séems to sháke the sphéres.

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*) Gray's Progress of Poesy. **) *Von Dryden. (Siehe den zweiten Theil des Handbuchs.)*

But when he comes to sing the jovial god of wine, he very judiciously changes the measure into the brisk trochaic.

Bácchus éver fáir and yóung,
Drinking jóys did first ordáin.
Bácchus bléssings are a tréasure,
Drinking is the sóldier's pléasure.
Rich the tréasure,
Swéet the pléasure,
Swéet is pléasure áfter páin.

Again, when he describes his hero as wrought up to madness, and setting fire to the city in a fit of revenge, he with great propriety exhibits this phrenzy in rapid anapests, the effect of which is set off the more strongly by their having a few iambic lines interspersed.

Revénge, revénge, Timótheous críes,
See the fúries aríse!
See the snákes that they réar,
How they hiss in their háir,
And the spárkles that flásh from their éyes!
Behóld how they tóss their tórches on hígh,
How they point to the Pérsian abódes
And glittering témples of their hóstile góds.
The princes appláud with a fúrious jóy;
And the king seiz'd a flámbeau with zéal to destróy. —

So much for the properties in things, that are susceptible of a kind of imitation by language and the degree in which they are susceptible.

B U R K E.

EDMUND BURKE *wurde den 1sten Januar 1730 zu Catherlow in Irland geboren. Sein Vater, ein Sachwalter, war katholischer Religion, liefs aber seine Söhne in der herrschenden Kirche erziehen. Unser* **Burke** *besuchte anfänglich die Schule zu Bullytore, hierauf die Universität zu Dublin, und sodann Middle Temple zu London, die Vorbereitungsschule der Juristen, und zeichnete sich an allen diesen Orten durch seine Fähigkeiten aus. Die Unzulänglichkeit seines Einkommens nöthigte*

ihm, um seinen Hang zu sinnlichen Genüssen zu befriedigen, zur Schriftstellerei seine Zuflucht zu nehmen. Da es ihm mit Gedichten nicht glücken wollte, so schrieb er 1756 eine kleine Abhandlung: a Vindication of natural society, *und ahmte darin* **Bolingbroke's** *Manier so täuschend nach, dafs viele den Betrug nicht merkten, und selbst* **Chesterfield** *und* **Warburton** *sich anfänglich täuschen liefsen. Kurze Zeit darauf erschien sein* Account of the European settlements in America, *ein Werk, welches nachmals* **Raynal** *bei seiner* Histoire philosophique des Etablissemens des Européens aux deux Indes *sehr benutzt hat, und sein* Philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful; London 1757, 8. *(Deutsch von* **Garve** *1773). „***Burke** *setzt in diesem, zwar an Paradoxen reichhaltigen, aber doch einen originellen Kopf verrathenden Werke die Quelle des Erhabenen in Alles, was auf einige Weise geschickt ist, die Vorstellungen von Schmerz und Gefahr (oder die Leidenschaft der Selbsterhaltung) zu erregen, das heifst in Alles, was auf irgend eine Weise schrecklich ist, oder mit schrecklichen Gegenständen in Verwandschaft steht, oder auf eine dem Schrecke ähnliche Art auf die Seele wirkt, wenn wir dieses nämlich in gewissen Entfernungen und unter gewissen Beschränkungen wahrnehmen, oder wenn wir die Vorstellung davon haben, ohne selbst in dem Zustande des Schmerzes zu seyn. In dem zweiten Theile sind die Leidenschaften, welche vom Erhabenen erregt werden, Erstaunen, Bewunderung, Hochachtung und Ehrfurcht angegeben und darauf die Gegenstände, welche die Vorstellung von Schrecken, und folglich vom Erhabenen, erwecken, oder die Ursachen desselben; Dunkelheit, Kraft, Privation (Leere, Finsternifs, Einsamkeit), Gröfse der Ausdehnung, Unendlichkeit, Einförmigkeit und Succession, Gröfse der Dimensionen in Gebäuden, Schwierigkeit, Pracht, Licht, Farbe, Schall und Geräusch, Überraschung, Unterbrechung, Geschrei von Thieren, Geruch und Geschmack, Gefühl und Schmerz, einzeln betrachtet." (S. des Hrn. v.* **Blankenburg Zusätze zu Sulzer's Theorie der schönen Künste, Theil 2, Seite 110.).** *— Durch diese Schriften erwarb sich* **Burke** *bald Celebrität, und wurde mit verschiedenen angesehenen Männern bekannt. 1761 begleitete er den* **Grafen Hamilton**, *welcher mit dem Grafen* **Halifax** *nach Irland ging, als Privatsekretär; auch arbeitete er für den* **Grafen Hamilton** *seine erste Rede im Par-*

liament aus, wofür ihm eine jährliche Pension von 300 l. zugesichert wurde, auf die Burke indessen in der Folge, als er mit Hamilton zerfiel, Verzicht leistete. Hamilton, welcher nachmals nie wieder im Parliament auftrat, bekam den Namen: the single Speech Hamilton. *Um diese Zeit verheirathete sich Burke mit der Miſs Nugent, mit welcher er in der glücklichsten Ehe lebte. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Irland 1763 wurde er durch einige Flugschriften über die Amerikanischen Angelegenheiten dem Herrn Fitzherbert, und durch diesen dem Lord Verney und Marquis von Rockingham bekannt. Als letzterer Minister geworden war, machte er unsern Burke zu seinem Privatsekretär, und verschaffte ihm auch 1765 durch seinen Einfluſs eine Stelle im Parliament. Durch die bald darauf erfolgte Ministerialveränderung befand sich Burke auf einmal in der Opposition, wo er als beredter Sachwalter der mit Taxen belegten, aber nicht im Parliament repräsentirten Amerikaner auftrat. Da er, um seine Uneigennützigkeit zu zeigen, unter dem vorigen Ministerium auf Pensionen Verzicht geleistet hatte, so fühlte er itzt einigen Mangel, und muſste die Ausfälle in seinen Finanzen wieder durch schriftstellerische Arbeiten zu decken suchen; unter andern nahm er an dem* Annual Register *Antheil. Indessen wurden ihm auch anderweitige Unterstützungen zu Theil; vorzüglich nahm sich Lord Verney seiner so thätig an, daſs sich Burke in den Stand gesetzt sah, einen Landsitz bei Beaconsfield zu kaufen. Er zeigte sich nunmehr als das heftigste Mitglied, der um das Jahr 1769 aus den drei Parteien des Lord Chatham, Lord Shelburne und Marquis Rockingham und mehreren ganz independenten Mitgliedern entstandenen Partei, die so mächtig wurde, daſs der Herzog von Grafton sich genöthigt sah, zu resigniren. Lord North ward sein Nachfolger. Unter ihm wurden die Amerikanischen Angelegenheiten immer bedenklicher. Burke hielt den 19ten April 1774 auf Veranlassung der Theeakte die berühmte Rede* (Speech on American taxation), *welche für ein Meisterstück der Beredsamkeit gehalten wird. Er ward hierauf, nach der Auflösung des Parliaments, zum Repräsentanten von Bristol erwählt, und hielt bei dieser Gelegenheit die berühmten Reden:* Speeches at Burke's arrival at Bristol and at the conclusion of the poll, *in welchen er, unter manchen andern heilsamen Wahrheiten, den Wählern auch gerade zu sagte:* You chuse

a Member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a Member of Bristol, but he is a Member of Parliament. — *Burke blieb während des ganzen Amerikanischen Krieges der erklärte Gegner des Lord North in den ungereimten Maßregeln, welche dieser zur Unterjochung Amerika's ergriff. Dieser resignirte den 18ten März 1782. Burke wurde unter seinem Nachfolger, dem Marquis Rockingham, königlicher Geheimrath und Kriegszahlmeister* *). *Fox wurde sein College. Bekanntlich starb der Marquis Rockingham, nachdem er nur kurze Zeit seine Stelle bekleidet hatte, und durch seinen Tod lös'te sich nun die aus ganz ungleichartigen Theilen zusammengesetzte Masse auf. Fox und Burke resignirten; letzterer hatte noch die Ehre, die Bill zur Einschränkung der Ausgaben bei der Civilliste* (the Reform-Bill) *in Vorschlag zu bringen. Als im Jahr 1783 Fox die unnatürliche Coalition mit Lord North einging, wurde Burke zum zweiten Mal Kriegszahlmeister. Die Coalition dauerte nicht lange, und scheiterte endlich an der, der Macht der Krone so gefährlichen, Ostindischen Bill. „Fox nämlich machte einen Vorschlag im Unterhause, die Angelegenheiten der Ostindischen Compagnie einer besondern vom Parliament bestellten Commission zur Untersuchung und fernern Handhabung zu überlassen, auch die großen Länder, welche diese Gesellschaft in Asien besitzt, zum großen Vortheil für England, von diesen Commissarien regieren und ihre Einkünfte besser verwalten zu lassen; oder mit andern Worten: Fox wollte diese Gesellschaft wieder in ihren alten ursprünglichen Stand versetzen, bloß nach Ostindien zu handeln, weil sie bei dem Besitze der reichsten Länder und einem Einkommen von wenigstens sechs Millionen Pfund St. jährlich an Kräften abnahm; hingegen sollte sie die Regierung ihrer dortigen Länder, ihre bisherigen Verbindungen mit Indischen Fürsten, und die Territorialhoheit über ihre reichen Eroberungen der Krone überlassen, oder wenigstens mit der Krone theilen. Der Vorschlag ging zwar, ungeachtet der Vorstellungen der Gesellschaft, im Unterhause durch, fand aber im Oberhause so viel Gegner, daß er zuletzt eine Revolution veranlaßte, so*

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*) *Die Stelle eines Generalzahlmeisters* (paymaster-general) *ist eine der einträglichsten Stellen in England, in Kriegszeiten vielleicht die einträglichste. Man rechnet alsdann das mit derselben verbundene Gehalt auf 40,000 Pf. Sterling.*

dafs Fox und seine mit ihm durch die Coalition verbundene Partei ihren bisher behaupteten Einflufs und ihre Staatsämter verloren. **Burke** *war bei diesem Streit, ob die Ostindische Compagnie ihre Verfassung behalten, oder ihre seit* 1765 *in Bengalen und Karnatik erlangten wichtigen Vortheile der Krone überlassen sollte, von der Foxischen Partei, und suchte in einer den* 1*sten Dezember* 1783 *im Unterhause gehaltenen Rede, worin er die gefährliche Lage der Compagnie, die Verwirrung ihrer Angelegenheiten, ihre in Indien begangenen Ungerechtigkeiten und die Erpressungen ihrer Bedienten schilderte, die Nothwendigkeit dieser Veränderung zu beweisen. Seine Rede hat in England gleiches Aufsehen gemacht, und gleiche Widerlegung veranlafst, wie andre, die von ihm bei wichtigen Gelegenheiten gehalten wurden; sie vertheidigt mit eben dem Feuer, eben der Stärke des Ausdrucks und mit noch genauerem Detail, als seine berühmte Amerikanische Rede, die Aussöhnung mit den Kolonien, und empfiehlt die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft *). Im Original hat sie folgenden Titel:* Speech on Mr. Fox's East-India Bill. *Wir theilen einige Bruchstücke derselben unsern Lesern mit. —* **Pitt** *wurde hierauf* 1783 *Minister, und* **Burke** *befand sich abermals in der Opposition. Um diese Zeit wurde* **Warren Hastings** *Prozefs vorgenommen;* **Burke** *stand als eifriger Gegner desselben auf, und hielt jene berühmten Anklagereden, welche unter dem Titel:* Charges against Hastings P. 1-4 1786 *im Druck erschienen sind. Es ist ausgemacht, dafs weder Rachsucht, noch persönlicher Hafs, sondern lediglich wahres Interesse für die Sache der unterdrückten Menschheit unsern Redner begeisterte.* **Warren Hastings** *wurde bekanntlich nach einem vieljährigen Prozesse losgesprochen. Eine vollständige Geschichte dieses Kriminalprozesses, in welchem* **Burke** *eine so bedeutende Rolle spielte, enthält folgende Schrift:* History of the trial of W. Hastings, before the High-Court of Parliament, from Febr. 27, 1786, until his acquittal, April 23, 1795. London, Debrett 1796, 8. (10 sh. 6 d.). — *Die Französische Revolution machte auf* **Burke** *einen ganz andern Eindruck, als man von einem so beredten Sachwalter der Amerikaner hätte erwarten sollen. Er ward der erklärte, ja, man kann sagen, der wüthende Gegner der-*

*) *S. Historisches Portefeuille vom Jahre* 1784. 2*ter Band S.* 75 *u. ff.*

selben. Als solchen kündigte er sich in einer den 9ten Febr. 1790 gehaltenen Rede über den Zustand der Dinge in Frankreich an; noch mehr lernte man ihn von dieser Seite in dem Werke kennen, welches 1790 unter dem Titel erschien: Reflexions on the revolution in France and on the proceedings in certain societies in London relative to that event in a letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Paris. *„Durch dieses sonderbare Werk (heifst es in Förster's kleinen Schriften Theil 4, Seite 219) setzte Burke alle seine Freunde in Erstaunen. Er hatte heftig gegen Neuerungen jeder Art im Parliament gesprochen. In der Folge mochte er selbst fühlen, dafs er in seinen Besorgnissen zu weit gegangen war; allein die Publizität des Ausfalls litt nicht mehr, dafs er zurücktreten konnte. Es blieb ihm also kein Mittel übrig, als fest bei seinen Grundsätzen zu beharren, und alle seine schriftstellerischen Talente zu einem Werke aufzubieten, worin er dieser Veränderung seiner Denkungsart den Schein eines konsequenten Systems geben konnte. Auf eine andere Art läfst sich die Entstehung eines der sonderbarsten Bücher, die wohl je geschrieben sind, nicht erklären; eines Buchs, das, weil es den Namen Burke an der Stirn führte, mit beispielloser Begierde verschlungen ward, dergestalt, dafs in den ersten vier Tagen eine Auflage von 4000, und innerhalb weniger Wochen vier auf einander folgende Editionen verschlungen waren. Sein Werk enthält die unbedingteste Lobrede auf die englische Verfassung, mit einer vollkommenen Billigung ihrer anstöfsigsten Gebrechen; dagegen verwirft er eben so unbedingt die neue Französische Demokratie, mit ausdrücklichem Tadel eines jeden Dekrets der Nationalversammlung und aller von ihr getroffenen Mafsregeln. Man liefs der Beredsamkeit des Verfassers, seinem Scharfsinn, seinem Witze Gerechtigkeit widerfahren, man bewunderte seinen tiefen erfahrnen Blick; aber man schämte sich vor seinem Lobe, das durch Unbedingtheit zur Satire wird.“ — Wir bemerken bei diesem Werke nur noch, dafs die Worte des Titels:* on the proceedings in certain societies etc., *sich auf die sich damals in England und durch alle Städte erstreckenden* corresponding and constitutional Societies *beziehen, denen Burke entgegen zu arbeiten die Absicht hatte. Wir besitzen dieses von Seiten des Styls meisterhafte Werk in einer nicht minder trefflichen Übersetzung des Hrn. von Gentz, Berlin 1794, 2 Bände. Wir mafsen uns*

nicht an zu entscheiden, in wiefern das oben aus **Forster's** *Schriften mitgetheilte Urtheil über diese Schrift gegründet seyn mag; es scheint indessen, dafs* **Burke** *nicht den Heuchler gespielt, sondern aus vollkommener Überzeugung gesprochen habe. Durch diese Schrift sagte sich* **Burke** *gewissermafsen feierlich von der Opposition los, wofür er sich denn manche Unannehmlichkeit gefallen lassen mufste. Im Jahr* 1794 *im Junius zog er sich von allen Staatsgeschäften zurück; wenige Monate darauf hatte er das Unglück, seinen einzigen hoffnungsvollen Sohn zu verlieren. Der König bewilligte ihm hierauf eine Pension von* 3700 l., *wovon* **Burke** *indessen, um sich aus dringenden Verlegenheiten zu reifsen, zwei Theile für* 30,000 l. *verkaufte. Das Haupt der Opposition, der Herzog von* **Bedford**, *sprach den* 13. *Nov.* 1795 *sehr nachdrücklich gegen diese einem Abtrünnigen bewilligte Pension; allein* **Burke** *antwortete eben so nachdrücklich in der Schrift:* Letter to a noble Lord, *in welcher der Lord und seine Partei auf's heftigste gezüchtigt wurden. Dieses mit unglaublicher Begierde in England aufgenommene Produkt der Burkischen Beredsamkeit ist in Deutschland gleichfalls durch die vortreffliche Übersetzung des Hrn. v.* **Gentz** *bekannt; sie führt den Titel: Edm.* **Burke's** *Rechtfertigung seines politischen Lebens, Berlin* 1796. *Die, bei dem von Seiten Englands mit nicht glücklichem Erfolg gegen Frankreich geführten Kriege, wenigstens zum Schein eröffneten Friedensunterhandlungen veranlafsten* **Burke** *abermals die Feder zu ergreifen, und im October des Jahres* 1796 *jene berühmten* two Letters addressed to a member of the present parliament on the proposals for peace with the regicide Directory of France, *zu schreiben, (übersetzt unter dem Titel: Zwei Briefe an ein jetziges Parliamentsglied über die Vorschläge zum Frieden mit dem Französischen Direktorio, Frankfurt und Leipzig* 1797.) *die von Seiten des Styls zu den Meisterwerken gehören. Auch sie wurden mit unglaublicher Begierde gelesen. —* **Burke** *hatte schon seit einiger Zeit gekränkelt, und die zuletzt angeführte Schrift unter Blutspeien und den heftigsten körperlichen Schmerzen abgefafst. Jetzt erlag seine Konstitution. Er starb den* 9ten *Julius* 1797 *auf seinem Landgute bei Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire. — —* **Burke** *gehört nach dem einstimmigen Urtheil aller Kenner zu den vorzüglichsten Rednern und einsichtsvollsten Politikern der Engländer; auch das gesteht man allgemein zu, dafs er*

ein guter Vater, ein zärtlicher Gatte, ein treuer Freund gewesen, und Nothleidende gern unterstützt habe. Seine exaltirte Einbildungskraft riſs ihn indessen oft fort, unterdrückte die Gefühle seines natürlichen Wohlwollens, und stellte ihm manche Gefahren oft gröſser vor, als sie in der That waren. Daher oft die Heftigkeit seines Hasses, daher seine, aber erst am Ende, in persönliche Erbitterung ausartende Anklage gegen W. Hastings, daher vielleicht auch, in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens, die hartnäckige Billigung jenes grausamen Krieges. — Wir fügen noch nachfolgende Notizen hinzu. Unter dem Titel: The Life of Edmund Burke, comprehending an impartial account of his literary and political efforts, and a sketch of the conduct and character of his most eminent Associates, Coadjutors and Opponents by R. Bisset, *ist eine Biographie dieses berühmten Staatsmannes erschienen. Die davon veranstaltete Deutsche Übersetzung führt den Titel: E. Burke's Leben in historisch-literarisch-politischer Hinsicht, unparteiisch dargestellt von Robert Bisset, übersetzt von Fick, Leipzig und Jena* 1799. — *Das Werk:* the Beauties of the late right honourable Edm. Burke, selected of the writings of that extraordinary man alphabetically arranged, London 1798, *enthält Auszüge aus seinen Schriften: voran steht eine Biographie des Verfassers. Nachrichten von seinem Leben findet man auch im* European Magazine 1797 *von July bis October, und im* Monthly Magazine 1797, *July. Die sämmtlichen Werke Burke's sind unter dem Titel:* The Works of the R. Hon. Edm. Burke, *(bisher 7 Theile und enthalten dieselben die* Speeches on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings) London 4, 1801. *erschienen. Wir haben indessen nur die noch bei seinen Lebzeiten veranstaltete Sammlung verschiedener seiner Werke, die den Titel führt:* the Works of the right honourable E. Burke, collected in three Volumes, London 1792, 4., *vor uns gehabt und aus dieser haben wir die hier mitgetheilten Probestücke entlehnt. Im Jahr* 1804 *erschien der vierte Theil dieses Werks, worin das abgedruckt ist, was die Oktavausgabe mehr enthielt. Man findet unter andern darin:* three Memoirs on French affairs *von* 1791, 92 *und* 93, *die* three letters on the proposals for peace with the regicide directory of France *von* 1796; *den in einer starken und lebhaften Sprache abgefaſsten Brief über die Ausfälle des Herzogs von Bedford und des Grafen von Lauderdale wegen der*

von Burke erhaltenen Pension von 1796, die dem Minister Pitt vorgelegten Gedanken über Brotmangel und Theurung etc. Die bisher noch ungedruckten Werke Burke's sollen mit einem ausführlichen Leben dieses grossen Staatsmannes und seinem Briefwechsel bald nachfolgen. Dr. Lawrence und Mr. King, die von Burke zur Sonderung seiner Papiere ernannten Testaments-Exekutoren, machen Hoffnung zur baldigen Bekanntmachung derselben. Das wichtigste von den ungedruckten hinterlassenen Werken Burke's ist eine Geschichte Englands von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Regierung König Johann's. (Siehe die Anzeige des 4ten Bandes der Burkeschen Schriften im 112ten Stück der Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen vom Jahr 1802.

1) Speech on Mr. Fox's East-India Bill.

(Wir können bei der ansehnlichen Länge dieser Rede nur einige Bruchstücke derselben unsern Lesern mittheilen. — Burke macht zuförderst, nach einem kurzen Eingange, folgende Schilderung des Brittischen Reichs in Hindostan):

With very few, and those inconsiderable intervals, the British dominion, either in the Company's *) name, or in the name of Princes absolutely dependent upon the Company, extends, from the mountains that separate India from Tartary, to Cape Comorin, that is, one and twenty degrees of latitude!

In the northern parts, it is a solid mass of land, about eight hundred miles in length, and four or five hundred broad. As you go southward, it becomes narrower for a

*) *Die Ostindische Handelsgesellschaft erhielt ihren Stiftungsbrief* (Charter) 1600, *ihre heutige Einrichtung* 1702 *und* 1708. — *Die weitläuftigen Besitzungen der Engländer in Ostindien stehen nicht unmittelbar unter der Englischen Regierung, sondern sie empfangen ihre Gesetze durch die Dazwischenkunft einer Versammlung von Direktoren* (Directors of the East India Company), *die hinwiederum von einer mit der Regierung der Angelegenheiten Indiens beauftragten Commission* (Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India) *abhängig, und zuweilen auch der Revision einer allgemeinen Versammlung der Eigenthümer unterworfen ist. — Einen kurzen, jedoch ungemein gehaltreichen Aufsatz über Indostan von William Playfair findet man im 11ten Stücke von Posselt's Europäischen Annalen vom Jahre* 1802 *S.* 165.

space: it afterwards dilates; but narrower or broader, you possess the whole eastern and north-eastern coast of that vast country, quite from the borders of Pegu. Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with Benares (now unfortunately in our immediate possession) measure 161,978 square English miles; a territory considerably larger than the whole kingdom of France. Oude, with its dependent provinces, is 53,286 square miles; not a great deal less than England. The Carnatic, with Tanjore and the Circars, is 65,948 square miles, very considerably larger than England; and the whole of the Company's dominion, comprehending Bombay and Salsette, amounts to 281,412 square miles; which forms a territory larger than any European dominion, Russia and Turkey excepted. Through all that vast extent of country, there is not a man who eats a mouthful of rice, but by permission of the East-India Company.

So far with regard to the extent. The population of this great empire is not easy to be calculated. When the countries of which it is composed, came into our possession, they were all eminently peopled, and eminently productive; though at that time considerably declined from their ancient prosperity. But since they are come into our hands!—However, if we take the period of our estimate immediately before the utter desolation of the Carnatic, and if we allow for the havock which our government had even then made in those regions, we cannot, in my opinion, rate the population at much less than thirty millions of souls; more than four times the number of persons in the island of Great Britain.

My next inquiry to that of the number, is the quality and description of the inhabitants. This multitude of men does not consist of an abject and barbarous populace, much less of gangs of savages, like the Guaranies and Chiquitos, who wander on the waste borders of the river of Amazons or the Plate; but a people for ages civilised and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life, while we were yet in the woods. There have been (and still the skeletons remain) princes, once of great dignity, authority, and opulence. There are to be found the chiefs of tribes and nations. There is to be found an ancient and venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning, and history, the guides of the people whilst living, and their consolation in death;

a nobility of great antiquity and renown; a multitude of cities, not exceeded in population and trade by those of the first class in Europe; merchants and bankers, individual houses of whom have once vied in capital with the bank of England, whose credit had often supported a tottering state, and preserved their government in the midst of war and desolation; millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanics; millions of the most diligent, and not the least intelligent, tillers of the earth. Here are to be found almost all the religions professed by men; the Braminical, the Musselmen, the Eastern and the Western Christians. If I were to take the whole aggregate of our possessions there, I should compare it, as the nearest parallel I can find, with the Empire of Germany. Our immediate possessions I should compare with the Austrian dominions, and they would not suffer in the comparison. The Nabob of Oude might stand for the King of Prussia. The Nabob of Arcot I would compare, as superior in territory, and equal in revenue, to the Elector of Saxony. Cheyt Sing, the Rajah of Benares, might well rank with the Prince of Hesse, at least; and the Rajah of Tanjore (though hardly equal in extent of dominion, superior in revenue) to the Elector of Bavaria. The Polygars, and the northern Zemindars, and other great Chiefs, might well class with the rest of the Princes, Dukes, Counts, Marquisses, and Bishops, in the Empire; all of whom I mention to honour, and surely without disparagement to any or all of those most respectable Princes and Grandees.

All this vast mass, composed of so many orders and classes of men, is infinitely diversified by manners, by religion, by hereditary employment, through all their possible combinations. This renders the handling of India a matter in a high degree critical and delicate. But oh! it has been handled rudely indeed. Even some of the reformers seem to have forgot that they had any thing to do but to regulate the tenants of a manor, or the shopkeepers of the next county-town.

It is an empire of this extent, of this complicated nature, of this dignity and importance, that I have compared it to Germany, and the German government; not for an exact resemblance, but as a sort of middle term, by which India might be approximated to our understandings, and, if possible, to our feelings; in order to awaken something of sym-

pathy for the unfortunate natives, of which, I am afraid, we are not perfectly susceptible, whilst we look at this very remote object, through a false and cloudy medium. —

(Weiterhin zeigt er, dafs die sogenannten barbarischen Oberherrn Indiens ihre Unterthanen unendlich besser, als die christlichen Europäer behandelt hätten, und sagt:)

The several irruptions of Arabs, Tartars and Persians into India were, for the greater part, ferocious, bloody, and wasteful in the extreme: our entrance into the dominion of that country, was, as generally, with small comparative effusion of blood; being introduced by various frauds and delusions, and by taking advantage of the incurable, blind, and senseless animosity, which the several country powers bear towards each other, rather than by open force. But the difference in favour of the first conquerors is this: the Asiatic conquerors very soon abated of their ferocity, because they made the conquered country their own. They rose or fell with the rise or fall of the territory they lived in. Fathers there deposited the hopes of their posterity; and children there beheld the monuments of their fathers. Here their lot was finally cast; and it is the natural wish of all, that their lot should not be cast in a bad land. Poverty, sterility, and desolation are not a recreating prospect to the eye of man; and there are very few who can bear to grow old among the curses of a whole people. If their passion or their avarice drove the Tartar lords to acts of rapacity or tyranny, there was time enough, even in the short life of man, to bring round the ill effects of an abuse of power upon the power itself. If hoards were made by violence and tyranny, they were still domestic hoards; and domestic profusion, or the rapine of a more powerful and prodigal hand, restored them to the people. With many disorders, and with few political checks upon power, nature had still fair play: the sources of acquisition were not dried up; and therefore the trade, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country flourished. Even avarice and usury itself operated, both for the preservation and the employment of national wealth. The husbandman and manufacturer paid heavy interest, but then they augmented the fund from whence they were again to borrow. Their resources

were dearly bought; but they were sure; and the general stock of the community grew by the general effort.

But under the English government all this order is reversed. The Tartar invasion was mischievous; but it is our protection that destroys India. It was their enmity, but it is our friendship. Our conquest there, after twenty years, is as crude as it was the first day. The natives scarcely know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman. Young men (boys almost) govern there, without society, and without sympathy with the natives. They have no more social habits with the people, than if they still resided in England; nor indeed any species of intercourse but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune, with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another; wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting *). Every rupee **) of profit made by an Englishman is lost for ever to India. With us are no retributory superstitions, by which a foundation of charity compensates through ages, to the poor, for the rapine and injustice of a day. With us no pride erects stately monu-

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*) *Burke deutet auf die Leichtigkeit, mit welcher sich die Bedienten der Ostindischen Compagnie in wenigen Jahren ein ansehnliches Vermögen erwerben. Gewöhnlich (sagt Sprengel in einer Anmerkung zu seiner im historischen Portefeuille von 1784 befindlichen Uebersetzung von Burke's* East-India Bill,) *dient ein junger Engländer zwölf bis funfzehn Jahr, bis er ein Rath oder Mitglied einer der vier Englischen Regierungen oder Präsidentschaften wird. Eine solche Stelle z. B. in Madras, bringt ihrem Inhaber, ohne was er an Sporteln, Accidenzen, durch Handel, oder sonst gewinnt, 16000 Dukaten jährlichen Gehalts. Die jungen Engländer gehen erst als Schreiber in den Dienst der Compagnie. In dieser Stelle bleiben sie fünf Jahre. Hierauf dienen sie drei Jahre als Faktore, und eben so viel Jahre als Unterkaufleute* (junior merchants). *Zuletzt werden sie Oberkaufleute, und rücken nach der Anciennetät in die erledigten Rathsstellen ein. Dergleichen nach Indien gehende junge Leute sind meistens Söhne von Parliamentsgliedern, oder solche, die 18 bis 24000 Thl. für eine Indische Schreiberstelle bezahlen können.* **) Rupee, *eine in Hindostan überall gangbare Münze. Sie beträgt ungefähr in Deutschem Gelde 16–18 Gr. Hunderttausend solche Münzen, nennt man ein* Lac.

ments which repair the mischiefs which pride had produced and which adorn a country out of its own spoils. England has erected no churches, no hospitals, no palaces, no schools; England has built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description has left some monument, either of state or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain, to tell, that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ouran-outang or the tiger.

There is nothing in the boys we send to India worse than the boys whom we are whipping at school, or that we see trailing a pike, or bending over a desk at home. But the English youth in India drink the intoxicating draught of authority and dominion before their heads are able to bear it, and as they are full grown in fortune long before they are ripe in principle, neither nature nor reason have any opportunity to exert themselves for remedy of the excesses of premature power. The consequences of their conduct, which in good minds, (and many of theirs are probably such) might produce penitence or amendment, are unable to pursue the rapidity of their flight. Their prey is lodged in England; and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about, in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean. In India all the vices operate by which sudden fortune is acquired; in England are often displayed, by the same persons, the virtues which dispense hereditary wealth. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the best company in this nation, at a board of elegance and hospitality. Here the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand, that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppressions and his oppressor. They marry into your families; they enter into your senate; they ease your estates by loans; they raise their value by demand; they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy under your patronage; and there is scarcely an house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern and interest that makes all reform of our eastern government appear officious and

disgusting; and, on the whole, a most discouraging attempt. In such an attempt you hurt those who are able to return kindness, or to resent injury. If you succeed, you save those who cannot so much as give you thanks. All these things shew the difficulty of the work we have on hand: but they shew its necessity too. Our Indian government is in its best state a grievance. It is necessary that the correctives should be uncommonly vigorous, and the work of men sanguine, warm, and even impassioned in the cause. But it is an arduous thing to plead against abuses of a power which originates from your own country, and affects those whom we are used to consider as strangers. — —

(Am Schlusse sagt er zum Lobe von Fox folgendes:)

And now having done my duty to the bill, let me say a word to the author. I should leave him to his own noble sentiments, if the unworthy and illiberal language with which he has been treated beyond all example of parliamentary liberty, did not make a few words necessary; not so much in justice to him, as to my own feelings. I must say then, that it will be a distinction honourable to the age, that the rescue of the greatest number of the human race that ever were so grievously oppressed, from the greatest tyranny that was ever exercised, has fallen to the lot of abilities and dispositions equal to the task; that it has fallen to one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the spirit to undertake, and the eloquence to support so great a measure of hazardous benevolence. His spirit is not owing to his ignorance of the state of men and things; he well knows what snares are spread about his path, from personal animosity, from court intrigues and possibly from popular delusion. But he has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never seen. This is the road that all heroes have trod before him. He is traduced and abused for his supposed motives. He will remember, that obloquy is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory; he will remember, that it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph. These thoughts will support a mind, which only exists for honour, under the burthen of temporary reproach. He is doing indeed a great good; such as ra-

rely falls to the lot, and almost as rarely coincides with the desires, of any man. Let him use his time. Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence, where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long, he may do much. But here is the summit. He can never exceed what he does this day. —

2) Old Constitution of France — Consequences of the Revolution *).

You might, if you pleased, have profited of our example, and have given to your recovered freedom a correspondent dignity. Your privileges, though discontinued, were not lost to memory. Your constitution, it is true, whilst you were out of possession, suffered waste and dilapidation; but you possessed in some parts the walls, and in all the foundations of a noble and venerable castle. You might have repaired those walls; you might have built on those old foundations. Your constitution was suspended before it was perfected; but you had the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished. In your old states you possessed that variety of parts corresponding with the various descriptions of which your community was happily composed; you had all that combination, and all that opposition of interests, you had that action and counteraction which, in the natural and in the political world, from the reciprocal struggle of discordant powers, draws out the harmony of the universe. These opposed and conflicting interests, which you considered as so great a blemish in your old and in our present constitution, interpose a salutary check to all precipitate resolutions. They render deliberation a matter not of choice, but of necessity; they make all change a subject of *compromise*, which naturally begets moderation; they produce *temperaments*, preventing the sore evil of harsh, crude, unqualified reformations; and rendering all the headlong exertions of arbitrary power, in the few or in the many, for ever impracticable. Through that diversity of members and interests, general liberty had as many securities as there were separate views in the several orders;

*) Reflections on the Revolution in France etc. in a Letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Paris 1790.

whilst by pressing down the whole by the weight of a real monarchy, the separate parts would have been prevented from warping and starting from their allotted places.

You had all these advantages in your ancient states; but you chose to act as if you had never been moulded into civil society, and had every thing to begin anew. You began ill, because you began by despising every thing that belonged to you. You set up your trade without a capital. If the last generations of your country appeared without much lustre in your eyes, you might have passed them by, and derived your claims from a more early race of ancestors. Under a pious predilection for those ancestors, your imaginations would have realized in them a standard of virtue and wisdom, beyond the vulgar practice of the hour: and you would have risen with the example to whose imitation you aspired. Respecting your forefathers, you would have been taught to respect yourselves. You would not have chosen to consider the French as a people of yesterday, as a nation of low-born servile wretches until the emancipating year of 1789. In order to furnish, at the expence of your honour, an excuse to your apologists here for several enormities of yours, you would not have been content to be represented as a gang of Maroon slaves, suddenly broke loose from the house of bondage, and therefore to be pardoned for your abuse of the liberty to which you were not accustomed, and ill fitted. Would it not, my worthy friend, have been wiser to have you thought, what I, for one, always thought you, a generous and gallant nation, long misled to your disadvantage by your high and romantic sentiments of fidelity, honour, and loyalty; that events had been unfavourable to you, but that you were not enslaved through any illiberal or servile disposition; that in your most devoted submission, you were actuated by a principle of public spirit, and that it was your country you worshipped, in the person of your king? Had you made it to be understood, that in the delusion of this amiable error you had gone further than your wise ancestors: that you were resolved to resume your ancient privileges, whilst you preserved the spirit of your ancient and your recent loyalty and honour; or, if diffident of yourselves, and not clearly discerning the almost obliterated constitution of your ancestors, you had looked to your neighbours in this land, who had kept alive the ancient principles and models of the old common law of

Europe meliorated and adapted to its present state — by following wise examples you would have given new examples of wisdom to the world. You would have rendered the cause of liberty venerable in the eyes of every worthy mind in every nation. You would have shamed despotism from the earth, by shewing that freedom was not only reconcileable, but as, when well disciplined, it is auxiliary to law. You would have had an unoppressive but a productive revenue. You would have had a flourishing commerce to feed it. You would have had a free constitution; a potent monarchy; a disciplined army; a reformed and venerated clergy; a mitigated but spirited nobility, to lead your virtue, not to overlay it; you would have had a liberal order of commons, to emulate and to recruit that nobility; you would have had a protected, satisfied, laborious, and obedient people, taught to seek and to recognize the happiness that is to be found by virtue in all conditions; in which consists the true moral equality of mankind, and not in that monstrous fiction, which, by inspiring false ideas and vain expectations into men destined to travel in the obscure walk of laborious life, serves only to aggravate and imbitter that real inequality, which it never can remove; and which the order of civil life establishes as much for the benefit of those whom it must leave in an humble state, as those whom it is able to exalt to a condition more splendid, but not more happy. You had a smooth and easy career of felicity and glory laid open to you, beyond any thing recorded in the history of the world; but you have shewn that difficulty is good for man.

Compute your gains: see what is not by those extravagant and presumptuous speculations which have taught your leaders despise all their predecessors, and all their contemporaries, and even to despise themselves, until the moment in which they became truly despicable. By following those false lights, France has brought undisguised calamities at a higher price than any nation has purchased the most unequivocal blessings! France has bought poverty by crime! France has not sacrificed her virtue to her interest; but she has abandoned her interest, that she might prostitute her virtue. All other nations have begun the fabric of a new government, or the reformation of an old, by establishing originally, or by enforcing with greater exactness some rites or religion. All other people have laid the foundations of civil freedom in severer man-

ners, and a system of a more austere and masculine morality. France, when she let loose the reins of regal authority, doubled the licence, of a ferocious dissoluteness in manners, and of an insolent irreligion in opinions and practices; and has extended through all ranks of life, as if she were communicating some privilege, or laying open some secluded benefit, all the unhappy corruptions that usually were the disease of wealth and power. This is one of the new principles of equality in France.

France, by the perfidy of her leaders, has utterly disgraced the tone of lenient council in the cabinets of princes, and disarmed it of its most potent topics. She has sanctified the dark suspicious maxims of tyranneous distrust; and taught kings to tremble at (what will hereafter be called) the delusive plausibilities, of moral politicians. Sovereigns will consider those who advise them to place an unlimited confidence in their people, as subverters of their thrones; as traitors who aim at their destruction, by leading their easy good nature, under specious pretences, to admit combinations of bold and faithless men into a participation of their power. This alone (if there were nothing else) is an irreparable calamity to you and to mankind. Remember that your parliament of Paris told your king, that in calling the states together, he had nothing to fear but the prodigal excess of their zeal in providing for the support of the throne. It is right that these men should hide their heads. It is right that they should bear their part in the ruin which their counsel has brought on their sovereign and their country. Such sanguine declarations tend to lull authority asleep; to encourage it rashly to engage in perilous adventures of untried policy; to neglect those provisions, preparations, and precautions, which distinguish benevolence from imbecility; and without which no man can answer for the salutary effect of any abstract plan of government or of freedom. For want of these, they have seen the medicine of the state corrupted into its poison. They have seen the French rebel against a mild and lawful monarch, with more fury, outrage, and insult, than ever any people has been known to rise against the most illegal usurper, or the most sanguinary tyrant. Their resistance was made to concession; their revolt was from protection; their blow was aimed at a hand holding out graces, favours, and immunities.

This was unnatural. The rest is in order. They have found their punishment in their success. Laws overturned; tribunals subverted; industry without vigour; commerce expiring; the revenue unpaid, ye the people impoverished; a church pillaged, and a state not relieved; civil and military anarchy made the constitution of the kingdom; every thing human and divine sacrificed to the idol of public credit, and national bankruptcy the consequence; and to crown all, the paper securities of new, precarious, tottering power, the discredited paper securities of impoverished fraud, and beggared rapine, held out as a currency for the support of an empire, in lieu of the two great recognized species that represent the lasting conventional credit of mankind, which disappeared and hid themselves in the earth from whence they came, when the principle of property, whose creatures and representatives they are, was systematically subverted.

Were all these dreadful things necessary? were they the inevitable results of the desperate struggle of determined patriots, compelled to wade through blood and tumult, to the quiet shore of a tranquil and prosperous liberty? No! nothing like it. The fresh ruins of France, which shock our feelings wherever we can turn our eyes, are not the devastation of civil war; they are the sad but instructive monuments of rash and ignorant counsel in time of profound peace. They are the display of inconsiderate and presumptuous, because unresisted and irresistible authority. The persons who have thus squandered away the precious treasure of their crimes, the persons who have made this prodigal and wild waste of public evils (the last stake reserved for the ultimate ransom of the state) have met in their progress with little, or rather with no opposition at all. Their whole march was more like a triumphal procession than the progress of a war. Their pioneers have gone before them, and demolished and laid every thing level at their feet. Not one drop of *their* blood have they shed in the cause of the country they have ruined. They have made no sacrifices to their projects of greater consequence than their shoe-buckles, whilst they were imprisoning their king, murdering their fellow-citizens, and bathing in tears, and plunging in poverty and distress, thousands of worthy men and worthy families. Their cruelty has not even been the base result of fear. It has been the effect of their sense of perfect safety, in authorizing treasons, robberies,

rapes, assassinations, slaughters, and burnings throughout their harassed land.

JUNIUS.

Unter diesem Namen ist noch bis jetzt der Verfasser einer Reihe von Briefen über politische Gegenstände verborgen, deren erster to the printer of the public Advertiser *vom 21sten Januar* 1769, *der letzte* to the right honourable Lord Camden *(ohne Angabe des Datums), der vorletzte aber* to the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield *vom 21sten Januar 1772, datirt ist. Sie enthalten eine strenge, wiewohl, selbst nach dem Urtheil einiger Mitglieder der Opposition, nicht ganz unparteiische Rüge der Verbrechen der damaligen Staatsverwaltung, sind mit vieler Sachkenntniſs abgefaſst, und gehören in Rücksicht des Styls zu den Meisterwerken der Englischen Prose. Eben deſshalb machten sie bei ihrer Erscheinung eine unglaubliche Sensation, und die Regierung wollte den Verfasser derselben zur Verantwortung ziehen. Herr von Archenholtz erzählt in seinem Werke: England und Italien 1ster Theil S. 60. diesen Vorfall folgendergestalt: „Woodfall, Drukker des* Public Advertiser, *der besten Zeitung in London, hatte* 1770 *einen harten Kampf wegen der berühmten Junius-Briefe, die, mit einer groſsen Kühnheit, Wahrheit und eine hinreiſsende Beredsamkeit verbanden. Ganz England nahm Antheil an dieser Sache, und die berühmtesten Redner traten dabei auf. Es kam hier nicht blos auf die Vertheidigung eines Menschen, sondern auf die Vorrechte eines jeden Engländers an, freimüthig seine Meinung über die öffentlichen Angelegenheiten mündlich und schriftlich zu sagen. Woodfall wurde losgesprochen, und der Prozeſs geendigt, ohne daſs der beredte Verfasser bekannt wurde, dessen Name auch bis diesen Augenblick ein undurchdringliches Geheimniſs ist. Der Drucker allein weiſs ihn, denn dieser Brief war nicht von einer solchen Art, heimlich in den Briefkasten geworfen zu werden *). Viele Kunstrichter halten ihn für das eleganteste*

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*) *Man pflegt, sagt Herr von Archenholtz an einem andern Orte, diejenigen für die Englischen Zeitungen bestimmten*

Produkt der Englischen Prosa. Einige darin vorkommende besondere Redensarten und Wendungen haben die Vermuthung veranlaſst, daſs niemand anders als der berühmte Burke *dieser verkappte* Junius *sey.*" *Die Vermuthung welche Herr* von Archenholtz *äuſsert, hat sich freilich bisher noch nicht bestätigt, indessen sind doch viele der Meinung, daſs* Richard Burke, *ein jüngerer Bruder von* Edmund Burke, *jedoch nicht ohne thätigen Beistand des letztern, diese berühmten Briefe geschrieben habe. Nach andern rühren sie von einem gewissen* Hugh Boyd *(gest. den 19ten Oct. 1794 im 48sten Jahre seines Alters) her *), welches indessen das Buch* the Indian observer, by the late Hugh Boyd Esq. with the life of the author and some miscellaneous poems by Laur. Dundas Campbell, London 1798, *eben nicht zu bestätigen scheint. Ob die Nachricht in der Allgemeinen Zeitung von* 1800 *Nro.* 120, *daſs auf einem Schiffe aus Ostindien das ächte Manuscript der* Junius-*Briefe nach England gekommen sey, einige Glaubwürdigkeit verdiene, können wir nicht entscheiden. Eine neuere Vermuthung nennt als Verfasser derselben den* John Dunning, *nachmaligen Lord* Ashburton **), *und die neueste, nicht ganz unwahrscheinliche ist, daſs es der berühmte Verfasser des* Leonidas, *der Dichter* Glover, *sey ***). Die Briefe des* Junius *sind öfters gedruckt. Eine sehr splendide Ausgabe ist folgende:* Junius. Stat nominis umbra. II. Vol. London, printed by T. K. Bensley, for Vernor and Hood, 1797, *mit einem,* Edmund Burke *vorstellenden, Titelkupfer, und vielen andern schönen Bildnissen berühmter Personen, auch saubern, zu Vignetten dienenden, Holzschnitten. Voran steht eine* Dedication to the English nation, *nebst einer Vorrede. Die Briefe selbst sind an den* Public Ad-

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Aufsätze, deren Gegenstand die öffentlichen Angelegenheiten, oder sonst das Publikum interessirende Vorfälle betreffen, ohne Bezahlung einzurücken, und sie gewöhnlich von der Straſse aus durch eine Oeffnung in den im Hause befindlichen Briefkasten zu werfen, so daſs der Briefsteller ganz unbekannt bleibt. *) *Eine Biographie dieses in anderer Rücksicht merkwürdigen Mannes s. im Intell. Blatt der Allgem. Lit. Zeit. Nro.* 109. *von* 1801. **) *Man sehe hierüber* Wendeborn's *Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben, Hamburg* 1813, *Seite* 181. ***) *Die Schrift, welche die letztere Conjectur näher erörtert, führt den Titel:* An Inquiry concerning the author of the letters of Junius, with reference to the Memoirs of a celebrated literary and political character. London 1814, 8. *Diese* Memoirs *werden* Glovern *gleichfalls zugeschrieben.*

vertiser, *an den Herzog von Bedford, William Draper etc. gerichtet. Von der, mit kritischen und historischen Noten versehenen Ausgabe der Junius-Briefe, welche der Schottische Geschichtschreiber Heron in London unter dem Titel herausgegeben hat:* The letters of Junius with notes and illustrations by Robert Heron Esq. London, Symonds 1804, 2d Edition, *haben wir bei dem hier mitgetheilten Probestück keinen Gebrauch machen können. — Übrigens hat man auch eine, jedoch nur sehr mittelmäſsige, Deutsche Übersetzung dieser Briefe, unter dem doppelten Titel: Briefe über den jetzigen Zustand von Groſsbritannien, und die Briefe des Junius, nach der zwoten ächten und vermehrten Ausgabe aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Mitau und Leipzig,* 1776. 8.

Letter addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

21 January 1769.

Sir,

The submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, chearful, and I might almost say unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment to see such a temper insulted and abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery

to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves!

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion; and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of inquiry. Let us enter into it with candor and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers: and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities, and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious sovereign *) ascended the throne **), we were a flourishing and a contended people. If the personal virtues of a king could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose

*) *George III.* **) *Den 25 Okt. 1760.*

from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces; it was not a natural turn for low intrigue; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety, in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes *), we are reduced to that state which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress which, of itself, ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder, but the physician; — it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

The **) finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman ***) already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident; but, deserting the principles and professions which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said, perhaps, that it is his Grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to dis-

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*) *Seit dem Regierungsantritt des Königs war Grafton's Administration die 5te.* **) The duke of Grafton took the office of Secretary of State with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. He resigned, however, in a little time under pretence that he could not act without Lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned; but that under lord Chatham he would act in *any* office. This was the signal of lord Rockingham's dismission. When lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the Treasury. Reader, mark the consequence! ***) Aug. Fitzroy Duke of Grafton, Secretary of State *vom Julius* 1765 — 1766, First Lord of the Treasury *August* 1766 — 1770, Lord Privy Seal *Jun.* 1771 — 1775, *wiederum März* 1782 — 1783.

tribute than to save the public money, and that while Lord North *) is Chancellor of the Exchequer, the first Lord of the Treasury **) may be as thoughtless and extravagant as he pleases. I hope, however, he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord North's genius for finance. His Lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities. It may be candid to suppose that he has hitherto voluntarily concealed his talents; intending, perhaps, to astonish the world, when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequences before he ventures to increase the public debt. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years peace ***), to see new millions borrowed, without an eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list ****) the people of England expects that it will not be paid without a strict inquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may, perhaps, be allowable; but, besides that it is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the royal dignity to have the debts of a king provided for like the repairs of a country bridge, or a decayed hospital. The management of

*) Frederic Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer *Sept.* 1767, First Lord of the Treasury *und* Chancellor of the Exchequer *Jan.* 1770 — 1782, Secretary of State *vom April bis Dez.* 1783. Earl of Guildford 1790, *gest. im Aug.* 1792. **) *Der Herzog von Grafton.* ***) *Seit* 1763. ****) Civil list. *So heisst die Summe von* 900,000 *l. welche der König von England jährlich erhält, und aus welcher er die Kosten zur Unterhaltung seiner Familie, seiner Minister etc. und was er an Gnadengehalten bewilligt, bezahlt. Wegen Schulden, welche der König ausserdem macht, wendet er sich an das Parliament.*

the king's affairs in the House of Commons cannot be more disgraced than it has been *). A leading minister, repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance; — ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn; — deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate, idea of Lord North's parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune of being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies, nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures has alienated the colonies **) from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville ***) was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former success had made indispensable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the expences of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise the contribution. But, unfortunately for his country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. Pitt ****) and Lord Camden †) were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while, perhaps, they meant no more than a ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made ††);

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*) This happened frequently to poor Lord North. **) *Die Amerikanischen Colonien.* ***) George Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury *und* Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 1763 — 1765, *gest. Nov.* 1770. ****) Yet Junius has been called the partisan of Lord Chatham. †) Charles Pratt Lord Camden *war* Lord Chancellor 1766 — 1770, *bekleidete noch verschiedene andere Würden, und starb im April* 1794. ††) *Nämlich unter Grenville's Ministerium wurde den 22sten März 1765 eine Akte gegeben, wodurch Stempelpapier in die Kolonien eingeführt wurde.*

under the second *) it is repealed; under the third **) in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion ***). In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hilsborough called forth at a most critical season, to govern America ****). The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches as far as they have appeared, let his measures, as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition †) which considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may, perhaps, be spared

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*) *Unter Rockingham's Administration wurde dieselbe den 18ten Mai 1766 wieder aufgehoben.* **) *Unter Grafton's Administration:* ***) *Vermuthlich die Frage, ob das Englische Parlament die Souverainitätsrechte über die Kolonien und auch das Schatzungsrecht habe.* ****) *Lord Hilsborough erhielt im März 1768 das neuerrichtete Staatssekretariat für die Amerikanischen Kolonien, und der allgemeinen Meinung nach hat die despotische Härte dieses Mannes viel zum Abfall der Amerikanischen Kolonien beigetragen. (Mangelsdorf's Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, 5tes Heft, S. 254). Lord Hilsborough starb im Oktober* 1793. †) That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it.

to support the Earl of Hilsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismission of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office *). Lord Rochford **) was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern courts; lord Weymouth ***) was equally qualified for either department ****). By what unaccountable caprice has it happened that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties

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*) *Der Staatssekretär des nördlichen Departements hatte sonst die Angelegenheiten mit den Niederlanden, Deutschland, Dännemark, Schweden, Rufsland und (ehemals auch) mit Polen zu besorgen; dem Staatssekretär für das südliche Departement lagen die Geschäfte mit Frankreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Spanien, Portugal und der Türkei ob Ein dritter Staatssekretär war der auf der vorigen Seite erwähnte für Amerika. (Mangelsdorfs allgemeine Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, 5tes Heft, S. 304). Jetzt heifst das nördliche Departement* Home Department, *das südliche* Foreign Department, *und das Amerikanische* War Department. **) W. H. Nassau Earl of Rochford, Secretary of State 1768 — 1775, *gestorben im September* 1781. ***) Tho. Thynne Viscount Weymouth, Lord Lieut. of Ireland *vom April bis Aug.* 1765, *Staatssekretär von* 1768 — 1770, *gestorben im November* 1796. ****) It was pretended that the Earl of Rochford, while ambassador in France, had quarrelled with the Duke of Choiseul, and that therefore he was appointed to the northern Department out of compliment to the French minister. —

in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor furious spirit of the house of Bedford: no, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate on which, for aught he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment *).

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the commander in chief **), at the expence of his understanding. They who love him least make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of Manners ***); and, neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favorites and dependants; the present commander in chief is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independance of a man of spirit, not the servile humiliating complaisance of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of commander in chief into a broker of commissions?

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Hawke ****), that no ex-

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*) *Es ist wahrscheinlich von dem Befehl die Rede, die Truppen vorrücken zu lassen, um den Aufruhr zu stillen, den* Wilkes *veranlasst hatte.* **) John Manners Marquis of Granby, *gestorben im Oktober* 1770. ***) *Lord* Granby *war von der Familie* Manners. ****) Sir Edw. Hawke, first Lord of the Admiralty, *Dez.* 1766 *bis* 1771. *Lord* Hawke 1776. *gestorben im Oktober* 1781.

pence should be spared to secure to him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is, perhaps, the firmest bond to secure a chearful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right or wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniar corruption. Jefferies *) himself, when the court had no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge under the influence of government may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported only by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify. The facts, on which these remarks are founded, are too notorious to require an application **).

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view behold a nation

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*) *Jefferies, Ober-Richter, nachmals Kanzler unter Jacob II., zeigte sich insonderheit bei Bestrafung der Theilnehmer an der Empörung des Herzogs von Monmouth, Karl's des Zweiten natürlichen Sohns, sehr grausam.* **) *Die Rede ist von dem berühmten Wilkes, dem Verfasser des* North-Briton, *einer periodischen Schrift, in welcher er die ganze Regierung des Königs angriff. Die Staatssekretäre liefsen ihn einsetzen, ohne in dem Verhaftsbefehl seinen Namen genannt zu haben. Man vergleiche des Hrn. von Archenholtz England und Italien. S. 70. u. ff.*

overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her colonies alienated; the duty of the magistrates transferred to the soldiery; a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits of but one addition — that we are governed by counsels from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death.

If, by the immediate interposition of Providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom: they will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, a Lord North Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Weymouth and a Hillsborough Secretaries of State, a Granby Commander in chief, and a Mansfield chief criminal Judge of the kingdom.

BLAIR.

HUGH BLAIR *wurde den 7ten April 1718 zu Edinburgh, wo sein Vater ein angesehener Kaufmann war, geboren. Er widmete sich dem geistlichen Stande, nicht sowohl wegen der glänzenden Belohnungen, welche seiner warteten, — denn die Schottischen Pfarrstellen waren nie sehr einträglich, — als vielmehr aus Neigung und wegen des Ansehens, in welchem damals die Geistlichen bei ihren Gemeinen standen. Nachdem er die erste wissenschaftliche Bildung von seinem Vater erhalten, und sich hiernächst in einer benachbarten Schule gute Kenntnisse in der Griechischen, und der damals ganz unentbehrlichen Lateinischen Sprache erworben hatte, — denn die Professoren bedienten sich der letztern bei ihren Vorlesungen und bei Prüfungen, — bezog er die hohe Schule zu Edinburgh.*

Hier zeichnete er sich bald durch Fleiſs und glückliche Fortschritte aus. Er schränkte indessen seine Studien nicht auf die Theologie ein, sondern widmete noch manche Stunde der Lektüre des Tatler, Spectator, Guardian, *Pope, Addison u. a. m. Um diese Zeit verfertigte er mit seinem Freunde Bonnatine ein Gedicht über die Erlösung. Er hielt es nicht der Bekanntmachung werth; ein Englischer Doktor, Douglas, lieſs es aber in der Folge prachtvoll drucken, und war unverschämt genug, es für seine eigne Arbeit auszugeben, und einer Person aus der königl. Familie zu widmen. Nachdem Blair seine theologischen Studien vollendet hatte, ward er Licentiat der Gottesgelahrtheit. Da er sich durch die Unbescholtenheit seiner Sitten, und durch rednerische Talente vorzüglich auszeichnete, so ertheilte man ihm 1742 die Pfarre zu Colessie in Fileshire. Die Sorgfalt, welche er hier fortdauernd auf seine Predigten wandte, machten dieselben bald über die Gränzen seines Dorfes bekannt; ihn selbst hörte man gern, da er vielen Anstand, eine edle Bescheidenheit, einen geziemenden Ernst und eine, wenn gleich nicht sehr einnehmende, doch deutliche Stimme besaſs. Man berief ihn deshalb (1743) nach Edinburgh als Prediger bei der Kirche von Canongade. Vor der gebildeten Gemeinde, welche er hier vorfand, hielt er viele der nachmals durch den Druck bekannt gemachten Predigten. In Schottland blühten um diese Zeit viele sehr berühmte Männer: Hutcheson lehrte Moralphilosophie in Glasgow; Thomas Blackwell war zu derselben Zeit der Stolz der Schule zu Aberdeen; Adam Smith hielt, von dem berühmten Henry Home Lord Kaims unterstützt und aufgemuntert, Vorlesungen über Rhetorik und schöne Wissenschaften, und Robertson und David Hume gaben ihrem Vaterlande durch ihre Schriften Licht und Glanz. Solche Männer konnten einen jungen thätigen Mann, wie Blair damals war, ermuntern, den Umfang seiner Studien zu erweitern. Er that es, studierte von nun an eifriger Philosophie, und verband damit die Lektüre vieler Französischen und Römischen Schriftsteller, des Montesquieu, Rollin u. a. m., vorzüglich aber die des Cicero und Quintilian. Nachdem Adam Smith als Professor der Logik nach Glasgow gegangen war, ersuchten die zu Edinburgh Studierenden unsern Blair, die Vorlesungen seines Freundes über Rhetorik und Styl fortzusetzen. Er erfüllte ihren Wunsch, und erwarb sich einen ausnehmend groſsen Beifall. Dies veranlaſste die Vorsteher der Universität, sich für unsern Blair um die*

Stiftung eines neuen Lehrstuhls der Rhetorik und schönen Wissenschaften bei Hofe zu verwenden. Ihr Gesuch ward erfüllt, und **Blair** *erhielt zugleich als* Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University, *ein ansehnliches Gehalt; einige Zeit darauf ertheilte man ihm auch die erste Pfarrstelle zu Edinburgh. Auf vieles Bitten seiner Freunde schickte er einen Band seiner Predigten dem Buchhändler* **Strahan** *in London zu. Dieser zeigte sie dem berühmten* **Johnson**, *und da sie dessen Beifall erhielten, kaufte sie ihm* **Strahan** *um ein geringes Honorar ab. Das Publikum nahm sie mit vorzüglichem Beifall auf.* **Lord Mansfield**, *welcher gleichfalls zu den Bewunderern unsers Redners gehörte, machte die Königinn auf diese Predigten aufmerksam, und diese setzte unserm* **Blair** *ein Jahrgehalt von* 200 l. *aus. (Sie sind sehr oft gedruckt worden, unter andern London* 1777 — 80. 2 Vol. 8. *Eine gute Deutsche Übersetzung haben wir von Sack, Theil* 1—4, *Leipzig* 1781. 8. *Der 5te Theil, vor welchem sich eine nach* **Finlayson** *bearbeitete Biographie des Verfassers befindet, ist von* **Schleiermacher** *übersetzt, Leipzig* 1802. 8.). *Für den 3ten und 4ten Bd. der Predigten erhielt er* 2000 l. *Honorar; das Original des 5ten Bandes erschien erst* 1801, *London, Strahan. Das Manuscript seiner Vorlesungen über die Rhetorik und schönen Wissenschaften bezahlten ihm die Buchhändler* **Cadell** *und* **Strahan** *mit* 1500 l. *Dieses Werk erregte sehr viel Sensation; man veranstaltete viele Ausgaben davon, von denen wir die prächtige:* Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres by Hugh Blair. 2 Vol. 4. London 1783 *vor uns haben), und übersetzte es in die meisten Europäischen Sprachen. Eine gute Deutsche Übersetzung ist von* **Schreiter**, *in* 4 *Bänden in* 8. *Liegnitz und Leipzig* 1785 *unter dem Titel: Hugo* **Blair's** *Vorlesungen über Rhetorik und schöne Wissenschaften, aus dem Englischen übersetzt, und mit einigen Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet, herausgegeben worden. Aufser diesen beiden Hauptwerken hat man von* **Hugh Blair** *auch:* Critical Dissertation on the poems of Ossian, the son of Fingal, 1762. 4. *Von der Veranlassung zu dieser Schrift, so wie überhaupt von den Verdiensten unsers* **Blair** *um die Gedichte* **Ossian's** *wird im zweiten Theile dieses Handbuchs unter dem Artikel* **Macpherson** *die Rede seyn. — Wir füllen diesen, aus dem 1sten Bande des 2ten Stücks der Englischen Miscellen, dem Intelligenz-Blatte der Allg. Lit. Zeit. von* 1801. *No.* 92. *und dem* Short account of H. Blair's Life and Cha-

racter by J. Finlayson *entlehnten Nachrichten noch folgende Charakterschilderung dieses Mannes aus den* public Characters Vol. III., *einem Werke, wovon weiter unten Nachricht ertheilt werden wird, hinzu; daselbst heifst es von ihm:* „Moderation, discretion, assiduity, chearfulness, benignity, uprightness, fervent and rational piety, a sensibility to honourable and deserved applause, that makes him enjoy yet without vanity or undue exultation, that fame which has so justly crowned his merits, are the most remarkable qualities of his character. He is reverenced as the ornament, the pride of the city in which he dwells, of his country on which he has reflected so much literary glory. When providence shall remove him to a better world, as his life has long proved itself a national blessing, so his death will be lamented as a public calamity." *Blair starb den 27sten Dezember 1800. In einem im zweiten Stücke des Deutschen Merkur von 1801 abgedruckten, und aus Edinburgh den 14ten Januar desselben Jahres datirten Schreiben wird bei dieser Gelegenheit gesagt: „Schottland hat vor kurzem eine seiner gröfsten Zierden verloren, den berühmten Dr. Blair,* Professor emeritus *der Universität Edinburgh. Seine Predigten und seine Vorlesungen über die Rhetorik haben auch in allerlei Nachdrücken und Übersetzungen auf dem Kontinent grofses Glück gemacht. In England haben sie 25 Ausgaben erlebt! Von den Predigten wurde jetzt unter seinen Augen noch am 5ten Theil gedruckt, welcher in wenig Wochen fertig seyn wird. Ich sprach den ehrwürdigen Greis noch wenig Tage vor seinem Tode, wo er sich eben mit einem Briefe beschäfftigte, den er an den würdigen Übersetzer seiner Predigten, den O. C. R. Sack in Berlin, schreiben wollte. Ich kannte den Dr. Blair seit zwölf Jahren, und fand nie einen bescheidnern, sanftern und harmlosern Mann. Literarischer Ruf war ihm allerdings ein höchstbegehrungswürdiges Gut, und er sprach gern von seinen Werken und den schönen Tagen, wo ihn zuerst die Fama mit Trompetenschall verkündigte. Darum haben ihn nun die Gegner der Eitelkeit angeklagt. Aber die fast kindliche Naivität und Anspruchlosigkeit, womit er das alles vorbrachte, nahm dieser Äufserung alles Widrige des Selbstlobes und Niemand verliefs den zwei und achtzigjährigen Greis, der nicht von seiner Unterhaltung bezaubert gewesen wäre. Besafs irgend jemand die stille Heiterkeit eines mit sich selbst zufriedenen Gewissens und jenen unbewölkten Sonnenschein der Seele, so war Er es; und seine Miene versprach, was seine Seele hielt.*

Denken Sie sich den ehrwürdigen Spalding, wie wir ihn im Jahre 1797 in Charlottenburg besuchten, und Sie haben das vollkommene Ebenbild des verewigten Blair."

1) Historical view of the English Language; its irregularities accounted for; its copiousness; compared with the French Language *).

The language which is, at present, spoken throughout Great Britain, is neither the antient primitive speech of the island, nor derived from it; but is altogether of foreign origin. The language of the first inhabitants of our island, beyond doubt, was the Celtic, or Gallic, common to them with Gaul; from which country, it appears, by many circumstances, that Great Britain was peopled. This Celtic Tongue, which is said to be very expressive and copious, and is, probably, one of the most antient languages in the world, obtained once in most of the western regions of Europe. It was the language of Gaul, of Great Britain, of Ireland, and, very probably, of Spain also; till, in the course of those revolutions, which, by means of the conquests, first, of the Romans, and afterwards, of the northern nations, changed the government, speech, and, in a manner, the whole face of Europe, this tongue was gradually obliterated; and now subsists only in the mountains of Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and among the wild Irish. For the Irish, the Welch, and the Erse, are no other than different dialects of the same tongue, the antient Celtic.

This, then, was the language of the primitive Britons, the first inhabitants, that we know of, in our island; and continued so till the arrival of the Saxons in England, in the year of our Lord 450; who, having conquered the Britons, did not intermix with them, but expelled them from their habitations, and drove them, together with their language, into the mountains of Wales. The Saxons were one of those northern nations that overran Europe; and their tongue, a dialect of the Gothic or Teutonic, altogether distinct from the Celtic laid the foundation of the present English tongue. With some intermixture of Danish, a language,

*) Lectures on Rhetoric, etc. Lect. IX.

probably, from the same root with the Saxon, it continued to be spoken throughout the southern part of the island, till the time of William the Conqueror *). He introduced his Norman or French as the language of the court, which made a considerable change in the speech of the nation; and the English, which was spoken afterwards, and continues to be spoken now, is a mixture of the antient Saxon, and this Norman French, together with such new and foreign words as commerce and learning have, in progress of time, gradually introduced.

The history of the English language can, in this manner, be clearly traced. The language spoken in the low countries of Scotland, is now, and has been for many centuries, no other than a dialect of the English. How, indeed, or by what steps, the antient Celtic tongue came to be banished from the low countries in Scotland, and to make its retreat into the Highlands and Islands, cannot be so well pointed out, as how the like revolution was brought about in England. Whether the southernmost part of Scotland was once subject to the Saxons, and formed a part of the kingdom of Northumberland; or, whether the great number of English exiles that retreated into Scotland, upon the Norman conquest, and upon other occasions, introduced into that country their own language, which afterwards, by the mutual intercourse of the two nations, prevailed over the Celtic, are uncertain and contested points, the discussion of which would lead us too far from our subject.

From what has been said, it appears, that the Teutonic dialect is the basis of our present speech. It has been imported among us in three different forms, the Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman; all which have mingled together in our language. A very great number of our words too, are plainly derived from the Latin. These, we had not directly from the Latin, but most of them, it is probable, entered into our tongue through the channel of that Norman French, which William the Conqueror introduced. For, as

*) *Wilhelm der Eroberer, Herzog von der Normandie, wurde 1027 geboren. Durch die blutige Schlacht bei Hastings setzte er sich 1066, nach dem Tode Eduard's des Bekenners, in den Besitz des Englischen Throns. Er starb den 10ten September 1087, nachdem er 21 Jahre über England geherrscht hatte.*

the Romans had long been in full possession of Gaul, the language spoken in that country, when it was invaded by the Franks and Normans, was a sort of corrupted Latin, mingled with Celtic, to which was given the name of Romanshe: and as the Franks and Normans did not, like the Saxons in England, expel the inhabitants, but, after their victories, mingled with them; the language of the country became a compound of the Teutonic dialect imported by these conquerors, and of the former corrupted Latin. Hence, the French language has always continued to have a very considerable affinity with the Latin; and hence, a great number of words of Latin origin, which were in use among the Normans in France, were introduced into our tongue at the conquest; to which, indeed, many have since been added, directly from the Latin, in consequence of the great diffusion of Roman literature throughout all Europe.

From the influx of so many streams, from the junction of so many dissimilar parts, it naturally follows, that the English, like every compounded language, must needs be somewhat irregular. We cannot expect from it that correspondence of parts, that complete analogy in structure, which may be found in those simpler languages, which have been formed in a manner within themselves, and built on one foundation. Hence it has but small remains of conjugation or declension; and its syntax is narrow, as there are few marks in the words themselves that can show their relation to each other, or, in the grammatical style, point out either their concordance, or their government, in the sentence. Our words having been brought to us from several different regions, straggle, if we may so speak, asunder from each other; and do not coalesce so naturally in the structure of a sentence, as the words in the Greek and Roman tongues.

But these disadvantages, if they be such, of a compound language, are balanced by other advantages that attend it; particularly, by the number and variety of words with which such a language is likely to be enriched. Few languages are, in fact, more copious than the English. In all grave subjects especially, historical, critical, political, and moral, no writer has the least reason to complain of the barrenness of our tongue. The studious reflecting genius of the people, has brought together great store of expressions, on such subjects, from every quarter. We are rich too in the language

of poetry. Our poetical style differs widely from prose, not in point of numbers only, but in the very words themselves; which shows what a stock and compass of words we have it in our power to select and employ, suited to those different occasions. Herein we are infinitely superior to the French, whose poetical language, if it were not distinguished by rhyme, would not be known to differ from their ordinary prose.

It is chiefly, indeed, on grave subjects, and with respect to the stronger emotions of the mind, that our language displays its power of expression. We are said to have thirty words, at least, for denoting all the varieties of the passion of anger *). But, in describing the more delicate sentiments and emotions, our tongue is not so fertile. It must be confessed, that the French language surpasses ours, by far, in expressing the nicer shades of character; especially those varieties of manner, temper, and behaviour, which are displayed in our social intercourse with one another. Let any one attempt to translate, into English, only a few pages of one of Marivaux's Novels **), and he will soon be sensible of our deficiency of expression on these subjects. Indeed, no language, is so copious as the French, for whatever is delicate, gay, and amusing. It is, perhaps, the happiest language for conversation in the known world; but, on the higher subjects of composition, the English may be justly esteemed to excel it considerably.

2) A few directions concerning the proper method of attaining a good style in general ***).

The first direction which I give for this purpose is, to study clear ideas on the subject concerning which we are to write or speak. This is a direction which may at first appear to have small relation to style. Its relation to it, however, is

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*) Anger, wrath, passion, rage, fury, outrage, fierceness, sharpness, animosity, choler, resentment, heat, heart-burning; to fume, storm, inflame, be incensed; to vex, kindle, irritate, enrage, exasperate, provoke, fret; to be sullen, hasty, hot, rough, sour, peevish, etc. Preface to Greenwood's Grammar.

) *P. C. de Marivaux, geb.* 1688, *gest.* 1763, *Verfasser verschiedener guter Romane, z. B. des* Paysan parvenu, *der* Vie de Marianne, *des* Philosophe indigent etc. *und mehrerer dramatischen Stücke.* *) Lectures on Rhetoric etc. Lect. XIX.

extremely close. The foundation of all good style, is good sense accompanied with a lively imagination. The style and thoughts of a writer are so intimately connected, that, as I have several times hinted, it is frequently hard to distinguish them. Wherever the impressions of things upon our minds are faint and indistinct, or perplexed and confused, our style in treating of such things will infallibly be so too. Whereas, what we conceive clearly and feel strongly, we will naturally express with clearness and with strength. This, then, we may be assured, is a capital rule as to style, to think closely of the subject, till we have attained a full and distinct view of the matter which we are to clothe in words, till we become warm and interested in it; then, and not till then, shall we find expression begin to flow. Generally speaking, the best and most proper expressions, are those which a clear view of the subject suggests, without much labour or enquiry after them. This is Quinctilian's observation, Lib. VIII. c. 1. „*Plerumque optima verba rebus cohærent, et cernuntur suo* „*lumine. At nos quærimus illa, tanquam lateant seque sub-* „*ducant. Ita nunquam putamus verba esse circa id de quo* „*dicendum est; sed ex aliis locis petimus, et inventis vim* „*afferimus* *)."

In the second place, in order to form a good style, the frequent practice of composing is indispensibly necessary. Many rules concerning style I have delivered; but no rules will answer the end without exercise and habit. At the same time, it is not every sort of composing that will improve style. This is so far from being the case, that by frequent, careless, and hasty composition, we shall have more trouble afterwards in unlearning faults, and correcting negligences, than if we had not been accustomed to composition at all. In the beginning therefore, we ought to write slowly, and with much care. Let the facility and speed of writing, be the fruit of longer practice. „*Moram et solicitudinem*," says Quinctilian with the greatest reason, L. X. c. 3. „*initiis im-*

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*) „The most proper words for the most part adhere to the „thoughts which are to be expressed by them, and may be „discovered as by their own light. But we hunt after them, as if „they were hidden, and only to be found in a corner. Hence, „instead of conceiving the words to lie near the subject, we go „in quest of them to some other quarter, and endeavour to „give force to the expressions we have found out."

„*pero. Nam primum hoc constituendum ac obtinendum est,*
„*ut quam optime scribamus: celeritatem dabit consuetudo.*
„*Paulatim res facilius se ostendent, verba respondebunt,*
„*compositio prosequetur. Cuncta denique ut in familia bene*
„*instituta in officio erunt. Summa hæc est rei; cito scri-*
„*bendo non fit ut bene scribatur; bene scribendo, fit ut*
„*cito* *)."

We must observe, however, that there may be an extreme, in too great and anxious a care about words. We must not retard the course of thought, nor cool the heat of imagination, by pausing too long on every word we employ. There is, on certain occasions, a glow of composition which should be kept up, if we hope to express ourselves happily, though at the expence of allowing some inadvertencies to pass. A more severe examination of these must be left to be the work of correction. For, if the practice of composition be useful, the laborious work of correcting is no less so; is indeed absolutely necessary to our reaping any benefit from the habit of composition. What we have written, should be laid by for some little time, till the ardour of composition be past, till the fondness for the expressions we have used be worn off, and the expressions themselves be forgotten; and then reviewing our work with a cool and critical eye, as if it were the performance of another, we shall discern many imperfections which at first escaped us. Then is the season for pruning redundancies; for weighing the arrangement of sentences; for attending to the juncture and connecting particles; and bringing style into a regular, correct, and supported form. This „*Limæ labor*," must be submitted to by all who would communicate their thoughts with proper advantage to others; and some practice in it will soon sharpen their eye to the most necessary objects of attention,

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*) „I enjoin that such as are beginning the practice of composi-
„tion, write slowly, and with anxious deliberation. Their great
„object at first should be, to write as well as possible; practice
„will enable them to write speedily. By degrees matter will of-
„fer itself still more readily; words will be at hand; composition
„will flow; every thing, as in the arrangement of a well-ordered
„family, will present itself in its proper place. The sum of the
„whole is this: by hasty composition, we shall never acquire the
„art of composing well; by writing well, we shall come to write
„speedily."

and render it a much more easy and practicable work than might at first be imagined.

In the third place, with respect to the assistance that is to be gained from the writings of others, it is obvious, that we ought to render ourselves well acquainted with the style of the best authors. This is requisite, both in order to form a just taste in style, and to supply us with a full stock of words on every subject. In reading authors, with a view to style, attention should be given to the peculiarities of their different manners; and in this, and former lectures, I have endeavoured to suggest several things that may be useful in this view. I know no exercise that will be found more useful for acquiring a proper style, than to translate some passage from an eminent English author, into our own words. What I mean is, to take, for instance, some page of one of Mr. Addison's Spectators, and read it carefully over two or three times, till we have got a firm hold of the thoughts contained in it; then to lay aside the book; to attempt to write out the passage from memory, in the best way we can; and having done so, next to open the book, and compare what we have written, with the style of the author. Such an exercise will, by comparison, shew us where the defects of our style lie; will lead us to the proper attentions for rectifying them; and, among the different ways in which the same thought may be expressed, will make us perceive that which is the most beautiful. But,

In the fourth place, I must caution, at the same time, against a servile imitation of any one author whatever. This is always dangerous. It hampers genius; it is likely to produce a stiff manner; and those who are given to close imitation, generally imitate an author's faults as well as his beauties. No man will ever become a good writer, or speaker, who has not some degree of confidence to follow his own genius. We ought to beware, in particular, of adopting any author's noted phrases, or transcribing passages from him. Such a habit will prove fatal to all genuine composition. Infinitely better it is to have something that is our own, though of moderate beauty, than to affect to shine in borrowed ornaments, which will, at last, betray the utter poverty of our genius. On these heads of composing, correcting, reading, and imitating, I advise every student of oratory to consult what Quinctilian has delivered in the Xth book of

his institutions, where he will find a variety of excellent observations and directions, that well deserve attention.

In the fifth place, it is an obvious, but material rule, with respect to style, that we always study to adapt it to the subject, and also to the capacity of our hearers, if we are to speak in public. Nothing merits the name of eloquent or beautiful, which is not suited to the occasion, and to the persons to whom it is addressed. It is to the last degree awkward and absurd, to attempt a poetical florid style, on occasions, when it should be our business only to argue and reason; or to speak with elaborate pomp of expression, before persons who comprehend nothing of it, and who can only stare at our unseasonable magnificence. These are defects not so much in point of style, as, what is much worse, in point of common sense. When we begin to write or speak, we ought previously to fix in our minds a clear conception of the end to be aimed at; to keep this steadily in our view, and to suit our style to it. If we do not sacrifice to this great object every ill-timed ornament that may occur to our fancy, we are unpardonable; and though children and fools may admire, men of sense will laugh at us and our style.

In the last place, I cannot conclude the subject without this admonition, that, in any case, and on any occasion, attention to style must not engross us so much, as to detract from a higher degree of attention to the thoughts: „*Curam* „*verborum*," says the great Roman critic: „*rerum volo esse* „*solicitudinem* *)." A direction the more necessary, that the present taste of the age in writing, seems to lean more to style than to thought. It is much easier to dress up trivial and common sentiments with some beauty of expression, than to afford a fund of vigorous, ingenious and useful thoughts. The latter, requires true genius; the former, may be attained by industry, with the help of very superficial parts. Hence, we find so many writers frivolously rich in style, but wretchedly poor in sentiment. The public ear is now so much accustomed to a correct and ornamented style, that no writer can, with safety, neglect the study of it. But he is a contemptible one who does not look to something beyond it;

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*) „To your expression be attentive; but about your „matter be solicitous."

who does not lay the chief stress upon his matter, and employ such ornaments of style to recommend it, as are manly, not foppish: „*Majore animo*," says the writer whom I have so often quoted, „*aggredienda est eloquentia; quae si toto* „*corpore valet, ungues polire et capillum componere, non existimabit ad curam suam pertinere. Ornatus et virilis et fortis, et sanctus sit; nec effeminatam levitatem, et fuco ementitum colorem amet; sanguine et viribus niteat* *).

5) Advantages of retiring from the world,

(Fragment of a Sermon on religious retirement.)

Psalm IV, 4.

Commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.

— The advantages of retiring from the world, to *commune with our heart*, will be found to be great, whether we regard our happiness in this world, or our preparation for the world to come.

Let us consider them, *first*, with respect to our happiness in this world. It will readily occur to you, that an entire retreat from worldly affairs, is not what religion requires; nor does it even enjoin a great retreat from them. Some stations of life would not permit this; and there are few stations which render it necessary. The chief field, both of the duty and of the improvement of man, lies in active life. By the graces and virtues which he exercises amidst his fellow-creatures he is trained up for heaven. A total retreat from the world, is so far from being, as the Roman Catholic church holds, the perfection of religion, that, some particular cases excepted, it is no other than the abuse of it.

But, though entire retreat would lay us aside from the part for which Providence chiefly intended us, it is certain, that, without occasional retreat, we must act that part very ill. There will be neither consistency in the conduct, nor

*) „A higher spirit ought to animate those who study eloquence. They ought to consult the health and soundness of „the whole body, rather than bend their attention to such trifling objects as paring the nails, and dressing the hair. Let ornament be manly and chaste, without effeminate gaiety, or artificial colouring; let it shine with the glow of health and strength."

dignity in the character, of one who sets apart no share of his time for meditation and reflection. In the heat and bustle of life, while passion is every moment throwing false colours on the objects around us, nothing can be viewed in a just light. If you wish that Reason should exert her native power, you must step aside from the crowd, into the cool and silent shade. It is there that, with sober and steady eye, she examines what is good or ill, what is wise or foolish, in human conduct; she looks back on the past, she looks forward to the future; and forms plans, not for the present moment only, but for the whole of life. How should that man discharge any part of his duty aright, who never suffers his passions to cool? And how should his passions cool, who is engaged, without interruption, in the tumult of the world? This incessant stir may be called, the perpetual drunkenness of life. It raises that eager fermentation of spirit, which will be ever sending forth the dangerous fumes of rashness and folly. Whereas he who mingles religious retreat with worldly affairs, remains calm and master of himself. He is not whirled round, and rendered giddy, by the agitation of the world; but, from that sacred retirement, in which he has been conversant among higher objects, comes forth into the world with manly tranquillity, fortified by the principles which he has formed, and prepared for whatever may befal.

As he who is unacquainted with retreat, cannot sustain any character with propriety, so neither can he enjoy the world with any advantage. Of the two classes of men who are most apt to be negligent of this duty, the men of pleasure and the men of business, it is hard to say which suffer most, in point of enjoyment, from that neglect. To the former, every moment appears to be lost, which partakes not of the vivacity of amusement. To connect one plan of gaiety with another, is their sole study; till, in a very short time, nothing remain but to tread the same beaten round; to enjoy what they have already enjoyed, and to see what they have often seen. Pleasures thus drawn to the dregs, become rapid and tasteless. What might have pleased long, if enjoyed with temperance, and mingled with retirement, being devoured with such eager haste, speedily surfeits and disgusts. Hence, these are the persons, who, after having run through a rapid course of pleasure, after having glittered for a few years in the foremost line of public amusements, are the most apt to

fly at last to a melancholy retreat; not led by religion or reason, but driven by disappointed hopes, and exhausted spirits, to pensive conclusion, that *all is vanity*.

If uninterrupted intercourse with the world wears out the man of pleasure, it no less oppresses the man of business and ambition. The strongest spirits must at length sink under it. The happiest temper must be soured by incessant returns of the opposition, the inconstancy, and treachery of men. For he who lives always in the bustle of the world, lives in a perpetual warfare. Here an enemy encounters; there a rival supplants him. The ingratitude of a friend stings him this hour; and the pride of the superiour wounds him the next. In vain he flies for relief to trifling amusements. These may afford a temporary opiate to care; but they communicate no strength to the mind. On the contrary, they leave it more soft and defenceless, when molestations and injuries renew their attack.

Let him who wishes for an effectual cure to all the wounds which the world can afflict, retire from intercourse with men, to intercourse with God. When he enters in his closet, and shuts the door, let him shut out, at the same time, all intrusion of worldly care, and dwell among objects divine and immortal. — Those fair prospects of order and peace, shall there open to his view, which form the most perfect contrast to the confusion and misery of this earth. The celestial inhabitants quarrel not; among them there is neither ingratitude, nor envy, nor tumult. Men may harass one another; but in the kingdom of God, concord and tranquillity reign for ever. — From such objects, there beams upon the mind of the pious man, a pure and enlivening light; there is diffused over his heart, a holy calm. His agitated spirit re-assumes its firmness, and regains its peace. The world sinks in its importance; and the load of mortality and misery loses almost all its weight. The *green pastures* open, and the *still waters* flow around him, beside which the *Shepherd of Israel* guides his flock. The disturbances and alarms, so formidable to those who are engaged in the tumults of the world, seem to him only like thunder rolling afar off; like the noise of distant waters whose sound he hears, whose course he traces, but whose waves touch him not. — As religious retirement is thus evidently conductive to our happiness in this life, so,

In the *second* place, it is absolute necessary in order to prepare us for the life to come. He who lives always in public, cannot live to his own soul. The world *lieth in wickedness;* and with good reason the christian is exhorted, *not to be conformed to it but transformed by the renewing of his mind.* Our conversation and intercourse with the world, is, in several respects, an education for vice. From our earliest youth, we are accustomed to hear riches and honours extolled as the chief possessions of man; and proposed to us, as the principal aim of our future pursuits. We are trained up, to look with admiration on the flattering marks of distinction which they bestow. In quest of those fancied blessings, we see the multitude around us eager and fervent. Principles of duty we may, perhaps, hear sometimes inculcated; but we seldom behold them brought into competition with worldly profit. The soft names, and plausible colours, under which deceit, sensuality, and revenge, are presented to us in common discourse, weaken, by degrees, our natural sense of the distinction between good and evil. We often meet with crimes authorized by high examples, and rewarded with the caresses and smiles of the world. We discover, perhaps, at last, that those whom we are taught to reverence, and to regard as our patterns of conduct, act upon principles no purer, than those of others. — Thus breathing habitually a contagious air, how certain is our ruin, unless we sometimes retreat from this pestilential region, and seek for proper correctives of the disorders which are contracted there? Religious retirement both abates the disease, and furnishes the remedy. It lessens the corrupting influence of the world; and it gives opportunity for better principles to exert their power. He who is accustomed to turn aside, and commune with himself, will, sometimes at least, hear of truths which the multitude do not tell him. A more sound instructor will lift his voice, and awaken within the heart those latent suggestions, which the world had overpowered and suppressed.

The acts of prayer and devotion, the exercises of faith and repentance, all the great and peculiar duties of the religion of Christ, necessarily suppose retirement from the world. This was one chief end of their institution, that they might be the means of occasionally sequestering us from the great scene of vice and folly, the continued presence of which is

so hurtful. Solitude is the hallowed ground which religion hath, in every age, chosen for her own. There her inspiration is felt, and her secret mysteries elevate the soul. There, falls the tear of contrition; there, rises towards heaven the sigh of the heart; there, melts the soul with all the tenderness of devotion, and pours itself forth, before him who made, and him who redeemed it. How can any one, who is unacquainted with such employments of mind, be fit for heaven? If heaven be the habitation of pure affections, and of intellectual joy, can such a state be relished by him who is always immersed among sensible objects, and has never acquired any taste for the pleasures of the understanding and the heart?

The great and the worthy, the pious and the virtuous, have ever been addicted to serious retirement. It is the characteristic of little and frivolous minds, to be wholly occupied with the vulgar objects of life. These fill up their desires, and supply all the entertainment which their coarse apprehensions can relish. But a more refined and enlarged mind leaves the world behind it, feels a call for higher pleasures, and seeks them in retreat. The man of public spirit has recourse to it, in order to form plans for general good; the man of genius, in order to dwell on his favourite themes, the philosopher, to pursue his discoveries; the saint, to improve himself in grace. *Isaac went out to meditate in the fields, at the evening tide.* David amidst all the splendour of royalty, often bears witness both to the pleasure which he received, and to the benefit which he reaped, from devout meditation. *I communed with my own heart, and my spirit made diligent search. I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto God's testimonies. In the multitude of thoughts within me, his comforts delight my soul.* Our blessed Saviour himself, though of all who ever lived on earth he needed least the assistance of religious retreat, yet, by his frequent practice, has done it signal honour. Often were the garden, the mountain, and the silence of the night, sought by him, for intercourse with heaven. *When he had sent the multitude away, he went up into a mountain, apart, to pray.* —

M O O R E.

John Moore *wurde im Jahre 1730 zu Stirling, der al ten Residenz der Schottischen Könige geboren, wo sein Vat ein geistliches Amt bekleidete. Nach dem im Jahre 1735 er folgten Tode desselben begab sich seine Mutter nach Glasgo Hier studierte unser* Moore *Medizin, ging 1747, u seine praktischen Kenntnisse zu erweitern, zu der unter de Befehlen des Herzogs von* Argyle *stehenden Englischen Ar mee nach Flandern und blieb daselbst bis zum Winter von 1748 Hierauf kehrte er, mit mannigfaltigen Erfahrungen bereicher als ein achtzehnjähriger Jüngling nach London zurück, stu dierte hier auf's Neue die Theorie seiner Wissenschaft, vorzüg lich unter* Dr. Hunter, *und begab sich darauf nach Pari Lord* Albemarle, *den er in Flandern hatte kennen lerne war damals Gesandter am Hofe von Versailles. Dieser nah den jungen Reisenden zu seinem Hausarzte an. Nach eine zweijährigen Aufenthalt in Paris wurde er vom Doktor* Gordo *in Glasgow zum Gehülfen in seiner ausgebreiteten Praxis ange nommen.* 1769 *veranlaste ihn die Familie* Hamilton, *de kränkelnden (*1800 *im 44sten Jahre seines Alters verstorbenen Herzog (*Douglas*)* Hamilton *zur Wiederherstellung seine Gesundheit auf Reisen zu begleiten. Die Wahl konnte nich leicht auf einen hierzu geeignetern Mann fallen, da* Moor *Arzt und schon im Auslande gewesen war. Er durchreiset nun, nachdem er noch vorher das Diplom eines Doktors der Arzneigelahrtheit von der Universität Glasgow erhalten hatte während eines Zeitraums von fünf Jahren Frankreich, Italien die Schweiz und Deutschland. Die Frucht seiner Reise wa das auch bei uns durch eine Übersetzung bekannte und im Jahr* 1778 *erschienene Werk:* A view of society and manners in France, Switzerland and Germany, 2 Vols. in 8., *wozu* 1781 *noch eine Fortsetzung unter dem Titel erschien:* A view of society and manners in Italy. *Die Reise ging von London nach Paris, Lyon, Genf, durch einen Theil der Schweiz und Deutschland. Der Verfasser berührte hier unter andern Manheim, Heidelberg, Mainz, Frankfurt am Main, Cassel, Potsdam, Berlin, Wien. Von hier ging die Reise nach Venedig, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, Ancona, Loretto, Rom, Neapel, nach Herculanum und Pompeji, auf den Vesuv, dann zurück über Florenz, Mailand, Turin, über den Berg Cenis nach Lau-*

nne und über Paris nach London zurück. Die vier Bände, welchen die Reise beschrieben ist, enthalten in einer schönen nd lebendigen Sprache eine Reihe der belebtesten Schilderungen nd es möchten ihr von dieser Seite nur wenig Reisebeschreibunn an die Seite gestellt zu werden verdienen. Wir liefern aus denlben eine höchst interessante Schilderung Friedrichs II., bedauern jedoch, nicht auch noch Raum zur Aufnahme einiger anden Stücke gefunden zu haben. 1785 erschienen seine Medical Sketes, die, wie seine vorigen Werke günstig aufgenommen wurn. Hierauf gab er ein Buch, gröſstentheils pädagogischen nhalts heraus, betitelt: Zeluco, in welchem er vorzüglich die achtheiligen Folgen schildern will, welche aus ungezähmten eidenschaften und der Nachgiebigkeit einer schwachen Mutter itspringen. Im Jahre 1792 begleitete er den Grafen von Lauerdale, der sich, seiner schwächlichen Gesundheit halber, inige Zeit in Frankreich aufhalten wollte, nach Paris, und ar hier Augenzeuge von jenen berüchtigten Greuelscenen im eptember des genannten Jahres. Im December kehrte er beits wieder nach London zurück. 1795 erschien sein Werk: view of the causes and progress of the French Revoluon, in 2 Vols. 8.; diesem folgte 1796: Edward: Various iews of human nature, taken from life and manners chiefly England. Im Jahre 1800 gab er die Schrift heraus, betitelt: Iordaunt, being sketches of life, characters and manners in rious countries, including the memoirs of a French Lady f quality, 2 Vols. 8. Nach der Rückkehr von seiner dritn Reise nach Paris lieſs er sich in London nieder und starb n 20sten Februar 1802 zu Richmond. Er hinterlieſs eine öchter und 5 Söhne. Umständlichere biographische Nachrichn von ihm findet man in den Public Characters for 1801-1802, ondon 1801; ferner enthält the General biographical Dictioary, London 1815 im 22sten Bande Nachrichten von diesem chtungswürdigen Manne und geschätzten Schriftsteller. Seine immtlichen Werke sind unter dem Titel erschienen: J. Moore's Vorks, containing Zeluco, Edward, Mordaunt, Travels in rance, Italy, Germany etc., with his Life, by Dr. Anderson. Vols. 8. London 1820.

The King of Prussia *).
(Letter LXXV.)

Potsdam.

When we first arrived here, there was nothing I was so eager to see, as the Prussian troops at their exercise, but the reviews at Berlin have overlately satisfied my curiosity. And though the gardens of the palace **) are just opposite to the windows of our inn, I hardly ever go to look at the guards, who are paraded there every forenoon. — A few days ago, however, I happened to take a very early walk about a mile out of town, and seeing some soldiers under arms, in a field at a small distance from the road, I went towards them. An officer on horseback, whom I took to be the Major, for he gave the word of command, was uncommonly active, and often rode among the ranks to reprimand, or instruct, the common men. When I came nearer, I was much surprised to find that this was the King himself. He had his sword drawn, and continued to exercise the troops for an hour after. He made them wheel, march, form the square, and fire by divisions, and in platoons, observing all their motions with infinite attention; and, on account of some blunder, put two officers of the Prince of Prussia's regiment ***) in arrest. — In short, he seemed to exert himself with all the spirit of a young officer, eager to attract the notice of his General by uncommon alertness.

I expressed my surprise to an officer present, that the King was not willing to take some repose, particularly from that kind of employment of which he had had so very much of late, and that he could take so much pains with a mere handful of men immediately after he had come from exercising whole armies ****).

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*) *Aus den* Views of society and manners in France, Switzerland and Germany, Vol. II. Letter LXXV *und* LXXVI. *Dass von Friedrich II. die Rede sey, bedarf der Erwähnung nicht.* **) *Der Lustgarten zu Potsdam.* ***) *Die Regimenter wurden bekanntlich unter Friedrich II nach den Chefs benannt; hier ist des damaligen Kronprinzen (nachmaligen Königs) Friedrich Wilhelms II Regiment gemeint.* ****) *Der König hatte die grosse dreitägige Revue in Berlin abgehalten, der auch Moore beigewohnt und von der er im LXIV Briefe Nachricht giebt. — Moore mochte*

This gentleman told me, that, on this particular day, the King had been trying some new evolutions: but though this had not been the case, he might very possibly have been in the field: — for his maxim was, 'that his troops should display as much briskness on a common field-day as if they were to engage in battle; and therefore it was never known when he intended to be present, or when not: — that as for repose, he took it between ten at night and four in the morning, and his other hours were all devoted to action, either of body or mind, or both; and that the exercise he had just taken, was probably by way of relaxation after three hours previous labour in his cabinet.

The more I see and hear of this extraordinary man, the more am I astonished. He reconciles qualities which I used to think incompatible. I once was of opinion, that the mind, which stoops to very small objects, is incapable of embracing great ones; I am now convinced, that he is an exception; for while few objects are too great for his genius, none seem too small for his attention.

I once thought that a man of much vivacity was not capable of entering into the detail of business: — I now see that he, who is certainly a man of wit, can continue methodically the necessary routine of business, with the patience and perseverance of the greatest dunce that ever drudged in a compting-house.

Since my last, we have seen the Italians *) perform; but neither the plays nor the operas, nor any part of the entertainments, interest me half so much, or could draw me so assiduously to Sans-Souci, as the opportunity this attendance gives of seeing the King. Other monarchs acquire importance from their station; this Prince gives importance to his. The traveller in other countries has a wish to see the King, because he admires the Kingdom: — here the object of curiosity is reversed: — and let us suppose the palaces, and the towns, and the country, and the army of Prussia ever so

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im Jahre 1770 oder 1771 in Potsdam seyn; er giebt das Datum der Briefe nicht an; der König war damals gegen 60 Jahre alt.

*) *Die Italiänische Oper — wahrscheinlich* Opera buffa. — *Nach dem vorigen 74sten Briefe liess der König bei damaliger Anwesenheit seiner Schwester, der Princessinn Amalia und des Herzogs Friedrich von Braunschweig abwechselnd Französische und Italiänische Stücke im neuen Palais bei Sans-Souci aufführen.*

fine, yet your chief interest in them will arise from their belonging to Frederic the Second; — the man, who without an ally but Britain, repelled the united force of Austria, France, Russia and Sweden.

Count Nesselrode, talking with me on this subject, had an expression equally lively and just: *C'est dans l'adversité qu'il brille, lorsqu'il est bien comprimé il a un ressort irrésistible.*

The evening of the day on which I had seen the King in the field, I was at Sans-Souci; for I wish to neglect no opportunity of being present where this monarch is. I like to stand near him, to hear him speak, and to observe his movements, attitudes, and most indifferent actions. He always behaves with particular affability to the Duke of Hamilton *). One evening, before the play began, his Grace and I were standing accidentally with Count Finkenstein **) in a room adjoining to the great apartment where the company were. The King entered alone, when he was not expected, and immediately began a conversation with the Duke.

He asked several questions relating to the British constitution; particularly at what age a peer could take his seat in parliament? — When the Duke replied, At twenty one — It is evident from that, said the King, that the English Patricians acquire the necessary talents for legislation much sooner than those of ancient Rome, who were not admitted into the Senate till the age of forty.

He then enquired about the state of Lord Chatham's ***) health, and expressed high esteem for the character of that minister. — He asked me, if I had received letters by the last post, and if they mentioned any thing of the affairs in America? He said, there were accounts from Holland, that the English troops had been driven from Boston, and that the Americans were in possession of that place. — I told him, our letters informed us, that the army had left Boston to make an attack with more effect elsewhere.

He smiled, and said — If you will not allow the retreat to have been an affair of necessity, you will at least admit, that it was *tout-à-fait à-propos.*

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*) *S. die Biographie.* **) *Dem damaligen ersten Cabinets-Minister des Königs.* ***) *S. oben die Biographie dieses grofsen Staatsmannes. Seite 309.*

He said he heard that some British officers had gone into the American service, and mentioned Colonel Lee, whom he had seen at his Court. He observed, that it was a difficult thing to govern men by force at such a distance; that if the Americans should be beat (which appeared a little problematical), still it would be next to impossible to continue to draw from them a revenue by taxation; that if we intended conciliation with America, some of our measures were too rough; and if we intended its subjection, they were too gentle. He concluded by saying, *Enfin, Messieurs, je ne comprends pas ces choses là; je n'ai point de colonie: — j'espère que vous vous tirerez bien d'affaire, mais elle me paroit un peu épineuse.* — Having said this, he walked into the Princess's apartment *), to lead her to the playhouse, while we joined the company already assembled there. — The tragedy of Mahomed was performed, which, in my opinion, is the finest of all Voltaire's dramatic pieces, and that in which Le Kain **) appears to the greatest advantage.

(Letter LXXVI.)

Potsdam.

You express such an earnest desire to be made acquainted with every thing which regards the King of Prussia, that I am in danger of lengthening my descriptions with a tedious minuteness. Yet I will risk it, rather than give you reason to complain that I have not gratified your curiosity as fully as is in my power.

Do not imagine, however, that I presume to draw a complete portrait of this monarch. That must be the work of much abler painters, who have seen him in a more familiar manner, and whose colours can give an expression worthy of the original. I shall only attempt to give a faithful sketch of such features as I was able to seize during the transient views I myself had, or which I have learnt from those who have passed with him many of the hours which he dedicates to free conversation, and the pleasures of the table.

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*) *Die Zimmer der Princessin Amalia. Der Schauspielsaal ist bekanntlich im Neuen Palais zu Potsdam selbst.* **) *Dieser berühmte Schauspieler, wie auch schon der 74ste Brief gedenkt, war damals in Potsdam anwesend.*

The King of Prussia is below the middle size, well made, and remarkably active for his time of life. He has become hardy by exercise and a laborious life; for his constitution originally seems to have been none of the strongest. His look announces spirit and penetration. He has fine blue eyes, and, in my opinion, his countenance upon the whole is agreeable. Some who have seen him are of a different opinion. All who judge from his portraits only, must be so; for although I have seen many which have a little resemblance of him, and some which have a great deal, yet none of them do him justice. His features acquire a wonderful degree of animation while he converses. — This is entirely lost upon canvas.

He stoops considerably, and inclines his head almost constantly to one side.

His tone of voice is the clearest and most agreeable in conversation I ever heard.

He speaks a great deal; yet those who hear him, regret that he does not speak a great deal more. His observations are always lively, very often just, and few men possess the talent of repartee in greater perfection.

He hardly ever varies his dress, which consists of a blue coat, lined and faced with red, and a yellow waistcoat and breeches *). He always wears boots with hussar tops **), which fall in wrinkles about his ancles, and are oftener of a dark-brown than a black colour.

His hat would be thought extravagantly large in England, though it is of the size commonly used by the Prussian officers of cavalry. He generally wears one of the large side corners over his forehead and eyes, and the front cock at one side.

He wears his hair cued behind, and dressed with a single buckle on each side. From their being very carelesly put up and unequally powdered, we may naturally conclude, that the friseur has been greatly hurried in the execution of his office.

He uses a very large gold snuff-box, the lid ornamented with diamonds, and takes an immoderate quantity of Spanish snuff, the marks of which very often appear on his waistcoat

*) *Ein blauer Rock, mit rothem Futter und Vorstoſs und gelber Weste und Beinkleidern — der damaligen Uniform der Fuſsgarde.*
**) *Stülpen an den Stiefeln.*

and breeches. These are also liable to be soiled by the paws of two or three Italian greyhounds, which he often caresses.

He dresses as soon as he gets up in the morning. This takes up but a few minutes, and serves for the whole day. — You have often heard that the King of Prussia's hours from four or five in the morning, till ten at night, are all dedicated methodically to particular occupations, either of business or amusement. This is certainly true; and the arrangement has not sustained such an interruption for many years as since the present company came to Potsdam.

Some who pretend to more than common penetration assert, that at present they can perceive marks of uneasiness in his countenance, and seem convinced, that there will not be such another company at Sans-Souci during this reign.

All business with the King is transacted by letters. Every petition or proposal must be made in this form, which is adhered to so invariably, as I have been assured, that if any of his Generals wished to promote a cadet to the rank of an ensign, he would not venture to make his proposal in any other manner, even though he had dayly opportunities of conversing with his Majesty.

The meanest of his subjects may apply to him in writing, and are sure of an answer. His first business every morning is the perusing the papers addressed to him. A single word wrote with his pencil in the margin, indicates the answer to be given, which is afterwards made out in form by his secretaries. — This method affords the King time to deliberate on the justice and propriety of every demand, and prevents the possibility of his being surprised into a promise, which it might be inconvenient to perform *).

He sits down to dinner precisely at noon. Of late he allows more time to this repast than formerly. It is generally after three before he leaves the company. Eight or nine of his officers are commonly invited to dine with him. Since our coming to Potsdam, Count Nesselrode and the Abbé Bastiani **), two men of letters, were the only company,

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*) *Der König gab mit wenigen Worten das Dekret und die Kabinets-Sekretäre expedirten hiernach. Bei Vorlegung der Reinschrift zur Unterzeichnung hatte der König Veranlassung, seinen Beschlufs noohmals zu erwägen und so sich vor Uebereilung zu sichern.* **) *Bastiani, einer der gelehrten Italiänischen Gesellschafter des Königs.*

besides the officers, who dined with the King, while he lived in his usual way at the Old Palace of Sans-Souci; and those two were then of his party almost every day. The Count has now left this Court; the Abbé has an apartment in the Palace. He is an Italian by birth, a man of wit, and an excellent companion.

At table, the King likes that every person should appear to be on a footing, and that the conversation should be carried on with perfect freedom. The thing, by the way, is impossible. That confidential unrestrained flow of the heart, which takes place in a society of equals, is a pleasure which a despotic Prince can never taste. However, his Majesty desires that it may be so, and they make the best of it they can.

At one of these meetings, when the King was in a gay humour, he said to Bastiani — When you shall obtain the tiara, which your exemplary piety must one day procure you, how will you receive me when I arrive at Rome to pay my duty to your Holiness? — I will immediately give orders, replied the Abbé with great readiness, *Qu'on fasse entrer l'aigle noir — qu'il me couvre de ses ailes, mais qu'il m'épargne de son bec.*

No body says more lively things in conversation than the King himself. Many of his *bon mots* are repeated here. I shall only mention one, which is at once an instance of his wit, and greatness of mind, in rendering justice to the merit of a man who has caused him more vexation than perhaps any other person alive. — When the King of Prussia had a personal meeting some years since with the Emperor *), they always dined together, a certain number of their principal officers being with them. One day, General Laudon was going to place himself at the bottom of the table, when the King, who was at the head, called to him, *Venez, je vous en prie, Monsieur Laudon, placez vous ici. J'aime infinement mieux vous avoir de mon côté que vis-à-vis.*

Though all the cordiality of friendship, and the full charms of unreserved society, cannot exist where the fortune

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*) *Mit dem Kaiser Joseph II. im Jahre* 1770 *zu Neustadt in Mähren, wo auch Laudon zugegen war. S. die vortreffliche Schrift des Prinzen Ligny:* Mémoire sur le Roi de Prusse, Frédéric le Grand, *u. Berlin* 1789, *Seite* 19.

of every other individual depends on the will of one of the company; yet the King endeavours to put every one as much at his ease as the nature of the case will admit, and I have heard of his bearing some very severe retorts with perfect good humour. He has too much wit himself, and is too fond of it in others, to repel its attaks with any other weapons than those which it furnishes. None but the most absurd of dunces could attempt to rally, without being able to allow of raillery; and only the meanest of souls would think of revenging the liberties taken with a companion by the power of a King.

A very striking instance of the freedom which may be used with him occurred a little before the late reviews, and what makes it more remarkable, it happened, not during the gaiety of the table, but on the very scene of military strictness.

Two regiments were in the field. That of General — was one of them. This officer is fond of company, and passes more of his time in the society of strangers, and with the foreign ministers, than most others in the Prussian service. — Something, it is probable, had chagrined the King that morning. While the regiment advanced in a line he said to the General, who stood near him, *Votre regiment n'est pas aligné, Monsieur, — et ce n'est pas surprenant, vous jouez tant aux cartes.* The General called out instantly with a loud voice to the regiment, Alte! and they immediately stopped: then, turning to the King, he said, *Il n'est pas question, Sire, de mes cartes — Mais, ayez la bonté de regarder, si ce régiment n'est pas aligné.* — The regiment was in a very straight line, and the King moved away without speaking, and seemingly displeased, not with the General, but with himself. — This manly officer never had reason afterwards to believe that the King had taken his freedom amiss.

I have already said, that it is absolutely impossible for any man to enjoy an office in the King of Prussia's service without performing the duty of it. He is himself active and assiduous, and he makes it a point that all his ministers and servants shall be so too. But to those who know their business, and perform it exactly, he is an easy and equitable master.

A gentleman, who has been many years about his person, and is now one of his aid-de-camps, assured me of this:

— The King understands what ought to be done: and his servants are never exposed to the ridiculous or contradictory orders of ignorance, or the mortifications of caprice.

His favourites, of whatever kind, never were able to acquire influence over him in any thing regarding business. Nobody ever knew better how to discriminate the merit of those who serve him in the important departments of state, from theirs who contribute to his amusement. A man who performs the duty of his office with alertness and fidelity, has nothing to apprehend from the King's being fond of the company and conversation of his enemy. Let the one be regaled at the King's table every day, while the other never receives a single invitation; yet the real merit of both is known: — and if his adversary should ever try to turn the King's favour to the purposes of private hatred or malice, the attempt will be repelled with disdain, and the evil he intended to another, will fall on himself.

FERGUSON.

Adam Ferguson, *Sohn eines Predigers zu Logierait in den Schottischen Hochlanden *), wurde daselbst im Jahre* 1724 *geboren. Seine erste Bildung erhielt er theils von sei-*

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*) *Der Leser hat bereits mehrere, in diesem Werke vorkommende Schriftsteller kennen lernen, welche in Schottland geboren sind. Es ist in der That merkwürdig, daſs dieses Land von jeher so reich an berühmten Männern gewesen ist. Herr Hüttner theilt in den Englischen Miszellen, 13ten Bandes 2tem Stück S. 95. ein aus der Einleitung zum* Gazeteer of Scotland, Dundee 1803 *entlehntes Verzeichniſs neuerer berühmter, aus Schottland gebürtiger groſser Männer mit, dem wir hier gleichfalls eine Stelle einräumen. Es sind folgende: Hume, Robertson, Henry, Ferguson, der Geschichtschreiber und Astronom, Gillies, Stuart, Sommerville, Watson, Thomson, Adam Smith, Oswald, Sinclair, Anderson, Orme, Dalrymple, Vater und Sohn, Tytler, Vater und Sohn, Millar, Stewart, Vater und Sohn, Burnet, Lord Monboddo, Smellie, Reid, Beattie der Vater und Beattie der Sohn, Monro, Vater und Sohn, Home, drei, nämlich Lord Kaimes, der Arzt und der Dichter, Cullen, Black, Duncan, Hunter (Wilhelm und Johann), drei Bells, Jamiesons, der Theolog und Mineralog, Camp-*

nem Vater, theils in der Schule des Orts; nachmals besuchte er die Lehranstalt der Grafschaft zu Perth, wo er sich bald durch seine schriftlichen Aufsätze als denkenden Kopf zeigte. 1739 brachte ihn sein Vater nach der Universität St. Andrews, wo er sich insonderheit mit dem Studio der Griechischen Sprache, hiernächst aber auch mit Mathematik und Philosophie beschäfftigte. Von da begab er sich nach Edinburgh, und ward Mitglied einer, aus jungen hoffnungsvollen Männern bestehenden, literarischen Gesellschaft, zu welcher verschiedene, nachmals sehr berühmte Gelehrte, als W. Robertson, H. Blair u. a. m gehörten. Unstreitig trug diese Verbindung ungemein viel zur Entwickelung seiner Talente bei. Übrigens bearbeitete er hier vorzüglich die philosophischen Disziplinen, minder die Theologie. Im Jahre 1745 ward er Kaplan im 42sten Regiment, und erwarb sich in diesem Posten die Achtung der Offiziere und Gemeinen. Er benutzte übrigens seine Lage auch dazu, sich militärische Kenntnisse zu erwerben, und diesem Umstande verdankt man vielleicht die genaue Darstellung der kriegerischen Operationen in seiner Römischen Geschichte. Nach dem zu Achen geschlossenen Frieden kehrte er nach Schottland zurück, und brachte einige Zeit im Hause seines Vaters zu. Hierauf begab er sich wieder zu seinem Regiment. Sein Vater starb bald darauf, allein er ambirte dessen Stelle nicht; überhaupt schien er keine Lust zu haben, sich um ein anderes geistliches Amt zu bewerben. Seine Predigten zeichneten sich durch Popularität wenig aus; sie verdienten eher den Namen philosophischer Abhandlungen, denen man es ansah, dafs ihr Verfasser mit den Schriften des Plato und Aristoteles nicht unbekannt war. Nachdem er das Regiment (1757) verlassen hatte, ward er Hofmeister (privy-tutor) in der Familie des Lord Bute, und blieb daselbst bis zum Jahre 1759, wo er die zu Edinburgh erledigte Professur der Physik (natural philosophy) erhielt. Wäre er in der Familie des Lord Bute bis zum Regierungsantritt Georg's III. geblieben, so würde ihm vielleicht eine ansehnliche Bedienung im Staate zu Theil geworden sein. Im Jahre 1761 ward er Professor

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bell, der Theolog und Dichter, Blair, Gerard, Hamilton, Burns, Mackenzie, Macpherson, Brydone, Moore, Adam, Mickel, Robison, Playfair, Gleig etc; von einigen derselben giebt unser Handbuch nähere Nachricht.

der Moral, und von dieser Zeit an beschäfftigte er sich ausschliefslich mit dem Studio des Menschen. 1767 erschien sein Essay on civil Society, — *ein Werk, dessen Zweck es ist, den Gang des Menschen auf seinem Wege von dem rohsten Zustande, durch alle Mittelzustände, bis zu der höchsten Stufe sittlicher und intellektueller Vollkommenheit zu verfolgen, — und bald darauf folgten seine* Institutes of moral philosophy, *eine Art Compendium für seine Vorlesungen. Um diese Zeit ungefähr erhielt* **Ferguson** *die Würde eines* Doctor of laws. *Von 1767 bis 1773 hielt er sich fast ununterbrochen in Edinburgh auf. In diesem Jahre bekam er den Antrag, den jungen Lord* **Chesterfield**, *gegen ein Jahrgehalt von 200 l. auf Lebenszeit, in's Ausland zu begleiten. Er nahm denselben an, blieb anderthalb Jahr abwesend, und trat nachher wieder in seine Stelle. 1776 machte er seine Antwort auf Dr.* **Price's** *Werk* on civil and religious Liberty *bekannt. 1782 erschien sein vortreffliches Werk* History of the progress and termination of the Roman Republic, *welches ihm einen ehrenvollen Rang unter den philosophischen Geschichtschreibern Englands erworben hat. Man sieht aus demselben, dafs er die Quellen der Geschichte mit grofsem Fleifse und Nachdenken gelesen hat. Er urtheilt übrigens ruhig und parteilos; auch hat er nicht wenig Sorgfalt auf die Schreibart gewandt. Im Jahre 1784 legte er sein Amt als Professor der Moralphilosophie nieder. Seit dieser Zeit beschäfftigte er sich vorzüglich damit, seine Vorlesungen zum Druck einzurichten; sie sind auch unter dem Titel:* Principles of Moral and Political Science *erschienen. 1793 machte er seinen* Treatise on moral and political Science *bekannt. Nach dieser Zeit unternahm er eine Reise nach Italien, vorzüglich in der Absicht, in den Bibliotheken dieses Landes Materialien zu einer neuen Ausgabe seiner* History *zu sammeln. — Er starb im Jahre 1816. —* **Ferguson** *genofs wegen seiner Unbescholtenheit und Wohlthätigkeit die Liebe seiner Zeitgenossen, so wie wegen seiner mannigfaltigen Kenntnisse, ihre Achtung. Diese ist ihm auch in Deutschland zu Theil geworden, wo man seine Schriften in guten Übersetzungen liest. (Seine Grundsätze der Moralphilosophie, mit Anmerkungen von* **Garve**, *Leipzig 1770. Die Geschichte des Fortgangs und Untergangs der Römischen Republik, von* **Beck**, *Leipzig 1784. 8. Der Versuch einer Geschichte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, von* **Jünger**,

Leipzig 1768. 8.). *Die obigen biographischen Nachrichten sind aus den London* 1799 *erschienenen* public Characters of 1799 — 1800 *entlehnt. Der Verfasser von Ferguson's Biographie hat sich mit R. B. unterzeichnet.*

Of the Influences of Climate and Situation *).

Man, in his animal capacity, is qualified to subsist in every climate. He reigns with the lion and the tyger under the equatorial heats of the sun, or he associates with the bear and the rain-deer beyond the polar circle. His versatile disposition fits him to assume the habits of either condition, or his talent for arts enables him to supply its defects. The intermediate climates, however, appear most to favour his nature; and in whatever manner we account for the fact, it cannot be doubted, that this animal has always attained to the principal honours of his species within the temperate zone. The arts, which he has on this scene repeatedly invented, the extent of his reason, the fertility of his fancy, and the force of his genius in literature, commerce, policy, and war, sufficiently declare either a distinguished advantage of situation, or a natural superiority of mind.

The most remarkable races of men, it is true, have been rude before they were polished. They have in some cases returned to rudeness again: and it is not from the actual possession of arts, science, or policy, that we are to pronounce of their genius.

There is a vigour, a reach of capacity, and a sensibility of mind, which may characterize as well the savage as the citizen, the slave as well as the master; and the same powers of the mind may be turned to a variety of purposes. A modern Greek, perhaps, is mischievous, slavish, and cunning, from the same animated temperament that made his ancestor ardent, ingenious, and bold, in the camp, or in the council of his nation. A modern Italian is distinguished by sensibility, quickness, and art, while he employs on trifles the capacity of an ancient Roman; and exhibits now, in the scene of amusement, and in the search of a frivolous applause, that

*) An Essay on the History of civil society by Adam Ferguson, Part third, Section I.

fire, and those passions, with which Grachus *) burned the forum, and shook the assemblies of a severer people.

The commercial and lucrative arts have been, in some climates, the principal object of mankind, and have been retained through every disaster; in others, even under all the fluctuations of fortune, they have still been neglected; while in the temperate climates of Europe and Asia, they have had their ages of admiration as well as contempt.

In one state of society, arts are slighted, from that very ardour of mind, and principle of activity, by which, in another, they are practised with the greatest success. While men are engrossed by their passions, heated and roused by the struggles and dangers of their country; while the trumpet sounds, or the alarm of social engagement is rung, and the heart beats high, it were a mark of dulness, or of an abject spirit, to find leisure for the study of ease, or the pursuit of improvements which have mere convenience or ease for their object.

The frequent vicissitudes and reverses of fortune, which nations have experienced on that very ground where the arts have prospered, are probably the effects of a busy, inventive, and versatile spirit, by which men have carried every national change to extremes. They have raised the fabric of despotic empire to its greatest height, where they had best understood the foundations of freedom. They perished in the flames which they themselves had kindled; and they only, perhaps, were capable of displaying, by turns, the greatest improvements, or the lowest corruptions, to which the human mind can be brought.

On this scene, mankind have twice, within the compass of history, ascended from rude beginnings to very high degrees of refinement. In every age, whether destined by its temporary disposition to build or to destroy, they have left the vestiges of an active and vehement spirit. The pavement and the ruins of Rome are buried in dust, shaken from the feet of barbarians, who trod with contempt on the refinements of luxury, and spurned those arts, the use of which it was reserved for the posterity of the same people to discover and to admire. The tents of the wild Arab are even now

*) *Tiberius Grachus, der Sohn des Sempronius und der Cornelia, ein berühmter Römischer Volkstribun, zeichnete sich durch seine Beredsamkeit aus. Er brachte die berühmte* lex agraria *in Vorschlag. Sein Bruder hiess Cajus Grachus.*

buried among the ruins of magnificent cities; and the waste lands, which border on Palestine and Syria, are perhaps become again the nursery of infant nations. The chieftain of an Arab tribe, like the founder of Rome, may have already fixed the roots of a plant that is to flourish in some future period, or laid the foundations of a fabric, that will attain to its grandeur in some distant age.

Great part of Africa has been always unknown; but the silence of fame, on the subject of its revolutions, is an argument, where no other proof can be found, of weakness in the genius of its people. The torrid zone, every where round the globe, however known to the geographer, has furnished few materials for history; and though in many places supplied with the arts of life in no contemptible degree, has no where matured the more important projects of political wisdom, nor inspired the virtues which are connected with freedom, and which are required in the conduct of civil affairs.

It was indeed in the torrid zone that mere arts of mechanism and manufacture were found, among the inhabitants of the new world, to have made the greatest advance; it is in India, and in the regions of this hemisphere, which are visited by the vertical sun, that the arts of manufacture, and the practice of commerce, are of the greatest antiquity, and have survived, with the smallest diminution, the ruins of time and the revolutions of empire.

The sun, it seems, which ripens the pine-apple and the tamarind, inspires a degree of mildness that can even assuage the rigours of despotical government: and such is the effect of a gentle and pacific disposition in the natives of the East, that no conquest, no irruption of barbarians, terminates, as they did among the stubborn natives of Europe, by a total destruction of what the love of ease and of pleasure had produced.

Transferred, without any great struggle, from one master to another, the natives of India are ready, upon every change, to pursue their industry, to acquiesce in the enjoyment of life, and the hopes of animal pleasure: the wars of conquest are not prolonged to exasperate the parties engaged in them, or to desolate the land for which those parties contend: even the barbarous invader leaves untouched the commercial settlement which has not provoked his rage: though master of opulent cities, he only incamps, in their neighbourhood, and

leaves to his heirs the option of entering, by degrees, on the pleasures, the vices, and the pageantries which his acquisitions afford: his successors still more than himself, are disposed to foster the hive, in proportion as they taste more of its sweets; and they spare the inhabitant, together with his dwelling, as they spare the herd or the stall, of which they are become the proprietors.

The modern description of India is a repetition of the ancient, and the present state of China is derived from a distant antiquity, to which there is no parallel in the history of mankind. The succession of monarchs has been changed; but no revolutions have affected the state. The African and the Samojede are not more uniform in their ignorance and barbarity, than the Chinese and the Indian, if we may credit their own story, have been in the practice of manufacture, and in the observance of a certain police, which was calculated only to regulate their traffic, and to protect them in their applications to servile or lucrative arts.

If we pass from these general representations of what mankind have done, to the more minute description of the animal himself, as he has occupied different climates, and is diversified in his temper, complexion, and character, we shall find a variety of genius corresponding to the effects of his conduct, and the result of his story.

Man, in the perfection of his natural faculties is quick and delicate in his sensibility; extensive and various in his imaginations and reflections; attentive, penetrating, and subtile, in what relates to his fellow-creatures; firm and ardent in his purposes, devoted to friendship or to enmity; jealous of his independence and his honour, which he will not relinquish for safety or for profit: under all his corruptions or improvements, he retains his natural sensibility, if not his force; and his commerce is a blessing or a curse, according to the direction his mind has received.

But under the extremes of heat or of cold, the active range of the human soul appears to be limited; and men are of inferior importance, either as friends, or as enemies. In the one extreme, they are dull and slow, moderate in their desires, regular and pacific in their manner of life; in the other, they are feverish in their passions, weak in their judgments, and addicted by temperament to animal pleasure. In both the heart is mercenary, and makes important concessions

for childish bribes; in both the spirit is prepared for servitude: in the one it is subdued by fear of the future; in the other it is not roused even by its sense of the present.

The nations of Europe who would settle or conquer on the south or the north of their own happier climates, find little resistance: they extend their dominion at pleasure, and find no where a limit but in the ocean, and in the satiety of conquest. With few of the pangs and the struggles that precede the reduction of nations, mighty provinces have been successively annexed to the territory of Russia; and its sovereign, who accounts within his domain, entire tribes, with whom perhaps none of his emissaries have ever conversed, dispatched a few geometers to extend his empire, and thus to execute a project, in which the Romans were obliged to employ their consuls and their legions *). These modern conquerors complain of rebellion, where they meet with repugnance; and are surprised at being treated as enemies, where they come to impose their tribute.

It appears, however, that on the shores of the Eastern sea, they have met with nations **) who have questioned their title to reign, and who have considered the requisition of a tax as the demand of effects for nothing. Here perhaps may be found the genius of ancient Europe, and under its name of ferocity, the spirit of national independence ***); that spirit which disputed its ground in the West with the victorious armies of Rome, and baffled the attempts of the Persian monarchs to comprehend the villages of Greece within the bounds of their extensive dominion.

The great and striking diversities which obtain betwixt the inhabitants of climates far removed from each other, are, like the varieties of other animals in different regions, easily observed. The horse and the rain-deer are just emblems of the Arab and the Laplander: the native of Arabia, like the animal for whose race his country is famed, whether wild in the woods, or tutored by arts, is lively, active and fervent in the exercise on which he is bent. This race of men, in their rude state, fly to the desert for freedom, and in roving bands alarm the frontiers of empire, and strike a terror in the province to which their moving encampments advance ****). When

*) See Russian Atlas. **) The Tchutzi. ***) Notes to the Genealogical History of the Tartars, vouched by Strahlenberg. ****) D'Arvieux.

roused by the prospect of conquest or disposed to act on a plan, they spread their dominion, and their system of imagination, over mighty tracts of the earth: when possessed of property and of settlement, they set the example of a lively invention, and superior ingenuity, in the practice of arts, and the study of science. The Laplander on the contrary, like the associate of his climate, is hardy, indefatigable, and patient of famine; dull rather than tame; serviceable in a particular tract; and incapable of change. Whole nations continue from age to age in the same condition, and, with immoveable phlegm, submit to the appellations of *Dane*, of *Swede*, or of *Muscovite*, according to the land they inhabit; and suffer their country to be severed like a common, by the line on which those nations have traced their limits of empire.

It is not in the extremes alone that these varieties of genius may be clearly distinguished. Their continual change keeps pace with the variations of climate with which we suppose them connected; and though certain degrees of capacity, penetration and ardour, are not the lot of entire nations, nor the vulgar properties of any people; yet their unequal frequency, and unequal measure, in different countries, are sufficiently manifest from the manners, the tone of conversation, the talent for business, amusement, and the literary composition, which predominate in each.

It is to the Southern nations of Europe, both ancient and modern, that we owe the invention and embellishment of that mythology, and those early traditions, which continue to furnish the materials of fancy, and the field of poetic allusion. To them we owe the romantic tales of chivalry, as well as the subsequent models of a more rational style, by which the heart and the imagination are kindled, and the understanding informed.

The fruits of industry have abounded most in the North, and the study of science has here received its most solid improvements: the efforts of imagination and sentiment were most frequent and most successful in the South. While the shores of the Baltic became famed for the studies of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler *), those of the Mediterra-

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*) *Nicolaus Copernicus, ein Preuſse, 1472 zu Thorn geboren und 1543 zu Frauenburg gestorben; Tycho de Brahe ein Däne, 1546 in Schonen geboren und 1601 zu Prag gestorben; Jo-*

nean were celebrated for giving birth to men of genius in all its variety, and for having abounded with poets and historians as well as with men of science.

On one side, learning took its rise from the heart and the fancy; on the other, it is still confined to the judgment and the memory. A faithful detail of public transactions, with little discernment of their comparative importance; the treaties and the claims of nations, the births and genealogies of princes, are in the literature of Northern nations, amply preserved; while the lights of the understanding, and the feelings of the heart, are suffered to perish. The history of the human character; the interesting memoir, founded no less on the careless proceedings of a private life, than on the formal transactions of a public station; the ingenious pleasantry, the piercing ridicule, the tender, pathetic, or the elevated strain of elocution, have been confined in modern, as well as ancient times, with a few exceptions, to the same latitudes with the fig and the wine.

These diversities of natural genius, if real, must have great part of their foundation in the animal frame: and it has been often observed, that the vine flourishes, where, to quicken the ferments of the human blood, its aids are the least required. While spirituous liquors are, among Southern nations, from a sense of their ruinous effects, prohibited; or from a love of decency, and the possession of a temperament sufficiently warm, not greatly desired; they carry in the North a peculiar charm, while they awaken the mind, and give a taste of that lively fancy and ardour of passion, which the climate is found to deny.

The melting desires, or the fiery passions, which in one climate take place between the sexes, are in another changed into a sober consideration, or a patience of mutual disgust. This change is remarked in crossing the Mediterranean, in following the course of the Mississippi, in ascending the mountains of Caucasus, and in passing from the Alps and the Pyrenees to the shores of the Baltic.

The female sex domineers on the frontier of Louisiana by the double engine of superstition, and of passion. They

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hann Kepler, ein Deutscher, 1571 zu Weil in Würtenberg geboren und 1630 zu Regensburg gestorben, haben sich unsterbliche Verdienste um die Sternkunde erworben.

are slaves among the native inhabitants of Canada, and are chiefly valued for the toils they endure, and the domestic service they yield *).

The burning ardours, and the torturing jealousies of the seraglio, and the haram, which have reigned so long in Asia and Africa, and which, in the southern parts of Europe, have scarcely given way to the difference of religion and civil establishments, are found, however with an abatement of heat in the climate, to be more easily changed, in one latitude, into a temporary passion which ingrosses the mind, without enfeebling it, and excites to romantic atchievements: by a farther progress to the north, it is changed into a spirit of gallantry, which employs the wit and the fancy more than the heart; which prefers intrigue to enjoyment; and substitutes affectation and vanity, where sentiment and desire have failed. As it departs from the sun, the same passion is farther composed into a habit of domestic connection, or frozen into a state of insensibility, under which the sexes at freedom scarcely chuse to unite their society.

These variations of temperament and character, do not indeed correspond with the number of degrees that are measured from the equator to the pole; nor does the temparature of the air itself depend on the latitude. Varieties of soil and position, the distance or neighbourhood of the sea, are known to affect the atmosphere, and may have signal effects in composing the animal frame.

The climates of America, though taken under the same parallel, are observed to differ from those of Europe. There, extensive marshes, great lakes, aged, decayed, and crowded forests, with the other circumstances that mark an uncultivated country, are supposed to replenish the air with heavy and noxious vapours, that give a double asperity to the winter, and during many months, by the frequency and continuance of fogs, snow, and frost, carry the inconveniencies of the frigid zone far into the temperate. The Samojede and the Laplander, however, have their counterpart, though on a lower latitude, on the shores of America: the Canadian and the Iroquois bear a resemblance to the ancient inhabitants of the middling climates of Europe: the Mexican, like the Asiatic of India, being addicted to pleasure, was sunk in effeminacy;

*) Charlevoix.

and in the neighbourhood of the wild and the free, had suffered to be raised on his weakness, a domineering superstition, and a permanent fabric of despotical government.

Great part of Tartary lies under the same parallels with Greece, Italy, and Spain; but the climates are found to be different; and while the shores not only of the Mediterranean but even those of the Atlantic, are favoured with a moderate change and vicissitude of seasons, the eastern parts of Europe, and the northern continent of Asia, are afflicted with all their extremes. In one season, we are told, that the plagues of ardent summer reach almost to the frozen sea; and that the inhabitant is obliged to screen himself from noxious vermin in the same clouds of smoke in which he must, at a different time of the year, take shelter from the rigours of cold. When winter returns, the transition is rapid, and with an asperity almost equal in every latitude, lays waste the face of the earth, from the northern confines of Siberia, to the descents of Mount Caucasus and the frontier of India.

With this unequal distribution of climate, by which the lot, as well as the national character, of the northern Asiatic may be deemed inferior to that of Europeans, who lie under the same parallels, a similar gradation of temperament and spirit, however, has been observed, in following the meridian on either tract; and the southern Tartar has over the Tonguese and the Samojede, the same pre-eminence that certain nations of Europe are known to possess over their northern neighbours, in situations more advantageous to both.

The southern hemisphere scarcely offers a subject of like observation. The temperate zone is there still undiscovered, or is only known in two promontories, the Cape of Good Hope, and Cape Horn, which stretch into moderate latitudes on that side of the line. But the savage of South America, notwithstanding the interposition of the nations of Peru and of Mexico, is found to resemble his counterpart on the North, and the Hottentot, in many things, the barbarian of Europe; he is tenacious of freedom, has rudiments of policy, and a national vigour, which serve to distinguish his race from the other African tribes, who are exposed to the more vertical rays of the sun.

While we have, in these observations, only thrown out what must present itself on the most cursory view of the history of mankind, or what may be presumed from the mere

obscurity of some nations, who inhabit great tracts of the earth, as well as from the lustre of others, we are still unable to explain the manner in which climate may effect the temperament, or foster the genius of its inhabitant.

That the temper of the heart, and the intellectual operations of the mind, are, in some measure, dependent on the state of the animal organs, is well known from experience. Men differ from themselves in sickness and in health, under a change of diet, of air and of exercise: but we are, even in these familiar instances, at a loss how to connect the cause with its supposed effect: and though climate, by including a variety of such causes, may, by some regular influence, affect the characters of men, we can never hope to explain the manner of those influences till we have understood what probably we shall never understand, the structure of those finer organs with which operations of the soul are connected.

When we point out, in the situation of a people, circumstances which, by determining their pursuits, regulate their habits, and their manner of life; and when, instead of referring to the supposed physical source of their dispositions, we assign their inducements to a determinate conduct; in this we speak of effects and of causes whose connection is more familiarly known. We can understand for instance, why a race of men like the Samoiede, confined, during great part of the year, to darkness, or retired into caverns, should differ, in their manners and apprehensions, from those who are at liberty in every season, or who, instead of seeking relief from the extremities of cold, are employed in search of precautions against the oppressions of a burning sun. Fire and exercise are the remedies of cold; repose and shade the securities from heat. The Hollander is laborious and industrious in Europe; he becomes more languid and slothful in India *).

Great extremities, either of heat or cold, are, perhaps, in a moral view, equally unfavourable to the active genius of mankind, and by presenting alike insuperable difficulties to be overcome, or strong inducements to indolence and sloth, equally prevent the first applications of ingenuity, or limit

*) The Dutch sailors who were employed in the siege of Malaço, tore or burnt the sail-cloth which was given them to make tents, that they might not have the trouble of making or pitching them. *Voy. de Matelief.*

their progress. Some intermediate degrees of inconvenience in the situation, at once excite the spirit, and, with the hopes of success, encourage its efforts. „It is in the least favour„able situations," says Mr. Rousseau, „that the arts have „flourished the most. I could show them in Egypt, as they „spread with the overflowing of the Nile; and in Attica as „they mounted up to the clouds, from a rocky soil and from „barren sands; while on the fertile banks of the Eurotas they „were not able to fasten their roots."

Where mankind from the first subsist by toil, and in the midst of difficulties, the defects of their situation are supplied by industry: and while dry, tempting, and healthful lands are left uncultivated *), the pestilent marsh is drained with great labour, and the sea is fenced off with mighty barriers, the materials and the costs of which, the soil to be gained can scarcely afford, or repay. Harbours are opened, and crowded with shipping, where vessels of burden, if they are not constructed with a view to the situation, have not water to float. Elegant and magnificent edifices are raised on foundations of slime; and all the conveniencies of human life are made to abound, where nature does not seem to have prepared a reception for men. It is in vain to expect, that the residence of arts and commerce should be determined by the possession of natural advantages. Men do more when they have certain difficulties to surmount, than when they have supposed blessings to enjoy: and the shade of the barren oak and the pine are more favourable to the genius of mankind, than that of the palm or the tamarind.

Among the advantages which enable nations to run the career of policy, as well as of arts, it may be expected, from the observations already made, that we should reckon every circumstance which enables them to divide and to maintain themselves in distinct and independent communities. The society and concourse of other men, are not more necessary to form the individual, than the rivalship and competition of nations are to invigorate the principles of political life in a state. Their wars, and their treaties, their mutual jealousies, and the establishments which they devise with a view to each other, constitute more than half the occupations of mankind, and furnish materials for their greatest and most improving

*) Compare the state of Hungary with that of Holland.

exertions. For this reason, clusters of islands, a continent divided by many natural barriers, great rivers, ridges of mountains, and arms of the sea, are best fitted for becoming the nursery of independent and respectable nations. The distinction of states being clearly maintained, a principle of political life is established in every division, and the capital of every district, like the heart in an animal body, communicates with ease the vital blood and the national spirit to its members.

The most respectable nations have always been found where at least one part of the frontier has been washed by the sea. This barrier, perhaps the strongest of all in the times of ignorance, does not however, even then supersede the cares of a national defence; and in the advanced state of arts gives the greatest scope and facility to commerce.

Thriving and independent nations were accordingly scattered on the shore of the Pacific and the Atlantic. They surrounded the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic; while, a few tribes excepted, who retire among the mountains bordering on India and Persia, or who have found some rude establishment among the creeks and the shores of the Caspian and the Euxine, there is scarcely a people in the vast continent of Asia who deserves the name of a nation. The unbounded plain is traversed at large by hordes, who are in perpetual motion, or who are displaced and harassed by their mutual hostilities. Although they are never perhaps actually blended together in the course of hunting, or in the search of pasture, they cannot bear one great distinction of nations, which is taken from the territory, and which is deeply impressed by an affection to the native seat. They move in troops, without the arrangement or the concert of nations; they become easy accessions to every new empire among themselves, or to the Chinese and the Muscovite, with whom they hold a traffic for the means of subsistence, and the materials of pleasure.

Where a happy system of nations is formed, they do not rely for the continuance of their separate names, and for that of their political independence, on the barriers erected by nature. Mutual jealousies lead to the maintenance of a balance of power; and this principle, more than the Rhine and the Ocean, than the Alps and the Pyrenees in modern Europe; more than the straits of Thermopylæ, the mountains

of Thrace, or the bays of Salamine and Corinth in ancient Greece, tended to prolong the separation, to which the inhabitants of these happy climates have owed their felicity as nations, the lustre of their fame, and their civil accomplishments.

If we mean to pursue the history of civil society, our attention must be chiefly directed to such examples, and we must here bid farewell to those regions of the earth, on which our species, by the effects of situation or climate, appear to be restrained in their national pursuits, or inferior in the powers of the mind.

PITT.

William Pitt, *Sohn des berühmten Grafen von Chatham, von welchem oben S. 309 ff. die Rede gewesen ist, wurde am 8ten Mai 1759 geboren. Um unsern Lesern zugleich eine Probe aus den in 6 Bänden von 1798 bis 1804 zu London erschienenen* Public Characters, *einer Reihe gröſstentheils sehr anziehender biographischer Umrisse von berühmten Staatsmännern, Gelehrten, Künstlern u. s. w. der jüngsten Zeit zu geben, lassen wir hier das im letzten Bande des angeführten Werks enthaltenen Leben dieses Staatsmannes mit den Worten des sich J. W*** unterzeichnenden Verfassers folgen:*

William Pitt, the illustrious Earl of Chatham, had three sons, of whom the present minister is the youngest. He was born May 8. 1759, at a time when his father's glory was at its zenith; and when, in consequence of the wisdom of his councils, and the vigour and promptitude of his decisions, British valour reigned triumphant in every part of the globe.

On the accession of his present majesty, that great statesman, in consequence of new arrangements, chiefly occasioned by the rising influence of the Earl of Bute, retired from the station which he had so honourably filled; and consigning his other sons to the care of others, he devoted his own time to the education of William, on a strong and well-founded persuasion (as he was in the habit of saying) that „he would one day encrease the glory of the name of Pitt."

His classical knowledge Mr. Pitt acquired under the care of a private tutor at Burton-Pynsent, the seat of his father; and the Earl took great pleasure in teaching him, while still a youth, to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance and force. He judiciously accustomed him to the practice of making accurate enquiries respecting every subject that caught his attention, and taught him not to remain satisfied with a superficial observation of appearances.

These lessons brought him into an early practice of cool and patient investigation, rarely, if ever, acquired by those who prefer the trappings of eloquence, and the showy ornaments of language, to plain sober diction, and pertinent matter of fact.

Under such an able paternal guide, an acute mind could not fail to imbibe a store of sound practical knowledge. The earl, with his usual perspicacity, fancied he saw in his son a future statesman, and, in all probability, a future minister of his country also. It was a laudable ambition in a father, and to gratify it he spared no exertions; directing his whole attention to the great object of rendering his son accomplished in all things requisite to form a public character, and to preserve the lustre already attached to the name of William Pitt.

He, himself, frequently entered into disputations with him, and encouraged him to converse with others, upon subjects far above what could be expected from his years. In the management of these arguments, his father would never cease to press him with difficulties; nor would he permit him to stop, till the subject of contention was completely exhausted. By being inured to this method, the son acquired that quality which is of the first consequence in public life — a sufficient degree of firmness, and presence of mind, as well as a ready delivery, in which he was wonderfully aided both by nature and education.

That he might enjoy all the benefits of instruction which this country could give him, and, at the same time, by a rapid progress in the preliminary studies, qualify himself early for the senate, he was taken, at between fourteen and fifteen years of age, from his father's roof, and the care of a very enlightened and worthy clergyman, Mr. (now Dr.) Wilson, and sent to Pembroke-College, Cambridge, where he was admitted under the tuition of Messrs. Turner and Prettyman, both very able men, and willing to second, to the utmost of their power, the

intentions, of his father. Mr. Prettyman was also his private instructor, and a better choice could not have been made, as far as classical and mathematical knowledge were concerned. For eloquence he could not look up to either of his instructors, but his father's example and precepts required no further assistance on that head.*

*In Cambridge he became a model to the young nobility and fellow-commoners; and it was not doubted that, if the privileges of his rank had not exempted him from the usual exercises for the bachelor's degree, he would have been found among the first competitors for academical honours. On his admission, according to custom, to his master's degree, the public orator found it needless to search into his genealogy, or even to dwell much upon the virtues of his father, for the eyes of the university were fixed on the youth, the enraptured audience assented to every encomium, and each breast was filled with the liveliest presages of future greatness. To the honour of Mr. Pitt it must be spoken, that he has been duly sensible of the care taken of his rising years. His tutors *) have received repeated marks of his acknowledgment. Dr. Wilson, his first instructor, is now canon of Windsor; and one of his sons has a lucrative sinecure **) in Jamaica. The worthy Dr. Turner is Dean of Norwich; Dr. Prettyman has received the Bishopric of Lincoln and the Deanery of St. Paul's, and will, doubtless, not be overlooked in future promotions,*

*Mr. Pitt was afterwards entered a student of Lincoln's Inn ***), and made so rapid a progress in his legal studies, as to be soon called to the bar, with every prospect of success.*

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*) *Privatlehrer in den* Collegiis *der Englischen Universitäten.* **) Sine-cure *Stellen, d. h. Stellen* sine cura, *wobei wenig oder nichts zu thun ist.* ***) Inns of Chancery, Inns of Court, *sind Collegien in London, in welchen junge Leute in der Rechtsgelehrsamkeit unterwiesen werden. Die vornehmsten sind:* Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, *der* Temple *(s. oben S. 172.) u. a. m. Man ertheilt auf denselben Würden in dem gemeinen Rechte, wie auf Universitäten im bürgerlichen und canonischen Rechte, als die eines* Barrister's *(vermöge welcher der, so dieselbe erhalten, an der* Bar *oder an dem für die Richter und Advokaten im Gerichtshofe abgesonderten Orte, reden und Streitsachen verhandeln darf), die eines* Sergeant at Law, *welches so viel ist, als Doktor der Rechtsgelehrsamkeit, s.* W e n d e b o r n ' s Z u s t a n d *etc. in* G r o ſ s b r i t a n n i e n, *Theil* 4, *S.* 81.

*We are informed, that he once or twice went upon the Western circuit *), and appeared as junior counsel in several causes. He was, however, destined to fill a more important station in the government of his country, than is usually obtained through the channel of the law.*

At the general election, 1780, *we find him nominated by some of the most respectable persons in Cambridge as a candidate to represent that university; but notwithstanding the high character he had obtained there, he found very few to second his pretensions. In the following year, however, he was returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of Sir James Lowther. On taking his seat in the House of Commons, he enlisted himself on the side of the party which had constantly opposed the minister, Lord North, and the American war, and which regarded him with a degree of veneration; recognising in his person the genius of his illustrious father revived and acting, as it were, in him. His first speech was in favour of Mr. Burke's bill; and one of the first acts, in which he took the lead in that House, was extremely well calculated to increase his popularity; this was his motion for a committee, to consult upon the most effectual means to accomplish a more equal representation of the people in parliament. His propositions were, indeed, rejected; but he continued to repeat and renew them from time to time; and thus kept up the public attention to this great object, which was, consequently, more generally canvassed than it ever had been before.*

*On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the old Whig party fell into a state of disunion, nearly bordering upon dissolution. A new arrangement took place soon after, and Lord Shelburne **) became the first Lord of the Treasury, assisted by Mr. Pitt, who astonished the country, and, indeed, all Europe, by the phenomenon of a Chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of twenty-three!*

His popularity at this period effectually screened him from every charge which his youth and inexperience might justly have warranted, and which were strongly urged against him by the adverse faction. The situation of the country was extremely critical. The American war had become generally

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*) The Western circuit *heißt die S.* 170 *erwähnte Bereisung der westlichen Grafschaften durch die Ober-Richter zum Behuf der Gerichtstage* (Assizes). **) Lord Shelburne *war* first Lord of the Treasury *von July* 1782-1783.

odious; and all hearts panted for a cessation of hostilities. This desirable object was, therefore, the first consideration with the new ministry.

*The combined powers had recently experienced great humiliations, and consequently the opportunity was not to be lost. A general peace accordingly took place; but the terms of it were reprobated by a considerable part of the nation. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt delivered a most masterly defence of himself and his colleagues, which produced a corresponding, though not successful, effect. The administration, of which he was one of the most distinguished members, was, therefore, short-lived *). On its dissolution, the young statesman withdrew into retirement, and afterwards went abroad for some time, visiting Italy, and several of the German courts.*

*On the coalition-ministry **) coming into place, Mr. Mansfield's seat for the university became vacant, by accepting the office of solicitor-general ***), and Mr. Pitt determined to oppose him: with this view he went down to Cambridge; but was treated with contempt, by the heads and senior members. One almost threw the door in his face, and wondered at the impudence of the young man, thus to come down and disturb the peace of the university! From such a scene he retired in a few days, in disgust; though the assurances of support from several independent masters of arts, kept alive the scanty hopes of future success. A few months, however, changed the scene; the coalition-ministry was thrown out, he repaired in triumph to the university, was received with open arms, carried his election by means of a considerable majority, and was able, also, by his influence, to make Lord Euston his colleague. For a time, the tergiversation of the senate was a theme of conversation; the most notorious of the gown who had changed sides were marked by the contempt of the unsuccessful, but they laughed at their own disgrace, being gratified by the rewards of the successful candidates; mitres, and stalls, and livings, became the portion of the Cambridge men. But few of the independent masters, who would have supported him when out of power, and did so on his accession to the ministry, were to be*

) Sie dauerte nur vom Julius 1782 bis zum März 1783. **) Die* Coalition Administration *dauerte vom März bis Dezember 1783. *) So heifst der Gehülfe des* Attorney General, *oder General-Fiskals. Beide sind natürliche Advokaten der Krone, und wenig von einander verschieden.*

found among his voters at the next election; they considered him as having receded from those principles of liberty, on which he had first acted; for he had now become cool in his zeal for that reform of parliament, which had, in conjunction with his great talents, first entitled him to their notice.

*An occasion, as we have just remarked, suddenly offered, in 1784, for bringing Mr. Pitt forward once more on the great theatre of politics, as a candidate for fame and power. The British dominions in India had long been in an alarming situation, and it was generally admitted that an immediate remedy was indispensably necessary to preserve them. With this view, Mr. Fox, then Secretary of State, formed, digested, and brought forward his famous India Bill, which he carried through its several stages with a high hand *).*

*The coalition-ministry, composed of such an heterogeneous mixture, notwithstanding their majority in the House of Commons, were generally obnoxious to the nation, and this measure was particularly offensive to the great body whom it immediately affected. Lord North and his new allies were accordingly dismissed, and that too in a very unconstitutional manner, and Mr. Pitt, the new Premier, was assisted by the advice of Lord Thurlow **), as keeper of the great seal — arrangements which, at that time, were, however only considered as temporary!*

*He now astonished the commercial and political world, by his own India bill ***)! He had, however, the mortification to find the majority of the House of Commons against him, and he was placed in the particular situation of a minister acting with a minority, and that too in opposition to the strongest conflux of talents ever combined against any administration. He, however, remained firm in his seat amidst a general confusion; and though the House had petitioned his Majesty, to dismiss him and his coadjutors, our young Premier ventured to inform the representatives of the nation that their petition could not be complied with!*

This struggle between the Commons and the Crown was of the greatest importance; but the people, at large, were of

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*) *S. weiter unten den Artikel* Fox. **) *Lord* Thurlow *war mit einer kurzen Unterbrechung Lord* Chancellor *von* 1778 *bis* 1792. ***) *Man findet den Inhalt derselben ausführlich in den* Beiträgen zur Kenntniſs des Innern von England *etc.* 4tes Stück, S. 112.

*opinion, that the former encroached upon the regal prerogatives; and on the question being, in a manner, thrown into their hands by a dissolution of Parliament, a new one was returned, which changed the majority, and preserved the Premier in a post which he has sturdily maintained ever since! *).*

Various public measures have, of course, during a period of fourteen years, been brought forward by this active minister; to notice which, would far exceed the bounds of a memoir, so limited in its object, as the present. They are incorporated in the history of his country, and at present familiarly recollected by his contemporaries.

*The commercial treaty with France was a bold scheme, and evinced deep political and mercantile knowledge. But the most critical circumstance in the annals of Mr. Pitt's administration, and that on which his biographer should dwell the most, is the period when the regal powers were, in a manner, unhappily suspended, and all the wisdom of the legislature was required to form a regency. It was a crisis not only novel, but of extreme magnitude, as likely to become the precedent for future times; no such incident having, till then, occurred in the annals of our history **).*

Some statesmen would have worshipped the rising sun; Mr. Pitt, and his colleagues, however, pursued a different course, and thereby added greatly to their popularity, and effectually secured themselves in power.

But if, on some occasions, he has courted the favour of the people, he certainly has not always sacrificed at their shrine. He appears, indeed, to have a proper conception of the value in which popular esteem is to be held, but to be sensible, at the same time, that it ought not to influence the conduct of a legislator, if evidently repugnant to the true interests of the country.

When the revolution took place in France, the situation of the prime minister of this kingdom became once more extremely critical.

**) Der Leser erinnere sich bei dieser und einigen andern Stellen, daſs obiger Aufsatz im Jahre 1799 geschrieben wurde. **) Ueber Pitt's Benehmen während der Krankheit des Königs findet man ausführliche Nachrichten im 16ten Stück der mehrmals angeführten Beiträge etc. S. 7. u. ff.*

The aspect of Europe has assumed a new face, since the monarchy of France was shaken from its ancient basis. A war has ensued totally different from all former wars. In judging, therefore, of the merits of those who are concerned in managing the affairs of the nation, it is impossible to have recourse either to precedents, or to old political principles. A new mode of action, a new scheme of politics, was to be devised and adapted to the existing circumstances.

If any merit be due to boldness of invention, to vigour of execution, to wide extension of plans, and to firmness and perseverance of conduct, certainly the present administration has an undoubted claim to public gratitude; it must, however, be allowed, that they are accused of having trenched more than once on the liberties of the people.

An attention to commerce has greatly distinguished Mr. Pitt's administration, particularly during the present contest. Perhaps there is no man in the kingdom better acquainted with the principles of trade than he is. The oldest, and most experienced merchants have been astonished at his readiness in conversing with them upon subjects of which they thought themselves exclusively masters. Many who have waited upon him in full confidence that they should communicate some new and important information, have, to their great surprise, found him minutely and intimately acquainted with all those points to which they conceived he was a stranger. By the close attention which he has uniformly paid to the mercantile interests, he has also secured to himself an exclusive basis of support, which has enabled him not only to resist a most vigorous opposition, but to carry into effect financial measures until his time deemed impracticable.

Some men have charged him with political tergiversation, on the ground of having abandoned, if not opposed, the project of a parliamentary reform. If he really considers such a reform as no longer necessary, it will not be difficult to exonerate him from this heavy accusation. But there certainly is a great difference between absolute apostacy, and an occasional cessation from a particular system of opinions or line of conduct. It does not follow that Mr. Pitt is an enemy to necessary reform, because he considers the existing circumstances of the country as too critical to admit the trial of the experiment.

As a public speaker, the minister is not to be characterized by over-strained parallels, drawn from the orators of antiquity. He possesses rather the elegance and grace of Cicero, than the fire of Demosthenes. He displays, however, more of the acute logician, than of the persuasive rhetorician; but his voice, though clear and powerful, possesses not those modulations that charm the ear, and steal upon the heart. His deficiencies, however, are more than counterbalanced by a conclusive and forcible method of reasoning, added to a facility of stating his arguments, which makes them not only conceiveable to the meanest understanding, but gives them frequently a precision and vigour which may be pronounced irresistible.

The Premier also possesses an advantage of inestimable value, in a minister of state, namely, a great command over his temper, added to much coolness, during the ardour of debate.

This enables him to reply clearly and particularly to the arguments of his opponents, and to defend his cause, by often turning their own weapons upon themselves. Though he is confident, and, frequently, it must be confessed, even arrogant, in his speeches, which sometimes provokes the opposition orators to use harsh language, yet he seldom loses his own temper, or retorts in anger.

His action is not strictly graceful, which is, in some measure owing to the disadvantage of an exterior, which however dignified, is yet not engaging; for he is very tall, and deficient in embonpoint. *His countenance is also severe and forbidding, expressive, indeed (in the language of physiognomists) of a capacious mind, and inflexible resolution; but also of a too lofty, and, perhaps, unbending spirit.*

Mr. Pitt forms, in all points, a direct contrast to his political opponent: and it is certainly a curious circumstance, that two such extraordinary men should be as opposite in their private characters, as in their public career. In debate, Mr. Fox is vehement, Mr. Pitt cool. The one is frank and open, the other close and reserved. The urbanity of the exminister gains him friends, among all parties; the hauteur *and* sang froid *of the Premier, does not conciliate even his associates.*

Mr. Pitt is the same guarded and unbending politician in his social hours, that he is in the House of Commons.

In private life, his sole pleasures are of an official and convivial nature.

Ambition is the ruling passion of his soul, before which every other sinks into insignificance; and at the shrine of this goddess, and at that of Bacchus, he is supposed alone to pay his devotions. That health and talents may not suffer by the latter, and that his country may prosper under the influence of the former, is the earnest wish of the writer of this article.

Pitt resignirte im März 1801. Wie groſs dessen ungeachtet sein Einfluſs auf das neue Ministerium, zu dessen vornehmsten Mitgliedern Addington, St. Vincent, Hawkesbury und Hobart gehörten, und welches fast ganz nach seinen Grundsätzen zu handeln schien, gewesen, ist bekannt. Seine scheinbare Entfernung von der unmittelbaren Verwaltung der Staatsangelegenheiten dauerte, wie vorauszusehen war, nicht lange, denn schon den 10ten Mai 1804 hatte er seinen vorigen Posten eingenommen. Er bekleidete denselben bis zu seinem den 23sten Januar 1806 zu Pulteney erfolgten Tode. Sein Vaterland verlor in ihm einen seiner hochherzigsten Patrioten, und bezeigte durch eine feierliche Beisetzung seines Leichnams in der Westminster-Abtei seine Theilnahme an dem groſsen Verlust, den es erlitten. So sehr die Mitglieder der Opposition die Grundsätze tadelten, nach welchen er handelte, so wahr ist es doch — und Fox, sein ehemaliger eifrigster Gegner, schien davon überzeugt zu seyn — daſs ein Premier-Minister Englands nicht nach andern Grundsätzen handeln dürfe. — Was das hier aufgenommene Bruchstück seiner Rede betrifft, so braucht zum Verständnisse desselben nur folgendes angeführt zu werden: Dundas trug in der Parliamentssitzung vom 3ten Febr. 1800 auf eine Dank-Adresse an den König für die Mittheilung der Antworten an, welche auf die Friedens-Anträge Frankreichs ertheilt worden waren; verschiedene Mitglieder sprachen dagegen, insonderheit Th. Erskine. Nun erhob sich Pitt, und redete ausführlich über die Schwierigkeiten, gegenwärtig mit Frankreich zu negociiren. Seine Rede sowohl, als auch Fox's Beantwortung derselben (wovon in dem nächstfolgenden Artikel ein Fragment mitgetheilt werden soll), findet man in Woodfall's parliamentary Reports 1800. Vol. II. *S. 1 — 91. vollständig abgedruckt. Eine umständliche Erzählung seines Lebens enthält folgendes Werk:* History of the political life of the right honourable William Pitt, including some account of the times in which he lived, by John Gif-

ford, Esq. in six Volumes, London. *Im Jahre 1821 erschienen zu London:* Memoirs of the life of the right honourable William Pitt, by George Tomline, Lord Bishop of Winchester, 3 Vols. *(Der Verfasser hatte die Aufsicht über Pitt's Erziehung auf der Universität zu Cambridge.) Die vollständige Sammlung seiner Reden führt den Titel:* The Speeches of the right honourable William Pitt in the House of the Commons, the second edition, 3 Vols. 8. London 1808 *(mit dem Motto:* Quanto magis admiraremini, si audissetis ipsum. *Cicero.) In dieser Sammlung steht die hier abgedruckte Selle im 3ten Bande, Seite 135 und ff.*

Speech relative to a Negociation for Peace with the French Republic.

I will not pretend to inquire deeply into the nature and effects of a constitution *), which can hardly be regarded but as a farce and a mockery. If, however, could be supposed that its provisions were to have any effect, it seems equally adapted to two purposes, that of giving to its founder **) for a time an absolute and uncontrolled authority, and that of laying the certain foundation of future disunion and discord which, if they once prevail, must render the exercise of all the authority under the constitution impossible, and leave no appeal but to the sword.

Is then military despotism that which we are accustomed to consider as a stable form of government? In all ages of the world, it has been attended with the least stability to the persons who exercised it, and with the most rapid succession of changes and revolutions. In the outset of the French revolution its advocates boasted that it furnished a security for ever, not to France only, but to all countries in the world, against military despotism; that the force of standing armies was vain and delusive; that no artificial power could resist public opinion; and that it was upon the foundation of public opinion alone that any government could stand. I believe, that in this instance, as in every other, the progress of the French revolution has belied its professions; that so far from its being a proof of the prevalence of public opinion against military force, it is instead of the proof, the strongest excep-

*) *Die damalige neueste Französische Constitution.* **) *Bonaparte.*

tion from that doctrine which appears in the history of the world. Through all the stages of the revolution military force has governed; public opinion has scarcely been heard. But still I consider this as only an exception from a general truth; I still believe, that, in every civilized country (not enslaved by a jacobin faction), public opinion is the only sure support of any government; I believe this with the more satisfaction, from a conviction that if this contest is happily terminated, the established governments of Europe will stand upon that rock firmer than ever; and whatever may be the defects of any particular constitution, those who live under it will prefer its continuance to the experiment of changes which may plunge them in the unfathomable abyss of revolution, or extricate them from it, only to expose them to the terrors of military despotism. And to apply this to France, I see no reason to believe, that the present usurpation will be more permanent than any other military despotism, which has been established by the same means, and with the same defiance of public opinion.

What, then, is the inference I draw from all that I have now stated? Is it, that we will in no case treat with Bonaparte? I say no such thing. But I say, as has been said in the answer returned to the French note, that we ought to wait for *experience, and the evidence of facts*, before we are convinced that such a treaty is admissible. The circumstances I have stated would well justify us if we should be slow in being convinced; but on a question of peace and war, every thing depends upon degree, and upon comparison. If, on the one hand, there should be an appearance that the policy of France is at length guided by different maxims from those which have hitherto prevailed; if we should hereafter see signs of stability in the government, which are not now to be traced; if the progress of the allied army should not call forth such a spirit in France, as to make it probable that the act of the country itself will destroy the system now prevailing; if the danger, the difficulty, the risk of continuing the contest should increase, while the hope of complete ultimate success should be diminished; all these, in their due place, are considerations, which, with myself and (I can answer for it) with every one of my colleagues, will have their just weight. But at present these considerations all operate one way; at present there is nothing from which we can presage

so favourable a change of disposition in the French councils. There is the greatest reason to rely on powerful co-operation from our allies; there are the strongest marks of a disposition in the interior of France to active resistance against this new tyranny; and there is every ground to believe, on reviewing our situation, and that of the enemy, that if we are ultimately disappointed of that complete success which we are at present entitled to hope, the continuance of the contest, instead of making our situation comparatively worse, will have made it comparatively better.

If then I am asked how long are we to persevere in the war, I can only say, that no period can be accurately assigned beforehand. Considering the importance of obtaining complete security for the objects for which we contend, we ought not to be discouraged too soon; but on the other hand, considering the importance of not impairing and exhausting the radical strength of the country, there are limits beyond which we ought not to persist, and which we can determine only by estimating and comparing fairly, from time to time, the degree of security to be obtained by treaty, and the risk and disadvantage of continuing the contest.

But, Sir, there are some gentlemen in the House, who seem to consider it already certain, that the ultimate success to which I am looking is unattainable: they suppose us contending only for the restoration of the French monarchy, which they believe to be impracticable, and deny to be desirable for this country. We have been asked in the course of this debate, do you think you can impose monarchy upon France, against the will of the nation? I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wished it: I have thought, I have hoped, I have wished, that the time might come when the effect of the arms of the allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage, as to give vent and scope to the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants. We have, indeed, already seen abundant proof of the disposition of a large part of the country; we have seen almost through the whole of the revolution the western provinces of France *) deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, obstinately contending for their ancient laws and religion. We have recently seen in the revival of that war, a fresh instance of the zeal

*) *Anspielung auf die innerlichen Unruhen in der Vendée.*

which still animates those countries in the same cause. These efforts (I state it distinctly, and there are those near me who can bear witness to the truth of the assertion) were not produced by any instigation from hence; they were the effects of a rooted sentiment prevailing through all those provinces, forced into action by the *law of the hostages* and the other tyrannical measures of the Directory, at the moment when we were endeavouring to discourage so hazardous an enterprise. If, under such circumstances, we find them giving proofs of their unalterable perseverance in their principles; if there is every reason to believe that the same disposition prevails in many other extensive provinces of France; if every party appears at length equally wearied and disappointed with all the successive changes which the revolution has produced; if the question is no longer between monarchy, and even the pretence and name of liberty, but between the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper, on the other; if the armies of that usurper are likely to find sufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced at length to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifest its real feeling and disposition; what reason have we to anticipate, that the restoration of monarchy under such circumstances is impracticable? —

On the question, Sir, how far the restoration of the French monarchy, if practicable, is desirable, I shall not think it necessary to say much. Can it be supposed to be indifferent to us, or to the world, whether the throne of France is to be filled by a prince of the house of Bourbon, or by him *) whose principles and conduct I have endeavoured to develope? Is it nothing with a view to influence and example, whether the fortune of this last adventurer in the lottery of revolutions, shall appear to be permanent? Is it nothing, whether a system shall be sanctioned which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles, that general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful possessors, which holds out one of the most terrible examples of national injustice, and which has furnished the great source of revolutionary finance, and revolutionary strength, against all the powers of Europe?

In the exhausted and impoverished state of France, it

*) *Bonaparte.*

seems for a time impossible that any system but that of robbery and confiscation, any thing but the continued torture, which can be applied only by the engines of the Revolution, can extort from its ruined inhabitants more than the means of supporting, in peace, the yearly expenditure of its Government. Suppose, then, the Heir of the House of Bourbon reinstated on the throne, he will have sufficient occupation in endeavouring, if possible, to heal the wounds, and gradually to repair the losses of ten years of civil convulsion; to reanimate the drooping commerce, to rekindle the industry, to replace the capital, and to revive the manufactures of the country. Under such circumstances, there must probably be a considerable interval before such a monarch, whatever may be his views, can possess the power which can make him formidable to Europe; but while the system of the revolution continues, the case is quite different. It is true, indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported, are so far impaired; the influence of its principles, and the terror of its arms, so far weakened; and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed; that against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance. But, supposing the confederacy of Europe prematurely dissolved; supposing our armies disbanded, our fleets laid up in our harbours, our exertions relaxed, and our means of precaution and defence relinquished; do we believe that the revolutionary power, with this rest and breathing-time given it to recover from the pressure under which it is now sinking, possessing still the means of calling suddenly and violently into action whatever is the remaining physical force of France, under the guidance of military despotism; do we believe that this power, the terror of which is now beginning to vanish, will not again prove formidable to Europe? Can we forget, that in the ten years in which that power has subsisted, it has brought more misery on surrounding nations, and produced more acts of aggression, cruelty, perfidy, and enormous ambition, than can be traced in the history of France for the centuries which have elapsed since the foundation of its monarchy, including all the wars which in the course of that period have been waged by any of those Sovereigns, whose projects of aggran-

disement, and violations of treaty, afford a constant theme of general reproach against the ancient government of France? And if not, can we hesitate whether we have the best prospect of permanent peace, the best security for the independence and safety of Europe from the restoration of the lawful government, or from the continuance of revolutionary power in the hands of Bonaparte?

In compromise and treaty with such a power, placed in such hands as now exercise it, and retaining the same means of annoyance which it now possesses, I see little hope of permanent security. I see no possibility at this moment of concluding such a peace as would justify that liberal intercourse which is the essence of real amity; no chance of terminating the expences or the anxieties of war, or of restoring to us any of the advantages of established tranquillity; and as a sincere lover of peace, I cannot be content with its nominal attainment; I must be desirous of pursuing that system which promises to attain, in the end, the permanent enjoyment of its solid and substantial blessings for this country and for Europe. As a sincere lover of peace, I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow, when the reality is not substantially within my reach.

Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest *).

If, Sir, in all that I have now offered to the House, I have succeeded in establishing the proposition, that the system of the French revolution has been such as to afford to foreign powers no adequate ground for security in negociation, and that the change which has recently taken place **) has not yet afforded that security; if I have laid before you a just statement of the nature and extent of the danger with which we have been threatened; it would remain only shortly to consider, whether there is any thing in the circumstances of the present moment to induce us to accept a security confessedly inadequate against a danger of such a description.

It will be necessary here to say a few words on the subject on which Gentlemen have been so fond of dwelling, I mean our former negociations, and particularly that at Lisle

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*) *Warum also mag ich keinen Frieden? Weil er treulos, weil er gefährlich ist, weil er nicht Statt finden kann.* **) *Die Veränderung der Constitution durch Bonaparte.*

in 1797. I am desirous of stating frankly and openly the true motives which induced me to concur in then recommending negociation; and I will leave it to the House, and to the country, to judge whether our conduct at that time was inconsistent with the principles by which we are guided at present. That revolutionary policy which I have endeavoured to describe, that gigantic system of prodigality and bloodshed by which the efforts of France were supported, and which counts for nothing the lives and the property of a nation, had at that period driven us to exertions which had, in a great measure, exhausted the ordinary means of defraying our immense expenditure, and had led many of those who were the most convinced of the original justice and necessity of the war, and of the danger of jacobin principles, to doubt the possibility of persisting in it, till complete and adequate security could be obtained. There seemed, too, much reason to believe, that without some new measure to check the rapid accumulation of debt, we could no longer trust to the stability of that funding system, by which the nation had been enabled to support the expense of all the different wars in which we have engaged in the course of the present century. In order to continue our exertions with vigour, it became necessary that a new and solid system of finance should be established, such as could not be rendered effectual but by the general and decided concurrence of public opinion. Such a concurrence in the strong and vigorous measures necessary for the purpose could not then be expected, but from satisfying the country, by the strongest and most decided proofs, that peace on terms in any degree admissible was unattainable.

Under this impression we thought it our duty to attempt negociation, not from the sanguine hope, even at that time, that its result could afford us complete security, but from the persuasion, that the danger arising from peace under such circumstances, was less than that of continuing the war with precarious and inadequate means. The result of those negociations proved, that the enemy would be satisfied with nothing less than the sacrifice of the honour and independence of the country. From this conviction, a spirit and enthusiasm was excited in the nation, which produced the efforts to which we are indebted for the subsequent change in our situation. Having witnessed that happy change, having

observed the increasing prosperity and security of the country from that period, seeing how much more satisfactory our prospects now are, than any which we could then have derived from the successful result of negociation, I have not scrupled to declare, that I consider the rupture of the negociation, on the part of the enemy, as a fortunate circumstance for the country. But because these are my sentiments at this time, after reviewing what has since passed, does it follow that we were, at that time, insincere in endeavouring to obtain peace? The learned Gentleman *), indeed, assumes that we were, and he even makes a concession, of which I desire not to claim the benefit: he is willing to admit, that on our view of the subject, insincerity would have been justifiable. I know, Sir, no plea that would justify those who are entrusted with the conduct of public affairs, in holding out to Parliament, and to the nation, one object, while they were, in fact, pursuing another. I did, in truth, believe, at the moment, the conclusion of peace (if it could have been obtained), to be preferable to the continuance of the war under its increasing risks and difficulties. I therefore wished for peace, I sincerely laboured for peace. Our endeavours were frustrated by the act of the enemy. If, then, the circumstances are since changed, if what passed at that period has afforded a proof that the object we aimed at was unattainable, and if all that has passed since has proved, that if peace had been then made, it could not have been durable, are we bound to repeat the same experiment, when every reason against it is strengthened by subsequent experience, and when the inducements which led to it, at that time, have ceased to exist?

When we consider the resources and the spirit of the country, can any man doubt that if adequate security is not now to be obtained by treaty, we have the means of prosecuting the contest without material difficulty or danger, and with a reasonable prospect of completely attaining our object? I will not dwell on the improved state of public credit, on the continually increasing amount (in spite of extraordinary temporary burdens), of our permanent revenue, on the yearly accession of wealth, to a degree unprecedented even in the most flourishing times of peace, which we are

*) Th. Erskine.

deriving, in the midst of war, from our extended and flourishing commerce; on the progressive improvement and growth of our manufactures; on the proofs which we see on all sides of the uninterrupted accumulation of productive capital and on the active exertion of every branch of national industry, which can tend to support and augment the population, the riches, and the power of the country.

As little need I recal the attention of the House to the additional means of action which we have derived from the great augmentation of our disposable military force, the continued triumphs of our powerful and victorious navy, and the events which, in the course of the last two years, have raised the military ardour and military glory of the country to a height unexampled in any period of our history.

In addition to these grounds of reliance on our own strength and exertions, we have seen the consummate skill and valour of the arms of our allies proved by that series of unexampled success in the course of the last campaign, and we have every reason to expect a co-operation on the continent, even to a greater extent, in the course of the present year. If we compare this view of our own situation with every thing we can observe of the state and condition of our enemy; if we can trace him labouring under equal difficulty in finding men to recruit his army, or money to pay it; if we know that in the course of the last year the most rigorous efforts of military conscription were scarcely sufficient to replace to the French armies at the end of the campaign, the numbers which they had lost in the course of it; if we have seen that force, then in possession of advantages which it has since lost, was unable to contend with the efforts of the combined armies; if we know that, even while supported by the plunder of all the countries which they had overrun, the French armies were reduced, by the confession of their commanders, to the extremity of distress, and destitute not only of the principal articles of military supply, but almost of the necessaries of life; if we see them now driven back within their own frontiers, and confined within a country whose own resources have long since been proclaimed by their successive governments to be unequal either to paying or maintaining them; if we observe, that since the last revolution no one substantial or effectual measure has been adopted to remedy the intolerable disorder of their finances, and to supply the

deficiency of their credit and resources; if we see through large and populous districts of France, either open war levied against the present usurpation, or evident marks of disunion and distraction which the first occasion may call forth into a flame; if, I say, Sir, this comparison be just, I feel myself authorised to conclude from it, not that we are entitled to consider ourselves certain of ultimate success, not that we are to suppose ourselves exempted from the unforeseen vicissitudes of war; but that, considering the value of the object for which we are contending, the means for supporting the contest, and the probable course of human events, we should be inexcusable, if, at this moment, we were to relinquish the struggle on any grounds short of entire and complete security, against the greatest danger which has ever yet threatened the world; that from perseverance in our efforts under such circumstances, we have the fairest reason to expect the full attainment of that object; but that at all events, even if we are disappointed in our more sanguine hopes, we are more likely to gain than to lose by the continuation of the contest: that every month to which it is continued, even if it should not in its effects lead to the final destruction of the Jacobin system, must tend so far to weaken and exhaust it, as to give us at least a greater comparative security in any other termination of the war: that, on all these grounds, this is not the moment at which it is consistent with our interest or our duty to listen to any proposals of negociation with the present ruler of France; but that we are not therefore pledged to any unalterable determination as to our future conduct; that in this we must be regulated by the course of events; and that will be the duty of his Majesty's Ministers, from time to time, to adapt their measures to any variation of circumstances, to consider how far the effects of the military operations of the allies, or of the internal disposition of France, correspond with our present expectations; and, on a view of the whole, to compare the difficulties or risks which may arise in the prosecution of the contest, with the prospect of ultimate success, or of the degree of advantage which may be derived from its further continuance, and to be governed by the result of all these considerations, in the opinion and advice which they may offer to their sovereign *).

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*) *Pitt's Meinung obsiegte; denn es erklärten sich beim*

FOX.

Charles James Fox wurde den 13ten Januar 1749 geboren. Er war der zweite Sohn von Henry Fox, welcher unter Georg II. verschiedene ehrenvolle und einträgliche Posten bekleidete, 1754 Kriegssekretär, hierauf Staatssekretär für das südliche Departement, nachmals Kriegszahlmeister (pay-master general of the forces) war, und von dem jetzigen Könige 1763 zum Baron Holland of Foxley erhoben wurde; seine Mutter war Lady Georgiana Carolina Lenox, Tochter des verstorbenen Herzogs von Richmond und Urenkelinn Königs Karl's des Zweiten. Charles Fox, welcher sich frühzeitig durch Talente auszeichnete, wurde von seinem Vater, der ihn sehr liebte, mit vieler Sorgfalt und ganz in Hinsicht auf seine dereinstige Bestimmung als Staatsmann, erzogen. Er besuchte die Westminster-Schule, dann die Unterweisungs-Anstalt zu Eaton, und endlich die Universität Oxford. Der eingeschränkten und einförmigen Lebensart an letzterem Orte überdrüssig, bat er seinen Vater, ihn auf Reisen zu schicken. Der Wunsch des geliebten Sohnes ward erfüllt. Der junge Fox trat den grand tour an, und kehrte mit vielen Schulden und einer ansehnlichen Garderobe — denn Charles machte in seiner Jugend den Stutzer — nach seinem Vaterlande zurück. Im Jahre 1768 (im 19ten seines Alters, wo er eigentlich noch nicht wählbar war) ward er Parliamentsglied für den Flecken Midhurst in Sussex; seine erste öffentliche Rede war gegen den berühmten Wilkes *), der eben damals in King's Bench saſs, gerichtet. Die rednerischen Talente und anderweitigen Einsichten des jungen Fox erregten schon zu dieser Zeit Bewunderung, und veranlaſsten den Lord North, damaligen Chancellor of the Exchequer, ihm im Anfange des Jahres 1772 eine Stelle bei der Admiralität (a seat to the admirality board) zu geben, ja, ihn am Ende des angeführten Jahres zu einem der lords of the Treasury zu ernennen. Fox verler indessen diese Stelle bald wieder, weil er sich der Ministerial-Partei minder ergeben, als bisher, bewiesen hatte; zugleich zerfiel er mit Lord North, welcher ihm den Verlust

Stimmensammeln 263 für und nur 64 gegen dieselbe oder 265 Ayes und 64 Noes. *) Siehe oben S. 480.

seiner Stelle in einem Schreiben von beleidigender lakonischer Kürze *) *gemeldet hatte, so sehr, dass* **Fox** *seitdem der öffentliche Feind des Lords wurde, und diesen auch bis an den Rand des Verderbens brachte. Um diese Zeit starb sein Vater, und hinterliess ihm ansehnliche Besitzungen bei Kingsgate, nebst einer schönen Wohnung, nach* **Cicero's** *Formianischer, an der Küste von Bajæ belegenen Villa erbaut; ausserdem hatte er noch andere Einkünfte, überhaupt eine jährliche Einnahme von 4000 l. —; allein, dies alles ward bald verschwendet. Jeden andern würde die bedrängte Lage, in welcher* **Fox** *sich nunmehr befand, niedergedrückt haben; ihm aber scheint sie nur mehr Schwungkraft ertheilt zu haben. Nun begann er recht eigentlich seine Laufbahn als Patriot. Die Mitglieder des damaligen Ministeriums waren der Nation aus mehreren Gründen, unter andern auch wegen der Verfolgung des berühmten* **Wilkes**, *und wegen ihres Benehmens gegen America verhasst;* **Fox** *war sich in Rücksicht auf den letztern Punkt immer gleich geblieben, und hatte das Unglück, welches aus der Verfahrungsart gegen dieses Land entstehen würde, geahnet. Er widersetzte sich dem zufolge verschiedenen Maassregeln, welche man gegen America ergriffen hatte, und das Volk, dessen Günstling er nun zu werden begann, freute sich über den jungen Senator, den es bisher mit ungünstigem Auge betrachtet hatte. Im Jahre 1780 ward* **Fox**, *nachdem der Flecken Midhurst nicht mehr in dem Besitze seiner Familie war, zum Repräsentanten von Westminster erwählt. Lord* **North** *resignirte (vergl. das Leben von* **Edmund Burke**) *den 18ten März 1782; das Rockinghamsche Ministerium trat nun auf den Schauplatz, und* **Fox** *erhielt eine Stelle im Kabinet, und ward Staatssekretär. So kurz die Dauer dieses Ministeriums auch war, so sehr zeichnete sich dasselbe doch durch die grosse Wichtigkeit der verhandelten Gegenstände aus.* **Rockingham's** *plötzlicher Tod löste dasselbe indesssen bald wieder auf. Nun drang die Opposition durch, und kam ins Ministerium. „Erster Minister und erster Lord der Schatzkammer war nun der Graf* **Shelburne**, *nachmaliger Lord* **Landsdown**, *und* Chancellor of the Exchequer *der junge*

*) *Es ist folgendes:* His Majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I don't perceive your name. North

Pitt. Man schloſs mit Frankreich und Amerika Frieden, und Pitt *und* Landsdown *waren es eigentlich, die ihn machten. Dieser Friede war eine herrliche Sache für die Opposition, und sie schrie so lange, bis sie dieses Ministerium vertrieb. Und hier war es, wo die berühmte Coalition Statt fand, die das Aufsehen und die Ängstlichkeit der ganzen Nation erregte, und endlich die Aufhebung des Parliaments (1784) hervorbrachte. Diese Coalition war nun nichts anders, als die Vereinigung einer Menge Staatsmänner, die vorher verschiedene Grundsätze befolgt, entgegengesetztes Interesse gehabt, und also einander opponirt hatten. Lord* North, Fox, *der Herzog von* Portland, *der Graf von* Surrey *und die allermehrsten und gröſsten Peers des Königreichs, waren nun auf Einmal alle von einer Partei; eine Begebenheit, über welche der Nation die Augen nicht sogleich aufgingen. Der Herzog von* Portland *war nunmehr erster Lord der Schatzkammer, und* North *und* Fox *die beiden Staatssekretäre.* Portland *hatte den Namen; die beiden letztern waren alles.* Pitt *war jetzt wieder in der Opposition, konnte aber nichts thun, bis* Fox *die berühmte Ostindische Bill* (East-India Bill) *in's Haus brachte. Hier gingen nun der Nation auf einmal die Augen auf. Die Bill war so abgefaſst, daſs, wenn sie durchgegangen wäre, die Regierung der Ostindischen Gesellschaft fast ganz in die Hände des Ministeriums gerathen seyn würde. Die Ostindische Compagnie war bis auf den Augenblick dieser Bill vom Ministerium unabhängig, wurde aber von den ersten Beamten so schlecht verwaltet, daſs man durchgehends eine Veränderung nöthig fand.* Fox *und* North, *die eigentlich keine Freunde waren, boten einander hierin die Hand, und die Bill ging im Unterhause durch. Die Nation gerieth darüber in Aufruhr; die Opposition stellte vermuthlich die Gefahr noch gröſser vor, und viele befürchteten, die Macht von England würde in die Hände einer Aristokratie fallen. Vielleicht würde die Ostindische Bill auch im Oberhause durchgegangen seyn, wenn nicht der König die ernstlichsten Maaſsregeln dagegen genommen hätte. Dieser hätte als dritte constituirende Macht die Bill verwerfen können, wenn sie auch schon durch beide Häuser gegangen wäre; er wollte indessen von diesem Vorrecht nicht Gebrauch machen, und wandte sich an seine Freunde im Oberhause, besonders an den Grafen* Temple, *welcher öffentlich erklärte, daſs der*

König den für seinen Feind halten würde, der dafür wäre. Die Bill wurde nun verworfen, und das Ministerium entlassen. Fox verlor durch seine Bill einen grofsen Theil seiner Popularität." Wir haben diese grofse Begebenheit aus dem Leben unsers berühmten Redners den Lesern wörtlich aus dem dritten Stück von Küttner's Beiträgen zur Kenntnifs vorzüglich des Innern von England und seiner Einwohner S. 80. u. ff. mitgetheilt, weil wir dieselbe in den Public-Characters, der eigentlichen Quelle dieses Aufsatzes, nur angedeutet fanden; übrigens ist derselben auch bereits in dem Leben Burke's, so wie des Antheils, welchen dieser Staatsmann an derselben nahm, gedacht worden (s. S. 453. ff.). Das hier aufgenommene Bruchstück einer auf Veranlassung dieser Bill gehaltenen Rede, bedarf keiner weitern Erläuterung. — Fox wurde nun Repräsentant für die Flecken Tain, Dingwall, etc., und nachmals mit vieler Mühe wiederum Repräsentant für Westminster. Seit dieser Zeit bewies er sich beständig als einen Gegner der Ministerial-Partei. Während des Anfangs der Unterhandlungen über die Thronfolge bei der Krankheit des Königs hielt er sich in Italien auf. Dafs er sich während der revolutionären Unruhen in Frankreich als einen vorzüglich heftigen Gegner der Maafsregeln des Ministeriums bewiesen, dafs deshalb sein Name aus der Liste der privy Counsellors ausgestrichen, dafs er sich aus Unmuth, stets überstimmt zu werden, eine Zeitlang gänzlich aus dem Parliament entfernte, und nach Pitt's Tode, seit dem 23sten Januar 1806, die Stelle eines Staatssekretärs bekleidete — dies sind Begebenheiten aus der neuern Zeitgeschichte, welche unsern Lesern noch in zu frischem Andenken seyn werden, als dafs wir ihrer umständlich zu erwähnen brauchten. — Im Jahre 1802 unternahm er eine Reise nach Frankreich, um zu seiner Geschichte des Hauses Stuart Handschriften in dem schottischen Kollegium zu Paris aufzusuchen und zu vergleichen. Am 3ten September wurde er dem damaligen Consul Bonaparte, welcher ihn mit vieler Auszeichnung empfing, vorgestellt. Diese Reise hat ihm manchen bittern Spott von Seiten seiner Gegner zugezogen. Auch zu einem Zerrbilde gab sie dem berühmten Gillray Veranlassung. Fox, der in der Unterschrift zu diesem Blatte den Namen Volpone führt, steht in einer demüthigen Stellung vor dem Grofs-Consul, welcher ihm mit orientalischem Pomp, auf einem Throne sitzend und mit Mameluken um-

geben, Audienz ertheilt. Neben Fox steht seine Gemahlinn, eine ehemalige Mrs. Armstead, die seit beinah zwanzig Jahren seine Hausfreundinn gewesen war, und die er sich erst kurz vor seiner Reise nach Paris antrauen liefs. — Er starb den 13ten Sept. 1806 zu Chiswick in den Armen seines Neffen des Lords Holland *). Gewöhnlich hielt er sich nicht in London, sondern zu St. Annshill bei Chertsey auf, wo seine Lieblingsbeschäfftigung der Gartenbau war. — Fox gehörte zu den ersten Rednern Englands; insonderheit besafs er die eigene Geschicklichkeit, die verwickeltsten Angelegenheiten auf die einfachste Art darzustellen und auf feste Grundsätze zurückzubringen. Ausführlich schildert ihn uns als Redner der Etatsrath Hegewisch in seiner Geschichte der Brittischen Parliaments-Beredsamkeit. Es heifst darin von ihm: „Bei grofsen Naturgaben — ihm im reichsten Mafse verliehen — bei aufmerksamem Beobachtungsgeiste, scharfem Urtheil und glücklichem Gedächtnifs, fehlte ihm jene Einbildungskraft, die Muse des blühenden Redners, vielleicht auch jene Zartheit des Ohrs, ohne die es keinen angenehmen Deklamator giebt. Fox's Reden sind blos die Früchte seines Verstandes, blos an den Verstand gerichtet, blos auf Überzeugung berechnet. Seine Reden sind Ketten dicht an einander gereihter Schlüsse, ohne alle Verzierung, noch weniger mit Blumen überladen, wie die

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*) Folgende schöne Worte mögten sich zu einer Inschrift auf seinem Monument vorzüglich eignen:

INSCRIPTION FOR A MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF CHARLES JAMES FOX; BY A COSMOPOLITE.

See *Peace* and *Freedom* drooping o'er his urn,
And *Virtue* weep his death and nations mourn;
While *Eloquence* (ah, mute, since Fox is gone!)
Points to the stop, where sleeps her darling son —
Whose generous heart and vast prophetic mind
Embrac'd a world, and strove to bless mankind.

P. D—n.

Die ihm um das Jahr 1816 *in* Bloomsbury Square *zu London errichtete bronzene Statue ist von colossaler Gröfse, nämlich* 9 *Fufs hoch. Er ist in sitzender Stellung abgebildet, gleich einem Römischen Consul, mit einem Mantel umgethan, der in schön geworfenen Falten über den Sitz herabhangt. Der Kopf ist ein wenig vorwärts gebogen, das Gesicht sprechend ähnlich und hat den Ausdruck eines milden, wohlwollenden, aber entschlossenen Mannes. Er hat den rechten Arm ausgestreckt und hält in dieser Hand den Freiheitsbrief,* die magna charta. *Das Piedestal von Granit ruht auf etlichen Stufen und ist* 7 *Fufs hoch. Das Werk macht dem Bildhauer Westmacott viel Ehre.*

Burkeschen Reden. — *In* Fox's *Reden ist viel Feuer, aber es ist das Feuer eines für seine Behauptungen streitenden Verstandes — nicht erhitzter Einbildungskraft. Was manchen Stellen seiner Reden ein eigenthümliches Interesse giebt, ist die Herzlichkeit seiner Sprache, wenn er seiner Freunde erwähnen mufs, bald sie zu vertheidigen, bald sie am rechten Orte zu loben, bald ihren Verlust zu beklagen, es sey, dafs sie ihm durch den Tod, wie der Herzog von* Bedford, *oder durch den Abfall, wie* Burke, *geraubt wurden. Eben so herzlich war seine Sprache, wenn er seine Liebe zu einer vernünftigen Freiheit und zur Brittischen Verfassung, wie sie durch die Revolution von* 1688 *befestigt wurde, unverholen und mit einer an Begeisterung gränzenden Wärme gestand. Aber auch an solchen pathetischen Stellen, in diesen Augenblicken der Begeisterung, war sein Ausdruck einfach und ungeschmückt. Er bediente sich überhaupt der gewöhnlichen Worte und Redensarten, die der gebildete Geschmack nicht verwerfen hat. Er suchte nie durch Pracht des Ausdrucks Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen. Er verhält sich in dieser Hinsicht zu* Burke, *wie ein nackter nervöser Ringer zu einem pomphaft gerüsteten Fechter, an dessen Helm ein mächtiger Federbusch flattert, und dessen Schild, wie der Schild des* Achilles, *vom erfindsamsten Künstler mit dem reichsten Schmucke bis zur Überladung geziert ist. In* Fox's *Reden sind keine orakelmäfsigen Maximen, keine Sentenzen, keine poetischen Bilder, keine ausgeführten Gleichnisse, keine ausgemahlten Allegorien; Gründe und Schlüsse füllen ihren Inhalt aus. — Etwas ihm Eigenthümliches scheint dieses zu seyn: er hat Vertrauen zu der gesunden Vernunft der Menschen; er glaubt zuversichtlich, die Menschen überhaupt, seine Landsleute insbesondere, würden, wenn man ihnen als vernünftigen Wesen begegnen wollte, sich auch als vernünftige Wesen betragen. — Zwischen* Fox's *Beredsamkeit und der des ältern* Pitt *scheint der Unterschied dieser zu seyn.* Pitt's *Reden (nicht in seinem frühern, sondern reifern Alter) bestehn aus Bemerkungen, die, den Worten nach, einzeln auf einander folgen, ohne Verbindung. Ein wirklicher, innerer Zusammenhang ist da, aber nur dem Verstande sichtbar; keine Verbindungswörter, die den Uebergang von einem Satze zum andern bezeichnen. Man glaubt einen Propheten zu hören, dem jeder Gedanke — einzeln — inspirirt wurde.* Fox's *Reden bestehen aus zusammenhangenden Schlüssen, wo auch der Zusammenhang durch Worte bezeichnet ist.* —

Das Feuer seines Temperaments soll, nach öffentlichen Urtheilen, oft einen zwiefachen Nachtheil für seine Reden veranlaſst haben; er habe sich oft nicht die gehörige Zeit genommen, angemessenere Ausdrücke zu wählen und seine Perioden harmonisch zu ordnen; er habe oft zu schnell gesprochen, und aus häftiger Eile nicht deutlich artikulirt. Überhaupt sey sein äuſserlicher Vortrag mehr kraftvoll als schön gewesen. — In so weit die Gestalt und Figur eines Redners in Betrachtung kommt, hatte **Fox**, *mit seinen beiden Rivalen,* **Burke** *und dem jüngern* **Pitt** *verglichen, den Nachtheil von kaum mittelmäſsigem Wuchs und in den letzten Jahren übermäſsig corpulent zu seyn. In Hinsicht dieser äuſsern Eigenschaften wurden alle drei von dem ältern* **Pitt** *übertroffen, den die Natur zu einem majestätisch schönen Mann gebildet hatte.“ Daſs* **Fox** *zur Dichtkunst Anlagen besaſs, und es darin zu einer hohen Vollkommenheit hätte bringen können, beweisen einige Gedichte *), namentlich sein Anruf* to Poverty. *Es heiſst unter andern darin:*

When vice to wealth would turn my partial eye,
Or int'rest shutting ear to sorrow's cry;
Or courtier's custom would my reason bind,
My foe to flatter, or desert my friend;
Oppose kind Poverty, thy temper'd shield,
And bear me off unvanquish'd from the field.
If giddy Fortune e'er return again,
With all her idle, restless wanton train,
Her magic glass should false Ambition hold
Or Av'rice bid me put my trust in gold;
To my relief, then, virtuous goddess, haste,
And with thee bring thy daughters ever chaste,
Health! Liberty! and Wisdom! sisters bright,
Whose charms can make the worst condition light,
Beneath the hardest fate the mind can chear,
Can heal affliction and disarm despair,
In chains, in torments, pleasure can bequeath,
And dress in smiles the tyrant hour of death.

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*) *Möge seine treffliche* **Charade** *auf das Wort* Woman *hier noch ihren Platz finden:*

My first does affliction denote,
Which my second is destin'd to feel.
My whole is the sweet antidote,
This affliction to sooth and to heal.

Von seinen prosaischen Werken ist, bei seinen Lebzeiten, ausser verschiedenen Parliamentsreden, nur a Letter to the worthy and independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster 1793 *gedruckt, der 12 bis 13 Ausgaben erlebt hat. Fox zeigt unter andern darin die Nothwendigkeit, die Französische Republik anzuerkennen, und indem er das Lächerliche des Plans zeigt, dieselbe zu unterdrücken, sagt er:* The conquest of France! O calumniated crusaders, how rational and moderate were your projects! Oh much injured Lewis XIV, upon what slight grounds have you been accused of restless and inordinate ambition! O! tame and feeble Cervantes, with what a timid pencil and faint colours have you painted the portrait of a disordered imagination! — *Nach seinem Tode ist sein oben angeführtes geschichtliches Werk erschienen. Es führt den Titel:* A history of the early part of the reign of James the second, with an introductory chapter on the history of England from the accession of the House of Tudor to the death of Charles the second, by the late right honourable Charles James Fox, London 1808. 4. *Wir müssen uns eines Urtheils über dasselbe enthalten, da wir es nicht aus eigener Ansicht kennen und bemerken hier nur, dafs es mit einer Vorrede des Lord Holland versehen und in drei Ausgaben erschienen ist, von denen die schönste, wovon nur 250 Exemplare auf Elephant-Quarto abgedruckt sind, 5 Guineen kostet. Eine andere Prachtausgabe kostet* 2½ l. *und die auf gewöhnliches Schreibpapier gedruckte* 1 l. 16 Sh. *Während der langen Unterbrechung eines ordentlichen literarischen Verkehrs mit England sind daselbst auch erschienen:* the Speeches of the R. H. Ch. James Fox, in the house of Commons 1768-1806 with Memoirs, Introduction etc. 6 *Bände und eine Geschichte seiner letzten Lebensjahre von Trotter. Auch dieses letztere Werk kennen wir nur dem Titel nach. Dagegen ist von uns folgende Ausgabe der Parliamentsreden benutzt:* The Speeches of the right honourable Charles James Fox in the House of Commons, in six Volumes. London 1815. *Übrigens würden wir, ausser nachstehenden Bruchstücken aus den Reden dieses berühmten Mannes gern sein Meisterwerk, nämlich die auf die Anklage des Vice-Admirals, Sir Hugh Palliser, für den Admiral Keppel gehaltene Schutzrede mittheilen, wenn sie sich in obenerwähnter Sammlung unverändert befände und

nicht vielmehr nur dem Hauptinhalt nach und historisch aufgenommen wäre.

1) Mr. Fox in support of his East-India Bill. — 1783, December 1.*)

Freedom, according to my conception of it, consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property, governed by laws defined and certain; with many personal privileges, natural, civil, and religious, which he cannot surrender without ruin to himself; and of which to be deprived by any other power, is despotism. This Bill **), instead of subverting, is destined to stabilitate these principles; instead of narrowing the basis of freedom, it tends to enlarge it; — instead of suppressing, its object is to infuse and circulate the spirit of liberty.

What is the most odious species of tyranny? Precisely that which this Bill is meant to annihilate. That a handful of men ***), free themselves, should execute the most base and abominable despotism over millions of their fellow-creatures; that innocence should be the victim of oppression; that industry should toil for rapine; that the harmless labourer should sweat, not for his own benefit but for the luxury and rapacity of tyrannic depredation; in a word, that thirty millions of men, gifted by Providence with the ordinary endowments of humanity, should groan under a system of despotism, unmached in all the histories of the world.

What is the end of all government? Certainly the happiness of the governed. — Others may hold other opinions; but this is mine, and I proclaim it. — What are we to think of a government, whose good fortune is supposed to spring from the calamities of its subjects, whose aggrandizement grows out of the miseries of mankind! This is the kind of government exercised under the East-India Company upon the natives of Indostan; and the subversion of that infamous government, is the main object of the Bill in question. But in the progress of accomplishing this end, it is objected that the Charter of the Company should not be violated; and

*) *Diese Rede steht abgedruckt im 21ten Bande der zuletzt gedachten Sammlung der Parliamentsreden, S. 238 u. ff.* **) *Die Ostindische Bill.* ***) *Die Direktoren der Ostindischen Compagnie.*

upon this point, Sir, I shall deliver my opinion without disguise. A charter is a trust to one or more persons, for some given benefit. If this trust be abused; if the benefit be not obtained, and that its failure arises from palpable guilt, or, (what, in this case, is full as bad) from palpable ignorance or mismanagement; will any man gravely say, that trust should not be resumed, and delivered to other hands; more especially in the case of the East-India Company, whose manner of executing this trust, whose laxity and languor produced, and tend to produce, consequences diametrically opposite to the ends of confiding that trust, and of the Institution for which it was granted! — I beg of Gentlemen to be aware of the lengths to which their arguments upon the intangibility of this charter may be carried. Every syllable virtually impeaches the establishment by which we sit in this house, in the enjoyment of this freedom, and of every other blessing of our government. These kind of arguments are batteries against the main pillar of the British Constitution. Some men are consistent with their own private opinions, and discover the inheritance of family maxims, when they question the principles of the Revolution; but I have no scruple in subscribing to the articles of that creed which produced it. Sovereigns are sacred, and reverence is due to every king, yet, with all my attachments to the person of a first magistrate, had I lived in the reign of James the Second, I should most certainly have contributed my efforts, and borne part in those illustrious struggles which vindicated an empire from hereditary servitude, and recorded this valuable doctrine, that „trust abused was revocable."

No man will tell me, that a trust to a company of merchants, stands upon the solemn and sanctified ground by which a trust is committed to a Monarch; and I am at a loss to reconcile the conduct of men who approve that resumption of violated trust, which rescued and reestablished our unparalleled and admirable Constitution, with a thousand valuable improvements and advantages, at the Revolution; and who, at this moment, rise up the champions of the East-India Company's charter, although the incapacity and incompetence of that Company to a due and adequate discharge of the trust deposited in them by that charter, are themes of ridicule and contempt to all the world; and although, in consequence of their mismanagement, connivance and imbe-

cility, combined with the wickedness of their servants, the very name of an Englishman is detested, even to a proverb, through all Asia, and the national character is become degraded and dishonoured. To rescue that name from odium, and redeem this character from disgrace, are some of the objects of the present Bill; and Gentlemen should indeed gravely weight their opposition to a measure which, with a thousand other points, not less valuable, aims at the attainment of these objects.

Those who condemn the present Bill, as a violation of the chartered rights of the East-India Company, condemn, on the same ground, I say again, the Revolution, as a violation of the chartered rights of King James II. He, with as much reason, might have claimed the property of dominion. But what was the language of the people? No, you have no property in dominion; dominion was vested in you, as it is in every chief magistrate, for the benefit of the community to be governed: it was a sacred trust delegated by compact: you have abused the trust; you have exercised dominion for the purposes of vexation and tyranny — not of comfort, protection and good order; and we therefore resume the power which was originally ours: we recur to the first principles of all government, the will of the many; and it is our will that you shall no longer abuse your dominion. The case is the same with the East-India Company's government over a territory, as it has been said by Mr. Burke, of 280,000 square miles in extent, nearly equal to all Christian Europe, and containing 30,000,000 of the human race. It matters not whether dominion arises from conquest, or from compact. Conquest gives no right to the conqueror to be a tyrant; and it is no violation of right, to abolish the authority which is misused. — —

2) Mr. Fox against the Chancellor of the Exchequer *).

— But, Sir, I should think that it is the interest of Bonaparte to make peace. A lover of military glory as that Ge-

*) *Bruchstück einer von* F o x *den 3ten Februar 1800 gehaltenen Rede gegen* W. P i t t, *über die, in des letztern (zum Theil oben S. 533 mitgetheilten) Rede enthaltene Weigerung, unter den damaligen Umständen mit Frankreich Frieden zu schliessen. Es*

neral must necessarily be, may he not think, that his measure of glory is full — that it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune — and can hardly be increased by any new laurels? He must feel, that, in the situation to which he is now raised, he can no longer depend on his own fortune, his own genius and his own talents, for a continuance of his success; he must be under the necessity of employing other generals, whose misconduct or incapacity might endanger his power, or whose triumphs even might affect the interest which he holds in the opinion of the French. Peace, then, would secure to him what he had atchieved and fix the inconstancy of fortune. But this will not be his only motive. He must see that France also requires a respite — a breathing interval, to recruit her wasted strength. To procure her this respite would be, perhaps, the attainment of more solid glory, as well as the means of acquiring more solid power than any thing which he can hope to gain from arms, and from the proudest triumphs. May he not then be zealous to gain this fame, the only species of fame, perhaps that is worth acquiring? Nay, granting that his soul may still burn with the thirst of military exploits, is it not likely that he is disposed to yield to the feelings of the French people, and consolidate his power by consulting their interests! I have a right to argue in this way, when suppositions of his sincerity are reasoned upon on the other side. Sir, these aspersions are in truth always idle, and even mischievous. I have been too long accustomed to hear imputations and calumnies thrown out upon great and honourable characters, to be much influenced by them. My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Erskine) has paid this night a most just, deserved and honourable tribute of applause, to the memory of that great and unparallelled character, who is so recently lost to the world. I must, like him, beg leave a moment to dwell on the venerable George Washington, though I know that it is impossible for me to bestow any thing like adequate praise on a character which gave us more than any other human being, the example of a perfect man; yet, good, great, and unexampled as General Washington was, I can remember the time, when he was not better spoken of in this House than Bonaparte is

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steht in der zuletzt angeführten Sammlung der Parliamentsreden von Fox, Theil 6, S. 416 u. ff.

now. The right hon. Gentleman who opened this debate (Mr. Dundas *) may remember in what terms of disdain, of virulence, even of contempt, General Washington was spoken of by gentlemen on that side of the House. Does he not recollect with what marks of indignation any member was stigmatized as an enemy to his country, who mentioned with common respect, the name of General Washington? If a negotiation had then been proposed to be opened with that great man, what would have been said? Would you treat with a rebel, a traitor! What an example would you not give by such an act? I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman may not yet possess some of his old prejudices on the subject. I hope not: I hope by this time we are all convinced that a republican government, like that of America, may exist without danger or injury to social order, or to established monarchies. They have happily shewn that they can maintain the relations of peace and amity with other states. They have shewn too that they are alive to the feelings of honour; but they do not lose sight of plain good sense and discretion. They have not refused to negotiate with the French, and they have accordingly the hopes of a speedy termination of every difference. —

(Am Schlusse dieser Rede setzt er hinzu:)

Where then, Sir, is this war, which on every side is pregnant with such horrors, to be carried? Where is it to stop? Not till you establish the House of Bourbon! And this you cherish the hope of doing, because you have had a successful campaign. Why, Sir, before this you have had a successful campaign. The situation of the allies, with all they have gained, is surely not to be compared now to what it was when you had taken Valenciennes, Quesnoy, Condé etc. which induced some gentlemen in this House to prepare themselves for a march to Paris. With all that you have gained, you surely will not say that the prospect is brighter now than it was then. What have you gained but the recovery of a part of what you before lost? One campaign is successful to you — another to them — and in this way, animated by the vindictive passions of revenge, hatred and

*) *Gegenwärtig Lord Melville.*

rancour, which are infinitely more flagitious, even than those of ambition and the thirst of power, you may go on for ever; as with such black incentives, I see no end to human misery.

And all this without an intelligible motive — all this because you may gain a better peace a year or two hence! So that we are called upon to go on merely as a speculation. — We must keep Bonaparte for some time longer at a war, at a state of probation. Gracious God, Sir, is a war a state of probation? Is peace a rash system? Is it dangerous for nations to live in amity with each other? Is your vigilance, your policy, your common powers of observation, to be extinguished by putting an end to the horrors of war? Cannot this state of probation be as well undergone without adding to the catalogue of human sufferings? „But we must *pause!*“ What! must the bowels of Great Britain be torn out — her best blood be spilt — her treasure wasted — that you may make an experiment? Put yourselves, oh! that you would put yourselves in the field of battle, and learn to judge of the sort of horrors that you excite. In former wars a man might, at least, have some feeling, some interest, that served to balance in his mind the impressions which a scene of carnage and of death must inflict. If a man had been present at the battle of Blenheim *) for instance, and had inquired the motive of the battle, there was not a soldier engaged who could not have satisfied his curiosity, and even perhaps, allayed his feelings — they were fighting to repress the uncontrouled ambition of the Grand Monarque **). — But if a man were present now at a field of slaughter, and were to inquire for what they are fighting — „Fighting,“ would be the answer; „they are not fighting, they are *pausing.* „Why is that man expiring! Why is that other writhing with agony? What means this implacable fury?“ The answer must be, „You are quite wrong — Sir, you deceive yourself — They are not fighting — Do not disturb them — they are merely *pausing* — this man is not expiring with agony — that man is not dead — he is only pausing! Lord help you, Sir, they are not angry with one another. They

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*) *Blenheim oder Blindheim ein Dorf bei Hochstädt, wo den 13ten August 1704 die Französische und Bayersche Armee von dem Herzog von Marlborough und dem Prinzen Eugen auf's Haupt geschlagen wurde.* **) *Ludwigs XIV.*

have now no cause of quarrel — but their country thinks that there should be a pause. All that you see, Sir, is nothing like fighting — there is no harm, nor cruelty, nor bloodshed in it whatever — it is nothing more than a *political pause* — it is merely to try an experiment — to see whether Bonaparte will not behave himself better than heretofore — and in the mean time we have agreed to pause in pure friendship." And is this the way, Sir, that you are to shew yourselves the advocates of order! You take up a system calculated to uncivilize the world — to destroy order — to trample on religion — to stifle in the heart, not merely the generosity of noble sentiment, but the affections of social nature; and in the prosecution of this system, you spread terror and devastation all around you. — —

SHERIDAN.

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN *wurde im Oktober des Jahres 1751 zu Dublin geboren. Sein Vater, welcher 1788 starb, war ein vorzüglicher Schauspieler, und hatte sich auch durch einige pädagogische und grammatische Schriften rühmlichst bekannt gemacht; dahin gehört unter andern:* a general Dictionary of the English language; Lectures on the art of reading in two parts; a Course of Lectures on elocution; the Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, arranged, revised and corrected. *Die Mutter unsers Sheridan schrieb verschiedene gute Schauspiele, als:* the Discovery, the Dupe, a Trip to Bath, *und lesbare Romane, als:* Sidney Biddulph; Nourjadah an oriental tale etc. *Der junge Sheridan, welcher in seiner ersten Jugend keine grofsen Fähigkeiten zeigte, wurde nebst seinem ältern Bruder Charles Francis, der Sorgfalt des Herrn Sam. Whyte zu Dublin übergeben. Nach einem achtzehnmonatlichen Aufenthalt allhier, brachten beide Brüder ein Jahr bei ihren Ältern zu, welche damals bei Windsor wohnten. Richard Brinsley kam hierauf 1762 in eine öffentliche Schule, und hier war es, wo er durch Ehrgeiz angespornt, seine Talente zu entwickeln begann, und sich so eifrig und glücklich auf Wissenschaften und Sprachen legte, dafs sein*

Vater es für unnöthig hielt, ihn nach der Universität zu schicken, sondern ihn gleich nach Middle-Temple brachte, um dort die Rechte zu studieren, was nur bei jungen Männern von ausgezeichneten Talenten zu geschehen pflegt. Die geringen Einkünfte des Vaters — er genoſs zur Belohnung für seine literärischen Arbeiten seit 1762 *eine jährliche Pension von* 200 l. — *erlaubten ihm nicht, seinem Sohn viel zum Unterhalt zu geben; dieser muſste daher durch schriftstellerische Arbeiten den Ausfall in seinen Finanzen zu decken suchen. Um diese Zeit wurde unser* Sheridan *mit Miſs Linley, einer vorzüglichen Schauspielerinn am Drury-Lane Theater, bekannt. Er verliebte sich in sie, und gelangte nach vielen Schwierigkeiten, und nachdem er ihretwegen mehrere Male einen Zweikampf gehabt hatte, endlich zu ihrem Besitze. Nach der Heirat trat Mrs.* Sheridan *nicht mehr die Bühne. Man machte ihr, als einer beliebten Schauspielerinn, die vortheilhaftesten Anträge; ja die Direktoren des Pantheons boten ihr* 1000 l. *für zwölf Vorstellungen, und die Einkünfte einer Benefiz-Vorstellung, welche auch auf* 1000 l. *angeschlagen werden konnten. Sie blieb indessen standhaft bei ihrem einmal gefaſsten Entschlusse, und theilte lieber mit ihrem Gatten die kleinen Summen, welche dieser durch literärische Arbeiten gewann.* Sheridan, *dem die Sorge für eine Familie oblag, muſste jetzt thätiger als jemals sein. Er schrieb um diese Zeit — schon früher* 1771 *war von ihm eine Übersetzung der Briefe des Aristänetus erschienen —* the Rivals, *ein Stück, welches* 1775 *gegeben, und von Kennern als ein vielversprechender Versuch eines jungen fünf und zwanzigjährigen Mannes angesehen wurde. Es gefiel dem gröſsern Publikum erst, nachdem der Verfasser verschiedene wesentliche Veränderungen mit demselben vorgenommen hatte. Sein nächstes Produkt war:* St. Patrick's Day, or the scheming Lieutenant, *eine in* 48 *Stunden verfertigte Farze, aufgeführt in eben dem Jahre. Diesem folgte eine komische Oper:* the Duenna, *die mit noch gröſserm Beifall als* Gray's Beggar's Opera *aufgenommen, und* 75*mal nach der Reihe gegeben wurde. Durch diesen glücklichen Erfolg waren* Sheridan's *häusliche Umstände sehr verbessert worden. Als* Garrick *die Direktion des Drury-Lane Theaters aufgab, kaufte* Sheridan 1776 *mit zwei andern dasselbe an sich; sein Drittheil kostete ihn* 30,000 l. *Nun hatte er noch mehr Veranlassung, seine theatralischen Talente zu kultiviren. Er schrieb* the Trip of Scarborough, *aufgeführt* 1777, *und*

dahn das berühmte Stück (the School for Scandal, *welches noch immer zu den Zierden der Englischen Bühne gehört, und auch auf Deutschen Theatern mit Beifall gegeben wird (in das Deutsche übersetzt von Leonhardi, Berlin 1782). In England würde es zum ersten Male den 8ten Mai 1777 aufgeführt. Diesem folgte* the Camp, *und* the Critic, *von denen letzterem insonderheit vieler Beifall zu Theil ward. Der Tod des Brittischen* Roscius (1779) *gab ihm Veranlassung zu seiner* Monody to the memory of Mr. Garrick, *welche auf dem Drury-Lane Theater gesprochen wurde. An Zeitschriften gab er heraus* the Englishman *(1777 und 1778) und* the Jesuit *(1782 und 1783). Obgleich Sheridan gute Einkünfte hatte, so befand er sich öfters, weil seine Haushaltung nicht sehr ordentlich geführt wurde, in Verlegenheit, und dies bewog ihn, sich auf seines Freundes Fox Veranlassung, um eine Stelle im Unterhause zu bewerben. Nach vielen Schwierigkeiten ward er Repräsentant für Stafford (um 1780), und sogleich ein heftiges Mitglied der Opposition. Unter Rockingham's Ministerium ward er* Under Secretary to Mr. Fox, *welcher damals Staatssekretär der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten war. Im Jahre 1783 war er* Secretary of the Treasury; *aber er zeichnete sich in diesem, so wie in dem vorigen Posten, welche beide er etwan nur ein Jahr bekleidete, nicht sehr durch Aufmerksamkeit und Pünktlichkeit aus. Bis zu dem zuletzt angeführten Jahre spielte er auch im Parliament nur eine Nebenrolle; nun aber begann er sich durch seine Beredsamkeit so hervorzuthun, daſs man ihm, in dieser Rücksicht, ohne Bedenken eine Stelle neben Burke und Fox einräumte. Er sprach mit Einsicht für Fox's* East-India Bill; *man bewunderte 1785 seine Rede über Pitt's* Perfumery-Bill, *vorzüglich aber bewies er sich bei Hasting's Verhör als einen der vorzüglichsten Brittischen Parliamentsredner. Seine im Junius 1788 über die Verhaftnehmung der Prinzessinnen von Oude und über die Entwendung der Schätze derselben gehaltene Rede machte eine unglaubliche Sensation, und gehört zu den glänzendsten rednerischen Produkten, die irgend eine Nation aufweisen kann.* It is difficult, *(sagt bei Gelegenheit dieser Rede der Verfasser seiner Biographie in den* Public Characters of 1799 — 1800, *woraus gegenwärtige biographische Skizze entlehnt ist)* to select any part of it as the subject of peculiar encomium. The address with which he arranged his materials; the art and force with which he anticipated objections; the unexampled ingenuity with which he commented on the evidence, and

the natural boldness of his imagery, are equally entitled to panegyric. He combined the three kinds of eloquence. He was clear and unadorned — diffuse and pathetic — animated and vehement. There was nothing superfluous — no affected turn — no glittering point — no false sublimity. Compassion and indignation were alternately excited, and the wonderous effects related of the eloquence of Greece and Rome were almost revived. — *Auch Burke ertheilte dem Redner öffentliches Lob. Als die, von den bedenklichen Gesundheitsumständen des Königs veranlaſste Krisis eintrat, ergriff Sheridan die Partei des Prinzen von Wallis, mit welchem er seitdem auch immer verbunden blieb. Nachmals hat er sich, wie bekannt, stets als ein eifriges Oppositionsmitglied bewiesen, und während Fox's Entfernung, die erste Stelle in der Opposition behauptet. In dieser Qualität hat auch er auf eine Parliaments-Reform gedrungen, und sich immer als einen Vertheidiger der Preſsfreiheit und religiösen Toleranz bewiesen. Anfänglich war er auch ein enthusiastischer Freund der Französischen Revolution; allein er änderte seine Meinung über dieselbe, als jene groſse Weltbegebenheit eine so ganz andere Wendung, als man bei ihrer ersten Entwickelung zu ahnen sich veranlaſst fand, zu nehmen anfing. Seit Pitt's Tode hat er eine Zeitlang die Stelle eines Zahlmeisters der Seemacht bekleidet. Im Jahre 1792 starb seine Gattinn; 1795 vermählte er sich wieder mit einer Miſs Ogle. Durch die Bearbeitung des Kotzebueschen Trauerspiels Rolla's Tod, worüber man in der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung vom Jahre 1800, Nro. 300. eine gründliche Beurtheilung lesen kann, söhnte er sich wiederum einigermaſsen mit dem Hofe und dem Ministerium aus, wofür es denn nicht an Angriffen mancherlei Art und Karrikaturen fehlte, deren eine auch durch das Journal London und Paris in Deutschland bekannt geworden ist. Im Englischen führt jenes Trauerspiel den Titel:* Pizarro, a Tragedy, in five acts, taken of the German Drama of Kotzebue and adapted to the English stage by R. B. Sheridan. *Er starb den 7ten Julius 1816 zu London an völliger Magenschwäche in so dürftigen Umständen, daſs er wenige Wochen vor seinem Ende nach dem Gefängnisse würde gebracht worden sein, hätten sich nicht zwei ausgezeichnete Ärzte Baillie und Bain ins Mittel gelegt. Er hinterläſst zwei Söhne. Sein Leichnam wurde in der Westminster-Abtey neben den Grabmälern von Shakespeare, Händel und*

Goldsmith beigesetzt. Sheridan war in seinen Privatverhältnissen einer der unterhaltendsten und lehrreichsten Gesellschafter. Seine Unterredung war reich an humoristischen Einfällen und witzigen Bemerkungen, und verrieth einen Mann von mannigfaltigen Kenntnissen. Vorzüglich bewundert man seine Kenntnifs des menschlichen Herzens. Als Redner zeichnete er sich durch eine starke und deutliche Stimme aus; nur war seine Deklamation zuweilen übereilt, und seine Gestikulation nachlässig. An witzigen Einfällen fehlt es auch in seinen Parliamentsreden nicht, und dadurch insonderheit wehrte er die Angriffe ab, die man anfänglich auf ihn wegen seines ehemaligen Standes machte. — Ein Englisches Blatt hielt ihm folgende Standrede: „Ihm war jede Art geistiger Vortrefflichkeit beschieden; — omne genus tetigit — nullum tetigit quod non ornavit. *Vierzig Jahre sind fast verflossen, seitdem er als dramatischer Schriftsteller mit der Lästerschule auftrat, und noch ist diese von keiner Comödie übertroffen. Welches Stück kommt seinem Kritiker gleich? Als Dichter, welcher hat etwas Besseres als die Monody auf Garriks Tod geliefert? Wer hat ihn (aufser Pitt und Burke) als Redner überglänzt? Er zeigte Nachdruck ohne Grobheit; Lebhaftigkeit ohne Frivolität; war kühn in seinen Angriffen, aber geschickt; wurde selten zur Ordnung gerufen, und wenn es geschah, zog er sich mit Anstand zurück. Oft streng, noch öfter witzig, fröhlich und anmuthig; auseinander wickelnd, was verwirrt, belebend, was matt war; klar in der Anordnung, verständlich in der Entwickelung seiner Ansichten, blitzte er mit Lichtströmen auf seine Zuhörer. Wenn kein anderer Sprecher mehr gehört wurde, konnte er noch die Glieder des Parliaments an ihre Sitze fesseln, alle hangend an seinem Munde und in Bewunderung und Vergnügen versenkt. Er ermüdete nie; mehr als irgend Jemand konnte er sich nach allen Gemüthern und Fassungskräften bequemen, konnte vom Ernsten zum Fröhlichen, vom Lebhaften zum Strengen übergehn. Jede Redner-Eigenschaft war in ihm vereinigt, der Geist — das Auge, beweglich, glänzend durchdringend, unvergleichlich ausdrucksvoll — die Stellung — die Gebehrde — die Stimme. — Pitt hatte mehr Würde, mehr Fülle, mehr Beifsendes, mehr Sarcasmen. Doch an Reichthum der Bilder stand er unter Sheridan, der hierin vielleicht keinen über sich hatte, als Burke. Er war weniger mächtig und gebietend im Beweisen als Fox, aber sonst hatte Fox nichts vor ihm voraus. Als Redner dür-*

sen wir ihn nach **Pitt** *und* **Burke** *stellen. — Er war ein feuriger, stets sich gleich bleibender, aufrichtiger Freund der Preſsfreiheit. Er gehörte nicht zu jenen, welche die Furcht vor ihrer Macht in die Besorgniſs wegen ihres Miſsbrauches kleiden; er wuſste, daſs jede groſse Institution ihre Mängel habe. Vom politischen Leben war er lange abgezogen — doch diesen Punkt berühren wir ungern.“ — Von seinen poetischen Werken wird im 2ten Theile dieses Handbuchs die Rede seyn. Hier erwähnen wir, daſs die vollständige Sammlung seiner Parliamentsreden unter dem Titel:* Speeches of the last right honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan, edited by a constitutional friend, London 1816 *in 5 Bänden erschienen ist. Der letzte Band enthält zugleich* Memoirs of the late right honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan. *Wir haben bereits oben einiger seiner wichtigern Reden gedacht. Zu denselben gehört auch die, welche er am 8ten December 1802 im Unterhause hielt und wovon in wenigen Tagen die erste Auflage vergriffen wurde. Sie führt den Titel:* The Speech of R. B. Sheridan in the House of Commons on the motion for the army establishment, (London, Stockdale) *und ist eine der witzigsten dieses berühmten Redners. In der vorgedachten Ausgabe der Reden Sheridans nimmt sie die 209te bis 226ste Seite des 5ten Bandes ein. Sie erfolgt hier, mit Weglassung des Anfangs und einiger wenigen anderen Zeilen in ihrer ganzen Länge. Als Einleitung zu ihrem Verständnisse können wir nichts Zweckmäſsigeres mittheilen, als was hierüber nach* Watkin's Memoirs of the public and private life of Sheridan, 2 Vols. London 1817. 4. *und andern Quellen von dem Herrn Bibliothekar* **Spiker** *in dem 6ten Bande der Zeitgenossen, unter dem Artikel:* Richard Brinsley Sheridan S. 177. *gesagt worden ist. „Wie voreilig, heiſst es daselbst, man bei dem Abschlusse des Friedens zu Amiens zu Werke gegangen, zeigte sich schon kurz nach demselben. Kaum hatte nämlich das Parliament seine Glückwünsche über die Einstellung der Feindseligkeiten abzustatten Gelegenheit gehabt, als es bereits wieder aufgefordert ward, für die Herbeischaffung der nöthigen Mittel zur Vertheidigung des Landes gegen die erneuerten Angriffe des Feindes zu sorgen.* **Bonaparte** *war es indessen nicht geglückt, allen Mitgliedern der Opposition die vortheilhafte Meinung von sich einzuflöſsen, welche er Herrn* **Fox** *beigebracht hatte. Während dieser sich zu Paris von dem ersten Consul durch leere Floskeln und Schmeicheleien bethören, und verleiten lieſs, den Versiche-*

rungen seiner friedlichen Gesinnung den unbedingtesten Glauben beizumessen, warnte Sheridan in einer Rede, welche er sehr bald nach der Eröffnung des neuen Parliaments hielt, die Mitglieder vor der Französischen Regierung und deren Hinterlist, und so sehr er sonst Bonaparte und dessen Benehmen gegen England in Schutz zu nehmen gesucht hatte, so sehr bemühte er sich jetzt, das Parliament zu überzeugen, dafs er von seinem Irrthum zurückgekommen sey und die Sachen nun aus ihrem wahren Gesichtspunkte betrachte. Von dieser Ansicht ausgehend, schilderte er mit hinreifsender Beredsamkeit und den stärksten Farben die eigentlichen Absichten Bonaparte's, wie er durch allgemein aufgestellte menschenfreundliche Grundsätze, an welche er selbst nicht glaube, die Klügeren zu berücken suche, und wie sein ganzes Treiben nur dahin gerichtet sey, auch England, gleich den übrigen schon unterworfenen Ländern, zu unterjochen. Mit Bedauern, fügte er hinzu, sähe er sich genöthigt, zu erklären, dafs seine Ansicht in diesem Falle von der seines Freundes Fox *gänzlich abgehe; denn obgleich er, wie dieser, wünsche, dafs man den Krieg vermeiden möge, so sey er doch nicht mit ihm über die Mittel einig, durch welche dieses erreicht werden müsse, und der Meinung, dafs Bonaparte's Beispiel nur dazu da sey, um die Völker zur Einigkeit zu führen." — Die Rede hatte nicht ganz den Erfolg, den sie ohne die zwar sehr witzigen aber schmerzenden Ausfälle auf die Minister gehabt haben würde. Der damalige Premier-Minister* Addington, *nachmaliger Lord* Sidmouth, *hatte im Aeufsern einige Züge von denen, die man bei Aerzten wahrzunehmen pflegt. Dieser Umstand und die Zufälligkeit, dafs er der Sohn eines Arztes war, machten die auf ihn angewandte Benennung Sheridan's* „The Doctor," *zumal dies Wort von dem Redner in der Uebersetzung des Epigramms von Martinet:* I do not like thee Doctor Fell *mit aufserordentlichem Nachdruck gesprochen wurde, so haftend, dafs dieser Minister forthin immer der* Doctor *hiefs. Einige andere Minister kommen, wie der Leser sehen wird, nicht besser davon.*

Army Estimates *) — War with France.

December 8. 1802.

— With regard to the general question of a disposition to peace or war, I for one declare, that I am as strongly

*) *Nämlich für das nächste Jahr 1803.*

and as sincerely for the preservation of peace as any man, and that I do not consider war as any remedy for the evils complained of. If a war spirit be springing up in this country, if a chivalrous disposition be observable, if a sentiment of indignation be rising upon the subject of the treatment of Switzerland, I for one shall contend that the treatment of Switzerland is no cause of war. I would therefore say, preserve peace if possible: peace if possible, because the effects of war, always calamitous, may be calamitous indeed, buckling, as we should be forced to do, all our sinews and strength to that power in a contest with her upon such grounds. I repeat, therefore, peace if possible; but I add, resistance, prompt, resolute, determined resistance to the first aggression, be the consequences what they may. Influenced by these sentiments, I shall vote cordially and cheerfully for this large peace establishment; and it is because I shall vote for it that I think myself bound to state my reasons. Sir, some gentlemen seem to consider what they advance as so many axioms too clear to need explanation or to require defence. But when I vote so large an establishment, I think myself not at liberty to bind such a burthen upon my constituents, *) without stating the grounds upon which I act, and the principles by which I am prompted. Sir, I have listened with all the attention I am master of to the different arguments that have been advanced in the present debate. One honorable gentleman who spoke second, appears to be a decided enemy to a great establishment, and the reasons he gave for his opposition, I confess, perfectly astonished me. Luckily he has no rapid flippancy in his manner; his sentiments are delivered too soberly and sedately to be mistaken. I am sure I mean nothing disrespectful to that gentleman, who amply repays the attention that is paid to him. But he says, if ministers had only said to him that danger existed, he would for one have voted for the force proposed. Does he doubt the danger? He complains that His Majesty's ministers do not state it precisely. But does he pretend that he does not see and feel it? Can any one look at the map of Europe and be blind to it? Can any one have a heart to resist apprehended injury, and say that we ought not to be prepared? But he asks, why raise only eleven hundred thousand men? You can never equal the military power of France, and as you cannot, why stop at eleven hundred thousand? Why not raise one hundred and twenty, one hundred and thirty, or one

hundred and forty thousand? If this argument be worth any thing, it applies equally to our raising only one thousand. Why, if we can never be equal to France, raise a man? — The next excellent reasoning of the honorable gentleman who spoke second against the proposed vote is, that the first year of war there will be an immense army drawn upon the opposite coast; and therefore, now it is not necessary to be prepared. When the army is upon your shores, when the trumpet of the enemy sounds at your gates, then it is time to be prepared. Appearance of security, he contends, gives, often, the effect of security. If we have large armies, France will think we raise them through fear; if we do not have them, she will think that we feel ourselves perfectly secure. I have heard instances, Sir; where mounting wooden guns upon a fort has produced the same security as if there had been real ones. But unluckily in this instance for us, by our constitutional form of proceeding, our whole force must be known: we cannot pass upon an enemy wooden guns and an army at Brentford *). If we vote no force, an enemy will know we have none. But have no arms, throw away your guns, is the advice of the honorable gentleman. Sir, when every house in my neighbourhood has been attacked and robbed by a gang of ruffians, how my having no arms is to save me from a visit from them, I must leave the honorable gentleman to explain. His next argument is, that it is unreasonable in us to believe that Buonaparte wishes to be at war with us; for he thinks the French have nothing to gain by invasion. Nothing to gain? What else have they to lose but that of which it has been said they have so much to spare, and what have they not to gain? Sir, I cannot but think this as unbecoming a sentiment as ever was uttered. But it is unreasonable to think that the French wish to meddle with us. Why, I protest I cannot explain. If, as has been said, they have felt our arms, they who have been every where else successful, cannot but view the only power whose arms they have felt with feelings of warm resentment, and with sentiments of mortified pride. But look at the map of Europe;

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*) *Flecken in Middlesex, am Flusse Brent. Der Sinn der obigen Stelle kann wol nur seyn: wir können so wenig hölzerne Kanonen auf einen Feind richten, als vorgeben, dafs wir eine Armee bei Brentford hätten, ohne dafs die Franzosen sogleich erführen, ob dem also sey oder nicht.*

there, where a great man (who, however, was always wrong on this subject) said he looked for France, and found nothing but a chasm. Look at that map now, and see nothing but France. It is in our power to measure her territory, to reckon her population, but it is scarcely within the grasp of any man's mind to measure the ambition of Buonaparte. Why, when all Europe bows down before him — why, when he has subdued the whole continent, he should feel such great respect for us, I am at a loss to discover. If then it be true, as I have stated, that his ambition is of that immeasureable nature, there are abundant and obvious reasons why it must be progressive — reasons much stronger than any that could have been used under the power of the Bourbons. They were ambitious, but it was not so necessary for them to feed their subjects with the spoils and plunder of war; they had the attachment of a long established family applied to them; they had the effect and advantage of hereditary succession. But I see in the very situation and composition of the power of Buonaparte a physical necessity for him to go on in this barter with his subjects, and to promise to make them the masters of the world if they will consent to be his slaves. I see then, I repeat, this strong reason for his pursuing this system of policy. If that be the case, must not his most anxious looks be directed to Great Britain? Every thing else is petty and contemptible compared with it. Russia, if not in his power, is at least in his influence — Prussia is at his back — Italy is his vassal — Holland is in his grasp — Spain at his nod — Turkey in his toils — Portugal at his foot: — when I see this, can I hesitate in stating my feelings, still less can I hesitate in giving a vote that shall put upon our guard against the machinations and workings of such an ambition? But is has been said, that it is possible he may mean nothing more than rivalry of commerce. Happy, Sir, shall I be if such an idea enter into his head at all, much more if it form part of his plans. But I confess that I cannot see that it does. I mark him taking positions calculated to destroy our commerce, but I do not find him doing any thing for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. I see him anxious to take possession of Louisiana, and to use the ports of St. Domingo to carry out West India and Jamaica trade. I can conceive a possible case, in which such positions might be taken as to force us to surrender our commerce without a stroke.

An ignorant observer may see two armies, and may say there is no war, because there is no battle; yet one of them may make such movements as to compel the other to surrender without striking a blow.

Of the commercial talents of Buonaparte, I can be supposed to know but little; but bred in camps, it cannot be imagined that his commercial knowledge can be very great; and, indeed, if I am rightly informed, he is proceeding in the old plan of heavy duties and prohibitions. But he would go a shorter way to work with us. The old country has credit and capital, and commercial enterprise; and he may think, if he can subjugate us, that he can carry them off to France like so many busts and marbles. But he would find himself mistaken; that credit would wither under the gripe of power; that capital would sink into the earth, if trodden upon by the foot of a despot. That commercial enterprise would, I believe lose all its vigour in the presence of an arbitrary government. No, Sir, instead of putting his nation apprentice to commerce, he has other ideas in his head. My humble apprehension is, that, though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the King of Etruria; yet, that the whole text is occupied with the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever Deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or Mahomet; to the Goddess of Battles, or the Goddess of Reason. But, Sir, the only consolation is, that he is a great philosopher and philanthropist. I believe this hyper-philanthropy has done more harm than ever it did good. He has discovered that we all belong to the Western family *). Sir, I confess I feel a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear (I take it from report) that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. To this family party I do not wish to belong. He may invite persons, if he please, to dinner, and, like Lord Peter **), say, that this tough crust is excellent mutton. He may toss a sceptre to the King of Etruria to play with, and

*) *Der Leser wolle sich erinnern, daſs Napoleon einst den als grandios bewunderten Gedanken äuſserte, daſs alle Völker Europens nur in zwei Familien, die westliche und östliche, zerfielen. Sheridan bezeigt keine Lust, zu der ersten groſsen Familie zu gehören.*

**) *S. dies Handbuch Seite* 119.

keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; he may have thought at first his Cisalpine Republic a fine growing child, and may have found it a ricketty bantling; but I feel contempt for all this mockery. Let us, Sir, abstain from invective, only let us speak the truth. Why, Sir, what I have said is nothing but the truth. Let us be visiting acquaintance, but I do implore him not to consider us as one of the family. Perhaps, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to state any more reasons for voting for this large peace establishment. All I desire is, not to have it understood that in stating my fears, I speak from a well informed judgment. On that account it is that I say do not go to war; on that account it is that I state my apprehensions as national grounds for great vigilance, and for strong preparation. Sir, there are two other points pressed by several gentlemen, to which I beg leave to refer, I mean the fitness of the persons in power and the spirit of the people. The power of the country consists in its army, its navy, and its finance, in the talent and integrity of its ministers, and, above all, in the spirit of the people. Upon this second branch of the question, though I have said some things which may be considered as grateful to that party which may be denominated the war party, yet I fear I shall be compelled to state by and by some circumstances that may not be quite so agreeable to them. It is a matter of no importance to the house perhaps to know why I was absent on the two first days of the session. I am anxious to hear the part which men would take, and I do confess I never felt so much disgust at any circumstance, as to find on the first day of the session, instead of an unanimous vote for vigilance and preparation, a call from some to give us back our places. The noble Lord's friends may be divided into two classes; those who call for a change of ministers, and for war. And here I must say, Sir, for one, that I thank them for their frankness in stating what they have done, because their frankness is an antidote to the fury of their counsels. The noble lord says, we don't want to go to war; we only wish to have other persons in power; the noble lord deals with the ingenuousness of youth, as I say; with the experience of youth, according to others. But what should we get by this change? Would those persons he recommends have acted differently from the present ministers? Would they have gone to war for any of the events that have occurred since the peace? Would they have gone to war for

the annexing of Piedmont to France? — for the Cisalpine Republic? — for the invasion of Switzerland? No, for none of these. They would have done as ministers have done, but more vigorously; they would have shewn more grumbling patience; they would have made wry faces; they would not have stood with their hands before them; no, but with their arms akimbo. What would they have got by this? Would they have obtained any thing more by all this grudging and wincing? — Would such a mode of conduct have become the character and dignity of the country? Sir, it is not to be inferred, because the right honorable gentleman opposite me did none of these things, that he felt no indignation. I learn from His Majesty's speech, every word of which I approve, that his ministers are determined not to be shut out of the continent. I say, Sir, I approve of the speech, because it satisfied me that a sense of wrong, and a resentment of injury, may live under moderate language. But these ministers, it seems, are the incapable gentlemen. Will gentlemen shew us any act of base submission on their part? If they can; if they prove that they did any act with respect to Switzerland, and meanly retracted it afterwards, I will be the first to inveigh against them. But these gentlemen shew us no such acts; they seem as if they considered the ministers, now the drudgery of signing the peace is done, as *functi officiis*, and as if they ought to go out; as if one was a mere goose quill and the other a stick of sealing wax, which are done with, and ought to be thrown under the table. We know that *Touchstone* says, as a good ground of quarrel, „That he don't like the cut of a certain courtier's beard" *). Perhaps this capricious dislike cannot be better exemplified than by the sentiment expressed in the well known epigram of Martial: —

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare;
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te **).

The English parody may be more applicable to these gentlemen: —

I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this, I'm sure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell.

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*) *Die Stelle, auf welche sich Sheridan bezieht, befindet sich in Shakspear's Comödie* As you like it, Act IV. Sc. 4. Touchstone *ist eine Person dieses Stückes.* **) Martialis Epigrammatum, I. 33.

It is fair, Sir, to say, that this English parody, so unfavourable to the Doctor, proceeds from the mouth of a fair lady, who has privileges to like and dislike, which woud ill become a member of this house. Sir, I contend that no solid reason has been offered to be urged against these ministers. How, I would ask, has the right honorable gentleman forfeited the confidence of the people? And why are we told that there is but one man alone that can save the country. But it seems, and I must frankly confess, that I was utterly astonished when I heard such an assertion made use of, that His Majesty's ministers assumed the reins of government at a most inviting period. Sir, I defy any man to shew me a period of greater difficulty. The right honorable gentleman who, in the chair of this house, had so amply deserved and secured the respect of every member in it, could not but have quitted it with feelings of regret. — But the expeditions to the Baltic and to Egypt were prepared: true; yet was success certain? Was it not the act of chance, and the great skill shewn by the noble Admiral (Nelson) that brought the expedition to the Baltic to a favorable issue? Did the late ministers conceal their fears with respect to the expedition to Egypt? That it was most glorious in its event, and that the country ought to bind the brows of the meanest soldier engaged in it with laurels, I am ready to allow. But it cannot be denied, that, after the expedition had been off the coast in Italy, and was in Marmorice Bay, orders were sent to stop the expedition altogether. With respect to the negociations for peace, their predecessors knew that the present ministers would have to deal with men who, it might be supposed, would be glad of an occasion to retort the insolence of Lord Grenville's letter. If the enemy had parodied their letter as their only answer to us, if they had said we will wait for experience and the evidence of facts, with respect to the new ministry; if they had said, restore that old whig constitution which the former ministers have so impaired, we might have thought such conduct trifling, and beneath them; but we could not have questioned its fairness. Sir, though His Majesty's ministers must have been prepared to expect humiliation, yet they made peace, I will venture to say, on terms comparatively more advantageous to the country than those that were offered at Lisle. Of these ministers, Sir, I know also that they have not renewed any of their predecessor's oppressive acts. But

this, some gentlemen will contend, is a proof of their weakness and unfitness. Never too, Sir, did the Treasury interfere so little in the general election. This again may be advanced by some as an instance of their incapacity. Nay, the North was left almost to a member of the late administration. When, therefore, gentlemen talk in future of Mr. Pitt's being the fittest person to save the country, they ought to add also the name of Mr. Dundas. But what did these gentlemen expect from the present Chancellor of the Exchequer? We treated him, when in the chair of this house, with the respect he merited. He has, I believe, Sir, over our present worthy Speaker, the advantage in attitude; but did they expect that when he was minister he was to stand up and call Europe to order? Was he to send Mr. Colman, the Sergeant at Arms, to the Baltic, and order the Northern powers to the bar of the house? Was he to see the powers of Germany scrambling like members over the benches, and say, Gentlemen must take their places? Was he expected to cast his eye to the Tuscan gallery, and exclaim, that strangers must withdraw? Was he to stand across the Rhine, and say, the Germans to the right and the French to the left? If he could have done all these things, I for one should always vote, that the Speaker of the house should be appointed the minister of the country. But the right honorable gentleman has done all that a reasonable man could expect him to do. Sir, I confess, I wish to know what Mr. Pitt himself thinks. I should be glad to hear what his sentiments are of the call made for him, and loudly made too, in another place by a vigorous statesman. I well remember, Sir, and so do we all, the character he gave of the present administration. The justice of his character of the First Lord of the Admiralty, no man can question. Of the accuracy of his judgment, with respect to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, it does not become us to entertain a doubt. The noble Secretary of State was better qualified for the situation than any man in the country, with an exception made, I believe, in favor of my honorable friend (Mr. Fox) near me. Does Mr. Pitt mean to retract that character? I cannot suppose he does. I must believe that he left, in his judgment, the best administration that could be left. I have heard some gentlemen attach to the present ministry the appellation of a mawkish mixture: but if I were to compare them to any thing, I should say, that Mr. Pitt, and

the Ex-Secretary of War, acted as men fond of wine (which I certainly do not mean to impute to them as a fault) and drinking a bottle of Tokay. Though you may take what appears to be the best, and leave only what seems to be the lees, yet if you only pour a bottle of good white wine upon them, you have as good a bottle of Tokay as ever. Sir, I think the mixture as good and as wholesome to the constitution as it could have been. I am sure I hear with joy that it is not on account of ill health that the right honorable gentleman to whom I have alluded is absent. I repeat, Sir, when I see so many persons anxious about that gentleman, I am glad to hear that his health is re-established. But how, I would ask, can we, with any consistency, turn out the man who made the peace, to bring in the person who avowed his approbation of it? Sir, it is since that peace was made that gentlemen had voted a statue to Mr. Pitt; but whenever they erect that statue, let them cover it with laurels so as not to shew its nose; yet still a piece of the olive must go with it, for he approved and supported the peace. Sir, I cannot persuade myself to think he is playing a double game, or that he has retracted the opinion he delivered in this house; but every thing should stand plain, every thing should be explicit. I have heard of one person playing two different games at chess, for two different persons at the same time; but I never heard af a person playing one of his hands against the other. I suspect, therefore, there has been some mistake in the telegraphic communication; that the political Philidor's *) game has been misunderstood; that his friends have displaced a knight and a castle, when they should only have taken two pawns **); that they have made an attempt to checkmate the King, when they had no instructions for doing it. Sir, I cannot forget the period when the august personage of the Sovereign was held up as the only man who was against extending privileges to the Catholics in Ireland; and I cannot, therefore, brook the idea of calling that right honorable gentleman back to power, and forcing him upon the crown. I expected when I came into this house to hear much said against Buonaparte, but I had not the slightest expecta-

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*) *Philidor, ein berühmter Schachspieler.* **) *Es bedarf der Erinnerung nicht, daſs von einem Miſsgriffe im Schachspiele die Rede ist.*

tion of hearing any thing against the prerogative of the crown. Mr. Pitt the only man to save the country! No single man can save the country. If a nation depends only upon one man, it cannot, and, I will add, it does not deserve to be saved; it can only be done by the parliament and the people. Sir, I say, therefore, I cannot believe that there is a back and a fore door to this Egerian grotto *). We have all heard, I dare say, of a classical exhibition in this town, The Invisible Girl **). Here, however, I hope we shall have no whisperings backwards and forwards, no speaking through tubes, no invisible agency. I hope, too, that we shall have it declared, as it ought to be, that these opinions, which have been rumored about, are unfounded. I shall now address a few words to those gentlemen who would hurry us into war; and here, Sir, I must say, that of all persons living, the Ex-Secretary of War is the last man who can consistently call out for war. He despised the warning voice of my honorable friend; he turned a deaf ear to his predictions, that we should only consolidate and strengthen the power of France. His answers always were as if he should despise the power of France, could he but see jacobinism destroyed. Is it not destroyed?

„Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear;
The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcanian tiger —
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble —" ***)

The right honorable gentleman's wishes are gratified; jacobinism is killed and gone, and by whom? By him who can no longer be called the child and champion of jacobinism — by Buonaparte. I remember to have heard jacobinism compared to Antaeus ****), who gained strength at every throw: but Buonaparte proceeded like Hercules; he gave it a true

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*) *Nach der Sage hatte Numa mit der Nymphe Egeria in der nach ihr benannten Grotte Zusammenkünfte, deren Gegenstand Belehrung über die Einrichtung des Cultus war.* **) *Der Leser wird sich erinnern, daſs vor einigen Jahren ein akustisches Kunststück gezeigt wurde, welches die Stimme eines unsichtbaren Mädchens zu vernehmen gab.* ***) *Worte, mit welchen Macbeth im Trauerspiele dieses Namens von Shakspeare (Act. III. Sc. 4.) den erscheinenden Geist Banquo's anredet. S. den 2ten Theil des Handbuchs.* ****) *Antaeus, der bekannte Riese, der, zur Erde geworfen, mit jedesmal erneuerter Kraft wieder erstand, und den daher Herkules in seinen Armen erdrückte.*

fraternal hug, and strangled it. Did the French annex Piedmont, did they enter Switzerland with the Rights of Man? Did they talk of those rights when Buonaparte told the people of Italy they were a set of dolts and drivellers, and were unfit to govern themselves? But now the right honorable gentleman seems in a greater fright than ever. He seems as if he had rather have the old ghost back again. Most whimsically he wants to unite all parties against France —

Black spirits and white,
Blue spirits and grey *),

all are welcome to him. The moderate jacobins he takes to his bosom; they were only misled by their feelings. The violent jacobins he appeals to as men of proud spirits. He wishes to sing Ça Ira to them, and to head them all. Oh! had I, he sighs, but plenty of jacobins here! But on what principle would they carry on the war? If they were able to curtail the power of Buonaparte, would not their views increase, and would they ever stop without making an example of the regicide republic? If they will speak out fairly, will they not confess this? Will the country, then, for such a purpose consent to turn out the present ministers? Sir, upon the spirit of the country I wish to say a few words. I have heard from one noble Lord, with regret, what I hope was but a slip, that the spirit of the country is worn out. I think that noble Lord must retract that idea. Sir, I certainly looked to the rejoicings at the peace as an unmanly and irrational exaltation. Do I rebuke the people for rejoicing at the blessings of peace? No, Sir, but for rejoicing without asking about the terms. Did they rejoice that we had gained Trinidad and Ceylon? Would two farthing candles have been burnt less had we not obtained them? No, Sir, if they had believed that they had been fighting for civilized order, morality, and religion; and if, believing this, they exulted in such a peace, then it proves, that their spirit was worn out. But I allude to this, in order that the enemy may not be led into a mistake upon the subject. Sir, one of the disadvantages attending the present administration is, that they will not turn when they are attacked by the last administration. They are hampered by the votes they gave for the war. But from the period of the allegations that it was a war for the Scheldt,

*) *Auch Worte aus der vorgedachten Tragödie. Act. IV, Sc. I.*

I assert that it continued to be a war upon false pretences. The people were told that it was a war for religion and good order, and they found that peace was ready to be made at Lisle, without any reference to those causes. The right honorable gentleman says, what baseness, while religion was in their mouths, to consent to steal a sugar island. It is true, Sir, though it comes a little extraordinarily from that man who was one of the cabinet ministers at the time of the negociation at Lisle. It should appear as if there had indeed been great discord in the cabinet; there never was greater, says the honorable gentleman. They acted not merely like men in a boat, rowing different ways, but like men in the boat of a balloon. Up the Ex-Secretary of War was ascending to the clouds, whilst Mr. Dundas was opening the valve and letting out the gas to descend; while one was throwing out ballast to mount to the most chivalrous heights, the other was attempting to let drop an anchor upon a West India island. Each of these ministers was suffered to have his favorite plan. The Ex-Secretary at War was allowed to nibble at the coast of France, the War Secretary of State to make a descent upon a sugar island; and thus they went on till the letter from Lord Grenville, that letter never to be forgotten; and, I will add, never to be forgiven, made its appearance, and the people took a deep and settled disgust. Why did this not appear? And this, Sir, ought to be a lesson to us. The mouths of the people were shut and gagged, and the government were acting without knowing anything of their circumstances. Sir, in such circumstances, the integrity of their minds was disgusted, and they were glad to get rid of the war at any rate. Upon this subject I have dwelt the more particularly, because I wish Buonaparte not to mistake the cause of the joy of the people. He should know, that if he commits any act of aggression against them, they are ready to enter singly into the contest, rather than suffer any attack upon their honor and their independence. I shall proceed no further. I perfectly agree with my honorable friend, that war ought to be avoided, though he does not agree mith me on the means best calculated to produce that effect. From any opinion he may express, I never differ but with the greatest reluctance. For him my affection, my esteem, and my attachment, are unbounded, and they will end only with my life. But I think an important lesson is to

he learnt from the arrogance of Buonaparte. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, an Envoy of God. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendor and importance. Sir, I think he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to make the English love their constitution the better; to cling to it with more fondness; to hang round it with truer tenderness. Every man feels when he returns from France that he is coming from a dungeon to enjoy the light and life of British independence. Sir, whatever abuses exist, we shall still look with pride and pleasure upon the substantial blessings we still enjoy. I believe too, Sir, that he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined, with one hand and heart, to oppose any aggressions that may be made upon us. If that aggression be made, my honorable friend will, I am sure, agree with me, that we ought to meet it with a spirit worthy of these islands; that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness; that if we could be content to abandon every thing, we should find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission. Finally, Sir, that we ought to meet it with a fixed determination to perish in the same grave with the honor and independence of the country.

GILLIES.

Dr. John Gillies *wurde zu Brechin in der Grafschaft Angus in Schottland um das Jahr 1750 geboren. Er studirte zu Glasgow und legte sich hier mit vorzüglich glücklichem Erfolge auf griechische Literatur und das Studium der Moral, ausserdem aber liefs er sich die Cultur seiner Muttersprache sehr angelegen seyn. Nach Beendigung seiner Studien auf der Universität wurde er Lector des Herrn* Hope, *eines der jüngern Söhne des Herrn* Hopeton. *Mit diesem jungen Manne brachte er einige Jahre in Deutschland zu und besuchte in dessen Gesellschaft auch die berühmtesten Städte Frankreichs und Italiens. Zu bedauern ist es, dafs er die auf seiner Reise ge-*

machten Sammlungen der Welt nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht hat. — *Was seine gelehrten Arbeiten betrifft, so sind diese, außer einem, zwar in seinen frühern Jahren geschriebenen, aber vortrefflichen Aufsatze, betitelt:* Defence of the study of classical Literature, *vorzüglich folgende: eine Übersetzung der Reden des* **Lysias** *und* **Isokrates**, (Orations of Lysias and Isokrates, translated from the Greek, London 1778, 4.) *nebst einer historischen Einleitung über die Geschichte, die Sitten und den Charakter der Griechen, vom Schlusse des Peloponnesischen Krieges bis auf die Schlacht bei Chæronea, ein Werk, welches ihn als einen geschmackvollen Schriftsteller und gründlichen Kenner des Alterthums auszeichnet.* 2) History of ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests from the earliest accounts till the division of the Macedonian empire in the east, London 1786, 2 Vols. 4. *nachgedruckt Basel* 1790, 5 Vols. 8, *ein Werk, das in jeder Rücksicht alle vorhergehenden und namentlich* Goldsmith's Grecian history *hinter sich läßt, ob es gleich dem Deutschen Übersetzer nicht an Gelegenheit zu Berichtigungen gefehlt hat.* 3) View of the reign of Frederick II. of Prussia; with a parallel between that Prince and Philip II. of Macedon, London 1789, gr. 8. *eine Schrift, welche durch den Tod* **Friedrichs II.** *veranlaßt wurde, dessen Hof der Verfasser besucht hatte. Sie ist zwar in den militärischen Artikeln nur ein Auszug aus den historischen Werken* **Friedrichs**, *und in den übrigen Abschnitten größtentheils nur nähere Erörterung der in den* Mémoires *des Grafen von* **Hertzberg** *enthaltenen Notizen, verdient aber doch als ein Beweis der Achtung, die ein Ausländer für das Verdienst des großen Königs hegt, und wegen der scharfsinnigen, glücklich durchgeführten Parallele jener beiden merkwürdigen Männer alle Aufmerksamkeit; (siehe das 4te Heft der Nikolaischen Anekdoten von König* **Friedrich II.**) 4) *die letzte uns bekannt gewordene Frucht seiner gelehrten Bemühungen ist eine Analyse der Werke des* **Aristoteles** *nebst einer Übersetzung der politischen und ethischen Abhandlungen des Stagiriten; das Werk erschien* 1798 *und wurde mit vielem Beifall aufgenommen.* — *Seitdem lebt* **Gillies** *vorzüglich in London. Seine Einkünfte bestehen theils in einer Pension, welche ihm der Graf* **Hopeton** *giebt, theils in dem Honorar, welches seine literarischen Arbeiten abwerfen, und endlich in* 200 *l. welche er als Historiograph von Schottland erhält, zu welcher Würde er nach dem Tode* **Robertson's** *erhoben wurde. Er ist auch Mitglied der*

königl. Societät der Wissenschaften und der antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu London. Wahrscheinlich wird er das Publikum noch mit einer Fortsetzung seiner Geschichte Griechenlands beschenken. Noch verdient von ihm bemerkt zu werden, dafs er — eine seltene Erscheinung bei einem Engländer — das Französische und Deutsche vollkommen gut spricht, und die Deutsche Literatur schätzt. — Vorstehende Nachrichten sind gröfstentheils aus den Public Characters of 1800, London 1801 *gezogen; der Verfasser seiner Biographie hat sich nicht genannt.*

The Lacedaemonians.

*Military institutions of the Lacedæmonians *).*

In the knowledge and practice of war, the Lacedæmonians (if we believe Xenophon, who had fought with and against them) far excelled all Greeks and Barbarians. Courage, the first quality of a soldier, was enlivened by every motive that can operate most powerfully on the mind, while cowardice was branded as the most odious and destructive of crimes, on the principle that it tended, not like many other vices, merely to the hurt of individuals, but to the servitude and ruin of the community. The Spartans preserved the use of the same weapons and defensive armor that had been adopted in the heroic ages; shortening only the length, and thereby improving the form of the sword, which was two-edged, pointed, massy, and fitted either by cutting or thrusting to inflict a dangerous wound. Their troops were divided into regiments, consisting of five hundred and twelve men, subdivided into four companies, and each of these into smaller divisions, commanded by their respective officers; for it was peculiar to the Lacedœmonian armies to contain, comporatively, few men not intrusted with some share of subordinate command. The soldiers were attended by a multitude of artisans and slaves, who furnished them with all necessary supplies, and accompanied by a long train of priests and poets, who flattered their hopes, and animated their valor. A body of cavalry always preceded their march; sensible of the weakness of angles, they encamped in a circular form: the order of their guards and watches was highly judicious; they employed, for

*) History of Greece, Vol. I. chap. 3.

their security, out-sentries and vedettes; and regularly, every morning and evening, performed their customary exercises. Xenophon has described with what facility they wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by skilful and rapid evolutions, presented the strength of the line to an unexpected assault. When they found it prudent to attack, the king, who usually rose before dawn, to anticipate, by early prayer and sacrifice, the favor of the gods, communicated his orders to charge in a full line, or in columns, according to the nature of the ground, and the numbers and disposition of the enemy. In the day of battle, the Spartans assumed an unusual gaiety of aspect; and displayed, in their dress and ornaments, more than their wonted splendor. Their long hair was aranged with simple elegance; their scarlet uniforms, and brazen armor, diffused a lustre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king sacrificed a-new; the music struck up, and the soldiers advanced with a slow and steady pace, and with a cheerful but deliberate countenance, to what they were taught to regard as the noblest employment of man. Proper officers were appointed to receive the prisoners, to divide the spoil, and to decide the contested prices of valor. Both before and after, as well as during the action, every measure was conducted with such order and celerity, that a great captain declares, that when he considered the discipline of the Spartans, all other nations appeared but children in the art of war.

Means by which Lycurgus maintained the populousness and encreased the strength of Sparta.

But that continual exercise in arms, which improved the skill and confirmed the valor, must gradually have exhausted the strength of Sparta, unless the care of population had formed an object of principal concern in the system of Lycurgus. Marriage was directly enjoined by some very singular institutions; but still more powerfully encouraged by extirpating its greatest enemies, luxury and vanity. But Lycurgus, not contented with maintaining the populousness of Sparta, endeavoured to supply the past generation with a nobler and more warlike race, and to enlarge and elevate the bodies and minds of men to that full proportion of which their nature is susceptible. The credulous love of wonder has

always been eager to assert, what the vanity of every age has been unwilling to believe, that the ancient inhabitants of the world possessed a measure of size and strength, as well as of courage and virtue, unattainable and unknown amidst the corruptions and degeneracy of later times. The frequent repetition of the same romantic tale renders giants and heroes familiar and insipid personages in the remote history of almost every people: but from the general mass of fable, a just discernment will separate the genuine ore of Homer and Lycurgus. The laws of the latter brought back the heroic manners which the former had described; and their effects, being no less permanent than salutary, are, at the distance of many centuries, attested by eye-witnesses, whose unimpeached veracity declares the Spartans superior to other men in the excellences of mind and body.

His regulations concerning women, marriage and children.

Of this extraordinary circumstance, the evidence of contemporary writers could scarcely convince us, if they had barely mentioned the fact, without explaining its cause. But in describing the system of Lycurgus, they have not omitted his important regulations concerning the intercourse between the sexes, women, marriage, and children, whose welfare was, even before their birth, a concern to the republic. The generous and brave, it is said, produce the brave and good; but the physical qualities of children still more depend on the constitution of their parents. In other countries of Greece, the men were liberally formed by war, hunting, and the gymnastic exercises; but the women were universally condemned to drudge in sedentary and ignoble occupations, which enfeebled the mind and body. Their chief employment was to superintend, more frequently to perform, the meanest offices of domestic œconomy, and to prepare, by the labor of their hands, food and raiment for themselves and families. Their diet was coarse and sparing; they abstained from the use of wine; they were deprived of liberal education, and debarred from fashionable amusements. Women, thus degraded by servility, appeared incapable of giving good sons to the republic, which Lycurgus regarded as the principal duty of the Lacedæmonian females. By the institutions of Sparta, therefore, the working of wool, the labors of the loom and needle, and other mean mechanical arts, were ge-

nerally committed to servile hands. The free-born women enjoyed and practised those liberal exercises and amusements, which were elsewhere considered as the peculiar privilege of men; they assisted at the public solemnities, mingled in general conversation, and dispensed that applause and reproach, which dispensed by them, are always most effectual. Hence they became not only the companions but the judges of the other sex; and, except that their natural delicacy was not associated to the honors of war, they enjoyed the benefit without feeling the restraint, of the Spartan laws.

The restoration of the natural rights of women restored moderation and modesty in the intercourse between the sexes. Marriage, though enjoined as a duty, could only be contracted in the full vigor of age; and these simple institutions had a more salutary influence on the physical improvement of the Spartans, than either the doubtful expedient, which prevailed among them to the latest times, of adorning the women's apartments with the finest statues of gods and heroes, that, by frequently contemplating these graceful images, they might produce fairer offspring; or the unnatural and detestable cruelty of exposing delicate or deformed children, a practice strongly recommended by Lycurgus, and silently approved, or faintly blamed, by the greatest philosophers of antiquity.

Education.

Even in a moral view, the character of Spartan mothers must have been highly beneficial to their sons; since much of the happiness of life depends on the first impressions of our tender years. When boys were emancipated from the jurisdictions of women, they were not intrusted, as in other parts of Greece, to the mercenary tuition of slaves, who might degrade their sentiments, and corrupt their morals. The education of youth, as an office of the highest confidence, was committed to those who had enjoyed, or who were entitled to enjoy, the most splendid dignities of the republic; after the example of ancient times, when Phœnix educated Achilles, and when it was reasonably required that the master should himself possess the virtues with which he undertook to inspire his disciples. The Spartan youth were taught music and drawing: the former of which comprehended the science not only of sounds, but of number and

quantity; they were taught to read and speak their own language with graceful propriety; to compose in prose and in verse; above all, to think, and in whatever they said, even during the flow of unguarded conversation, to accommodate the expression to the sentiment. Their sedentary studies were relieved by the orchestric and gymnastic exercises, the early practice of which might qualify them for the martial labors of the field. For this most important business of their manhood, they were still farther prepared, by being inured, even in their tender years, to a life of hardship and severity. They wore the same garment, summer and winter; they walked barefooted in all seasons; their diet was plain and frugal, and for the most part so sparing, that they lost no opportunity to supply the defect. What they were unable to ravish by force, they acquired by fraud. When their theft (if theft can be practised where separate property is almost unknown) was discovered, they were severely punished; but if their dexterous deceit escaped observation, they were allowed to boast of their success and met with due applause for their activity, vigilance, and caution; which indicated a character well fitted to excel in the useful stratagems of war.

Peculiar discipline of the youth.

After attaining the ordinary branches of education, youth are frequently left the masters of their own actions. Of all practical errors, Lycurgus deemed this the most dangerous. His discernment perceived the value of that most important period of life, which intervenes between childhood and virility; and the whole force of his discipline was applied to its direction and improvement. Instead of being loosened from the usual ties of authority, the Spartans, at the age of adolescence, were subjected to a more vigorous restraint; and the most extraordinary expedients were employed to moderate the love of pleasure, to correct the insolence of inexperience, and to control the headstrong impetuosity of other youthful passions. Their bodies were early familiarized to fatigue, hunger, and watching; their minds were early accustomed to difficulty and danger. The laborious exercise of the chase formed their principal amusement; at stated times, the magistrates took an account of their actions, and carefully examined their appearance. If the seeds of their vicious appetites had not been thoroughly eradicated by a

life of habitual toil and temperance, they were subjected to corporal punishment, which it was their custom to endure with patient fortitude. The maxims of honor were instilled by precept, and enforced by example. The public tables, which were frequented by all ages, served as so many schools of wisdom and virtue, where, on ordinary occasions, but more particularly on days of festivity, the old related their ancient exploits, and boasted their past prowess; those in the vigor of life displayed the sentiments which their manly courage inspired; and the young expressed a modest confidence that, by steadfastly adhering to the precepts of Lycurgus, they might be enabled in due time to equal, perhaps to surpass, the glory of both.

Their emulation.

But the desire of emulating the fame of their illustrious ancestors was not the most ardent principle that animated the minds of the rising generation. They were taught to vie with each other in every agreeable and useful accomplishment. As they were publicly educated in separate classes, according to their respective ages of childhood, adolescence, and puberty, their characters were exactly ascertained and fully known; and the rewards and honors gradually bestowed on them, were apportioned to the various degrees of excellence which they had previously discovered. When they attained the verge of manhood, three youths of superior merit were named by the Ephori, that they might respectively chuse, each an hundred of their companions, who should be entitled to the honorable distinction of serving in the cavalry. The reasons of preference and rejection were openly explained; and the youths who had been set aside, became, from that moment, the rivals and opponents both of the electors and of the elected. At home and abroad, in the assemblies for conversation and exercise, in the gymnastic and musical contests, in their military expeditions, as well as their martial amusements, the two parties displayed the utmost emulation and ardor, the one to regain the equality which they had lost, the other to maintain their ascendant. They seldom rencountered in the streets or walks, without discovering their animosity in mutual reproaches, and sometimes in blows. But these quarrels were not dangerous, either to the safety of the public, or to the persons of individuals, because the

combatants were obliged to separate (under the pain of punishment and disgrace) at the peaceful summons of every bystander; and the respected admonitions of age controlled, on such occasions, the youthful fermentation of turbulent passions.

The paternal authority in Sparta.

The reverence of aged wisdom, which formed the prevailing sentiment of the heroic times, was restored by the legislation of Lycurgus, and employed as a main pillar of his political edifice. The renovation of limited government, the equal partition of lands, and the abolition of wealth and luxury, had removed the artificial sources of half the miseries and disgrace of human kind. But Lycurgus considered his system as incomplete, until he had levelled not only the artificial, but many of the natural inequalities, in the condition of his fellow-citizens. The fears and infirmities of the old were compensated by honor and respect; the hopes and vigor of the young were balanced by obedience and restraint. The difference of years thus occasioned little disproportion of enjoyment; the happiness of every age depended on the practice of virtue; and as all adventitious and accidental distinctions were removed, men perceived the importance of personal merit, and of its reward, the public esteem, and eagerly grasped the advantages which glory confers; the only exclusive advantages which the laws of Lycurgus permitted them to enjoy. The paternal authority, which maintained the discipline, and promoted the grandeur of Rome, was firmly etablished at Sparta, where every father might exercise an unlimited power, over not only his own, but the children of others, who were all alike regarded as the common sons of the republic. This domestic superiority naturally prepared the way for civil pre-eminence; the elective dignities of the state were obtained only by men of experienced wisdom; and it required sixty years of laborious virtue to be entitled to a seat in the senat-house, the highest ambition of the Spartan chiefs. Such regulations, of which it is impossible to mistake the spirit, had a direct tendence to produce moderation and firmness in the public councils, to control the too impetuous ardor of a warlike people, to allay the ferment of domestic faction, and to check the dangerous ambition of foreign conquest. The power of the ma-

gistrate was confounded with the authority of the parent; they mutually assisted and strengthened each other, and their united influence long upheld the unshaken fabric of the Spartan laws, which the old felt it their interest to maintain, and the young deemed it their glory to obey.

AIKIN.

John Aikin, *Arzt zu Great-Yarmouth in Norfolk, Bruder der berühmten Dichterinn Anna Lætitia Barbauld, von welcher im zweiten Theile dieses Handbuchs einige Nachrichten und Proben ihrer Gedichte enthalten sind, gab gemeinschaftlich mit seiner Schwester* Miscellaneous Pieces in prose *heraus, wovon die dritte Ausgabe London* 1792 *in* 8. *herausgekommen ist. Sie enthalten mehrere interessante und gut geschriebene Aufsätze, als:* the Province of Comedy; on Romances, an imitation; Selma, an imitation of Ossian; against inconsistency in our expectations; the Canal and the Brook, an apologue; on monastic Institutions; on the Pleasure derived from objects of Terror, with Sir Bertrand, a fragment; on the heroic Poem of Gondibert; an Enquiry into those kinds of Distress which excite agreeable sensations, with a tale; Essay on devotional Taste, *und* the Hill of Science, a Vision, *welches letztere Stück wir hier dem Leser mittheilen. Aufserdem ist Aikin, verschiedene medicinische Schriften ungerechnet, Verfasser folgender Werke:* An Essay on the application of Natural History to Poetry; a view of the character and public service of the late Mr. Howard; England delineated or a geographical Description of every county in England and Wales, with outline maps of the Counties; the Calendar of Nature, for the entertainment and instruction of young persons etc. *(übersetzt von Madame Unger); Werke, die ihm einen Rang unter den eleganten Schriftstellern seiner Nation erworben haben. Vor kurzem hat er auch den Anfang mit einer neuen Ausgabe der klassischen Dichter seiner Nation gemacht, wovon die sechs ersten Bände im Jahre* 1802 *unter dem Titel erschienen sind:* The first six Volumes of a new edition of the poets of great Britain (comprising the works of Edmund Spenser), with Johnson's prefaces etc., reedited with new bio-

graphical and critical matter, with embellishments engraved by Heath, London, 8. *Sein neuestes uns bekanntes — nach Plan und Inhalt mit dem 2ten Theile dieses Handbuchs viel Ähnlichkeit habendes — Werk ist betitelt:* Select Works of the British Poets with biographical and critical Prefaces by Dr. Aikin, London 1820, 8.

The Hill of Science.

A Vision.

In that season of the year when the serenity of the sky, the various fruits which cover the ground, the discoloured foliage of the trees, and all the sweet, but fading graces of inspiring autumn, open the mind to benevolence, and dispose it for contemplation, I was wandering in a beautiful and romantic country, till curiosity began to give way to weariness; and I sat me down on the fragment of a rock overgrown mith moss, where the rustling of the falling leaves, the dashing of waters, and the hum of the distant city, soothed my mind into the most perfect tranquillity, and sleep insensibly stole upon me, as I was indulging the agreeable reveries which the objects around me naturally inspired.

I immediately found myself in a vast extended plain, in the middle of which arose a mountain higher than I had before any conception of. It was covered with a multitude of people, chiefly youth; many of whom pressed forwards with the liveliest expression of ardour in their countenance, though the way was in many places steep and difficult. I observed, that those who had but just begun to climb the hill thought themselves not far from the top; but as they proceeded, new hills were continually rising to their view, and the summit of the highest they could before discern seemed but the foot of another, till the mountain at length appeared to lose itself in the clouds. As I was gazing on these things with astonishment, my good genius suddenly appeared; „The mountain before thee, said he, is the Hill of science. On the top is the temple of Truth, whose head is above the clouds, and whose face is covered with a veil of pure light. Observe the progress of her votaries; be silent and attentive.“

I saw that the only regular approach to the mountain was by a gate, called the gate of languages. It was kept by a woman of a pensive and thoughtful appearance, whose lips

where continually moving, as though she repeated something to herself. Her name was Memory. On entering this first inclosure, I was stunned with a confused murmur of jarring voices, and dissonant sounds; which increased upon me to such a degree, that I was utterly confounded; and could compare the noise to nothing but the confusion of tongues at Babel. The road was also rough and stony; and rendered more difficult by heaps of rubbish, continually tumbled down from the higher parts of the mountain; and by broken ruins of ancient buildings, which the travellers were obliged to climb over at every step; in so much that many, disgusted with so rough a beginning, turned back, and attempted the mountain no more: while others, having conquered this difficulty, had no spirits to ascend farther, and sitting down on some fragment of the rubbish, harangued the multitude below with the greatest marks of importance and self-complacency.

About half way up the hill, I observed on each side the path a thick forest covered with continual fogs, and cut out into labyrinths, cross alleys, and serpentine walks, entangled with thorns and briars. This was called the wood of error: and I heard the voices of many who were lost up and down in it, calling to one another, and endeavouring in vain to extricate themselves. The trees in many places shot their boughs over the path, and a thick mist often rested on it; yet never so much but that it was discernable by the light which beamed from the countenance of Truth.

In the pleasantest part of the mountain were placed the bowers of the Muses, whose office it was to cheer the spirits of the travellers, and encourage their fainting steps with songs from their divine harps. Not far from hence were the fields of Fiction, filled with a variety of wild flowers springing up in the greatest luxuriance, of richer scents and brigther colours than I had observed in any other climate. And near them was the dark walk of allegory, so artificially shaded, that the light at noonday was never stronger than that of a bright moonshine. This gave it a pleasingly romantic air for those who delighted in contemplation. The paths and alleys were perplexed with intricate windings, and were all terminated with the statue of a Grace, a Virtue, or a Muse.

After I had observed these things, I turned my eye towards the multitudes who were climbing the steep ascent, and observed amongst them a youth of a lively look, a piercing

eye, and something fiery and irregular in all his motions. His name was Genius. He darted like an eagle up the mountain, and left his companions gazing after him with envy and admiration: but his progress was unequal, and interrupted by a thousand caprices. When Pleasure warbled in the valley he mingled in her train. When Pride beckoned towards the precipice he ventured to the tottering edge. He delighted in devious and untried paths; and made so many excursions from the road, that his feebler companions often outstripped him. I observed that the Muses beheld him with partiality; but Truth often frowned, and turned aside her face. While Genius was thus wasting his strength in eccentric flights, I saw a person of a very different appearance, named Application. He crept along with a slow and unremitting pace, his eyes fixed on the top of the mountain, patiently removing every stone that obstructed his way, till he saw most of these below him who had at first derided his slow and toilsome progress. Indeed there were few who ascended the hill with equal and uninterrupted steadiness; for, beside the difficulties of the way, they were continually solicited to turn aside by a numerous crowd of Appetites, Passions, and Pleasures, whose importunity, when they had once complied with, they became less and less able to resist; and though they often returned to the path, the asperities of the road were more severely felt, the hill appeared more steep and rugged, the fruits which were wholesome and refreshing seemed harsh and ill-tasted, their sight grew dim, and their feet tript at every little obstruction.

I saw, with some surprize, that the Muses, whose business it was to cheer and encourage those who were toiling up the ascend, would often sing in the towers of Pleasure, and accompany those who were enticed away at the call of the Passions; they accompanied them, however, but a little way, and always forsook them when they lost sight of the hill. Their tyrants then doubled their chains upon the unhappy captives, and led them away, without resistance, to the cells of Ignorance, or the mansions of Misery. Amongst the innumerable seducers, who were endeavouring to draw away the votaries of Truth from the path of Science, there was one so little formidable in her appearance, and so gentle and languid in her attempts, that I should scarcely have taken notice of her, but for the numbers the had imperceptibly

loaded with her chains. Indolence (for so she was called) far from proceeding to open hostilities, did not attempt to turn their feet out of the path, but contented herself with retarding their progress; and the purpose she could not force them to abandon, she persuaded them to delay. Her touch had a power like that of the torpedo *), which withered the strength of those who came within its influence. Her unhappy captives still turned their faces towards the temple, and always hoped to arrive there, but the ground seemed to slide from beneath their feet, and they found themselves at the bottom, before they suspected that they had changed their place. The placid serenity, which at first appeared in their countenance, changed by degrees into a melancholy languor, which was tinged with deeper and deeper gloom, as they glided down the stream of insignificance; a dark and sluggish water, which is curled by no breeze, and enlivened by no murmur, till it falls into a dead sea, where the startled passengers are awakened by the shock, and the next moment buried in the gulph of oblivion.

Of all the unhappy deserters from the paths of Science, none seemed less able to return than the followers of Indolence. The captives of Appetite and Passion could often seize the moment when their tyrants were languid or asleep, to escape from their enchantment; but the dominion of Indolence was constant and unremitted, and seldom resisted, till resistance was in vain.

After contemplating these things, I turned my eyes towards the top of the mountain, where the air was always pure and exhilarating, the path shaded with laurels and other evergreens, and the effulgence which beamed from the face of the Goddess seemed to shed a glory round her votaries. Happy, said I, are they who are permitted to ascend the mountain! — but while I was pronouncing this exclamation with uncommon ardour, I saw standing beside me a form of diviner features and a more benign radiance. Happier, said she, are those whom Virtue conducts to the mansions of Content! What, said I, does Virtue then reside in the vale? I am found, said she, in the vale and I illuminate the mountain; I cheer the cottager at his toil, and inspire the sage at

*) The name of a fish, which is said to benumb the hand that touches it.

his meditation. I mingle in the crowd of cities, and bless the hermit in his cell; I have a temple in every heart that owns my influence; and to him that wishes for me I am already present. Science may raise you to eminence, but I alone can guide you to felicity!

While the Goddess was thus speaking, I stretched out my arms towards her with a vehemence which broke my slumbers. The chill dews were falling around me, and the shades of evening stretched over the landscape. I hastened homeward, and resigned the night to silence and meditation.

BRYDONE.

Patrick Brydone, *dessen nähere Lebensumstände uns unbekannt sind und von dem auch das Werk* a biographical Dictionary of the living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1816, *nur einiga dürftige Notizen enthält, ist Verfasser der Reise durch Sicilien und Malta, welche den Titel führt:* A Tour through Sicily and Malta in a series of letters to William Beckford, Esq. of Somerly in Suffolk, from P. Brydone, in two Volumes, a new edition, London *zuerst* 1773 *und dann* 1776, *und auch dem Deutschen Leser aus der, Leipzig* 1783, 2 *Bände*, 8. *erschienenen Deutschen Übersetzung bekannt ist. Sie ist in Briefform verfaßt und die Briefe sind an einen Herrn William Beckford von Somerly gerichtet, den er auf dieser Reise als Führer begleitet hatte. Früher war er in der Armee und nachher als* Comptroller of the Stamp-Office *angestellt. Wiewohl in neuern Zeiten die Glaubwürdigkeit des Verfassers in Zweifel gezogen worden, so hat man dennoch immer der vorzüglichen Darstellungsgabe desselben Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen, und die Reihe von Briefen, in welche er seine auf dieser Reise gesammelten Beobachtungen einkleidete und deren erster aus Neapel den* 14*ten Mai* 1770, *der letzte Palermo den* 29*sten Julius datirt ist, mit Vergnügen gelesen. Brydone ist nach Reuſs gelehrtem England auch Verfasser mehrerer physikalischen Schriften, als:* Instance for a palsy cured by electricity, (Philos. Transact. 1760. p. 392); Effects of electricity in the cure of some diseases (Ibid. 1760. p. 695); Account of a fiery meteor, seen on the 10th. of Februar 1772,

and also of some new electrical experiments, (Phil. Transact. 1773. p. 163); Account of a thunder-storm in Scotland; with some meteorological observations (Ibid. 1787. p. 61.).

Journey up Mount Ætna. *)

Dear Beckford, Catania, May 29th. 1770.

On the 27th., by day-break, we set off to visit mount Ætna, that venerable and respectable father of mountains. His base and his immense declivities are covered over with a numerous progeny of his own; for every great eruption produces a new mountain; and perhaps, by the number of these, better than by any other method, the number of eruptions, and the age of Ætna itself, might be ascertained.

The whole mountain is divided into three distinct regions, called *la regione culta*, or *Piedmontese*, the fertile region; *la regione silvosa*, or *nemorosa*, the woody region; and la *regione deserta*, or *scoperta*, the barren region.

These three are as different, both in climate and productions, as the three zones of the earth; and perhaps, with equal propriety, might have been stiled the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid zone. The first region surrounds the foot of the mountain, and constitutes the most fertile country in the world on all sides of it, to the extent of about fourteen or fifteen miles, where the woody region begins. It is composed almost entirely of lava, which, after a number of ages, is at last converted into the most fertile of all soils.

At Nicolosi, which is twelve miles up the mountain, we found the barometer at 27: 1½; at Catania it stood at 29: 8½; although the former elevation is not very great, probably not exceeding 3000 feet, yet the climate was totally changed. At Catania the harvest was entirely over, and the heats were insupportable; here they were moderate, and in many places the corn is as yet green. The road for these twelve miles is the worst I ever travelled; entirely over old lavas and the mouths of extinguished volcanos, now converted into corn fields, vineyards, and orchards.

The fruit of this region is reckoned the finest in Sicily, particularly the figs, of which they have a great variety. One of these of a very large size, esteemed superior in flavour to all the rest, they pretend is peculiar to Ætna.

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*) Letter IX. and X.

The lavas, which as I have already said, form this region of the mountain, take their rise from an infinite number of the most beautiful little mountains on earth, which are every where scattered on the immense declivity of Ætna. These are all of a regular figure; either that of a cone, or a hemisphere; and all, but a very few, are covered with beautiful trees, and the richest verdure. Every eruption generally forms one of these mountains. As the great crater of Ætna itself is raised to such an enormous height above the lower regions of the mountain, it is not possible, that the internal fire raging for a vent, even round the base, and no doubt vastly below it, should be carried to the height of twelve or thirteen thousand feet, for probably so high is the summit of Ætna. It has therefore generally happened, that after shaking the mountain and its neighbourhood for some time, it at last bursts open its side, and this is called an eruption. At first it only sends forth a thick smoke and showers of ashes that lay waste the adjacent country: these are soon followed by red hot stones, and rocks of a great size, thrown to immense height to the air. The fall of these stones, together with the quantities of ashes discharged at the same time, at last form the spherical and conical mountains I have mentioned. Sometimes this progress is finished in the course of a few days, sometimes it lasts for months, which was the case in the great eruption 1669. In that case, the mountain formed is of a great size; some of them are not less than seven or eight miles round, and upwards of 1000 feet in perpendicular height; others are not more than two or three miles round, and 3 or 400 feet high.

After the new mountain is formed, the lava generally bursts out from its lower side; and bearing every thing before it, is for the most part terminated by the sea. This is the common progress of an eruption; however, it sometimes happens, though rarely, that the lava bursts at once from the side of the mountain, without all these attending circumstances; and this is commonly the case with the eruptions of Vesuvius, where the elevation being so much smaller, the melted matter is generally carried up into the crater of the mountain, discharging showers of stones and ashes from the mouth of the volcano, without forming any new mountain, but only adding considerably to the height of the old one; till at last the lava, rising near the summit, bursts the side

of the crater, and the eruption is declared. This has literally been the case with two eruptions I have been an attentive witness of in that mountain; but Ætna is upon a much larger scale, and one crater is not enough to give vent to such oceans of liquid fire! —

We left Nicolosi, and in an hour and half's travelling, over barren ashes and lava, we arrived on the confines of the Regione Silvosa, or the temperate zone. So soon as we entered these delightful forests, we seemed to have got into another world. The air, which before was sultry and hot, was now cool and refreshing; and every breeze was loaded with a thousand perfumes, the whole ground being covered over with the richest aromatic plants. Many parts of this region are surely the most heavenly spots upon earth; and if Ætna resembles hell within, it may with equal justice be said to resemble paradise without.

It is indeed a curious consideration, that this mountain should reunite every beauty and every horrour; and, in short, all the most opposite and dissimilar objects in nature. Here you observe a gulph, that formerly threw out torrents of fire, now covered with the most luxuriant vegetation; and from an object of terrour, become one of delight. Here you gather the most delicious fruit, rising from what was but lately a black and barren rock. Here the ground is covered with every flower; and we wander over these beauties, and contemplate this wilderness of sweets, without considering that hell, with all its terrours, is immediately under our feet; and that but a few yards separate us from lakes of liquid fire and brimstone.

But our astonishment still increases, on casting our eyes on the higher regions of the mountain. There we behold, in perpetual union, the two elements that are in perpetual war; an immense gulph of fire, for ever existing in the midst of snows which it has no power to melt; and immense fields of snow and ice for ever surrounding this gulph of fire, which they have not power to exstinguish.

The woody region of Ætna ascends for about eight or nine miles, and forms a zone or girdle, of the brightest green, all around the mountain. This night we passed through little more than the half of it; arriving some time before sun-set at our lodgings, which was no other than a large cave, formed by one of the most antient and venerable lavas. It is called *la Spelonca del Capriole*, or the goats cavern, because

frequented by those animals, who take refuge there in bad weather.

Here we were delighted with the contemplation of many grave and beautiful objects; the prospect on all sides is immense; and we already seem to be lifted up from the earth, and to have got into a new world.

Our cavern is surrounded by the most stately and majestic oaks, of the dry leaves of which, we made very comfortable beds; and with our hatchets, which we had brought on purpose, we cut down great branches, and in a short time, had a fire large enough to roast an ox. I observed my thermometer, and found, from 71 at Nicolosi it had now fallen below 60. The barometer stood at 24: 2. In one end of our cavern we still found a great quantity of snow, which seemed to be sent there on purpose for us, as there was no water to be found. With this we filled our tea-kettle, as tea and bread and butter was the only supper we had provided; and probably the best one to prevent us from being overcome by sleep or fatigue.

Not a great way from this cavern, are two of the most beautiful mountains of all that number that spring from Ætna. I mounted one of our best mules, and with a good deal of difficulty arrived at the summit of the highest of them, just a little before sun-set. The prospect of Sicily, with the surrounding sea and all its islands, was wonderfully noble. The whole course of the river Semetus, the ruins of Hybla, and several other ancient towns; the rich corn-fields and vineyards on the lower region of the mountain, and the amazing number of beautiful mountains below, made a delightful scene. The hollow craters of these two mountains are each of them considerably larger than that of Vesuvius. They are now filled with stately oaks, and covered to a great depth with the richest soil. I observed that this region of Ætna, like the former, is composed of lava; but this is now covered so deep with earth, that it is no where to be seen, but in the beds of the torrents. In many of these it is worn down by the water to the depth of fifty or sixty feet, and in one of them still considerably more. — What an idea does not this give of the amazing antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain!

As soon as it was dark, we retired to our cave, and took possession of our bed of leaves. Our rest, however, was some-

what disturbed by the noise of a mountain that lay a good way off on our right. It discharged quantities of smoke, and made several explosions like heavy cannon at a distance; but what is singular, we could observe no appearance of fire.

After getting a comfortable nap on our bed of leaves in the Spelonca del Capriole, we awoke about eleven o' clock; and melting down a sufficient quantity of snow, we boiled our tea-kettle, and made a hearty meal, to prepare us for the remaining part of our expedition. We were nine in number; for we had our three servants, our conductor, known by the name of the Cyclops (the man in the island that is best acquainted with mount Ætna) and two men to take care of our mules. The Cyclops now began to display his great knowledge of the mountain, and we followed him with implicit confidence. He conducted us over „ Antres vast, and Deserts wild," were scarce human foot had ever trod. Sometimes through gloomy forests, which by day-light were delightful; but now, from the universal darkness, the rustling of the trees, the heavy, dull bellowing of the mountain, the vast expanse of ocean stretched at an immense distance below us, inspired a kind of awful horror. Sometimes we found ourselves ascending great rocks of lava, where, if our mules should make but a false step, we might be thrown headlong over the precipice. However by the assistance of the Cyclops, we overcame all these difficulties; and he managed matters so well, that in the space of two hours we found we had got above the regions of vegetation; and had left the forests of Ætna far behind. These appeared now like a dark and gloomy gulph below us, that surrounded the mountain.

The prospect before us was of a very different nature; we beheld an expanse of snow and ice that alarmed us exceedingly and almost staggered our resolution. In the center of this, but still at a great distance, we descried the high summit of the mountain, rearing its tremendous head and vomiting out torrents of smoke. It indeed appeared altogether inaccessible, from the vast extent of the fields of snow and ice that surrounded it. Our diffidence was still increased by the sentiments of the Cyclops. He told us, it often happened, that the surface of the mountain being hot below, melted the snow in particular spots, and formed pools of water, where it was impossible to foresee our danger; that it likewise happened, that the surface of the water, as well as

the snow, was sometimes covered with black ashes, that rendered it exceedingly deceitful; that however, if we thought proper, he should lead us on with as much caution as possible. Accordingly, after holding a council of war, which you know people generally do when they are very much afraid, we detached our cavalry to the forest below, and prepared to climb the snows. The Cyclops, after taking a great draught of brandy, desired us to be of good cheer; that we had plenty of time, and might take as many rests as we pleased. That the snow could be little more than seven miles, and that we certainly should be able to pass it before sun-rise. Accordingly, taking each of us a dram of liqueur, which soon removed every objection, we began our march.

The ascent for some time was not steep; and as the surface of the snow sunk a little, we had tolerable good footing; but as it soon began to grow steeper, we found our labour greatly increase; however, we determined to persevere, calling to mind in the midst of our labour, that the emperor Adrian and the philosopher Plato had undergone the same; and from the same motive too, to see the rising sun from the top of Ætna. After incredible labour and fatigue, but at the same time mixed with a great deal of pleasure, we arrived before dawn at the ruins of an ancient structure, called *Il Torre del Filosofo*, supposed to have been built by the philosopher Empedocles, who took up his habitation here the better to study the nature of mount Ætna. By others it is supposed to be the ruins of a temple to Vulcan, whose shop, all the world knows, was ever kept in mount Ætna.

I found the mercury had fallen to 20: 6. We had now time to pay our adorations in a silent contemplation of the sublime objects of nature. The sky was clear, and the immense vault of the heavens appeared in awful majesty and splendor. We found ourselves more struck with veneration than below, and at first were at a loss to know the cause; till we observed with astonishment, that the number of stars seemed to be infinitely increased, and the light of each of them appeared brighter than usual. The whiteness of the milky way was like a pure flame hat sthot across the heavens; and with the naked eye we could observe clusters of stars that were invisible in the regions below. We did not at first attend to the cause, nor recollect that we had now passed through ten or twelve thousand feet of gross vapour that

blunts and confuses every ray, before it reaches the surface of the earth. We were amazed at the distinctness of vision, and exclaimed together, what a glorious situation for an observatory! Had Empedocles had the eyes of Galileo, what discoveries must he not have made! We regretted that Jupiter was not visible, as I am persuaded we might have discovered some of his satellites with the naked eye, or at least with a small glass which I had in my pocket. We observed a light a great way below us on the mountain, which seemed to move amongst the forests, but whether an Ignis Fatuus, or what it was, I shall not pretend to say. We likewise took notice of several of those meteors called Falling Stars, which still appeared to be as much elevated above us, as when seen from the plain, so that in all probability, those bodies move in regions much beyond the bounds that some philosophers have assigned to our atmosphere.

After contemplating these objects for some time, we set off, and soon after arrived at the foot of the great crater of the mountain. This is of an exact conical figure, and rises equally on all sides. It is composed solely of ashes and other burnt materials, discharged from the mouth of the volcano, which is in its centre. This conical mountain is of a very great size; its circumference cannot be less than ten miles. Here we took a second rest, as the greatest part of our fatigue still remained. The mercury had fallen to 20: 4½. — We found this mountain excessively steep; and although it had appeared black, yet it was likewise covered with snow, but the surface (luckely for us) was spread over with a pretty thick layer of ashes, thrown out from the crater. Hat it not been for this, we never should have been able to get to the top; as the snow was every where frozen hard and solid, from the piercing cold of the air.

In about an hour's climbing, we arrived at a place where there was no snow, and where a warm and comfortable vapour issued from the mountain, which induced us to make another halt. Here I found the mercury at 19: 6½. The thermometer was fallen three degrees below the point of congelation; and before we left the summit of Ætna, it fell two degrees more, viz. to 27. — From this spot it was only about 300 yards to the highest summit of the mountain, where we arrived in full time, to see the most wonderful and most sublime sight in nature.

But here description must ever fall short; for no imagination has dared to form an idea of so glorious and so magnificent a scene. Neither is there on the surface of this globe any one point that unites so many awful and sublime objects. — The immense elevation from the surface of the earth, drawn as it were to a single point, without any neighbouring mountain for the senses and imagination to rest upon, and recover from their astonishment in their way down to the world. This point or pinnacle raised on the brink of a bottomless gulph, as old as the world, often discharging rivers of fire, and throwing out burning rocks, with a noise that shakes the whole island. Add to this, the unbounded extent of the prospect, comprehending the greatest diversity and the most beautiful scenery in nature; with the rising sun, advancing in the east, to illuminate the wondrous scene.

The whole atmosphere by degrees kindled up, and shewed dimly and faintly the boundless prospect around. Both sea and land looked dark and confused, as if only emerging from their original chaos; and light and darkness seemed still undivided; till the morning by degress advancing, completed the separation. The stars are extinguished, and the shades disappear. The forests, which but now seemed black and bottomless gulphs, from whence no ray was reflected to shew their form or colours, appear a new creation rising to the sight; catching life and beauty from every increasing beam. The scene still enlarges, and the horizon seems to widen and expand itself on all sides; till the sun, like the great Creator, appears in the east, and with his plastic ray completes the migthy scene. — All appears enchantment; and it is with difficulty we can believe we are still on earth. The senses, unaccustomed to the sublimity of such a scene, are bewildered and confounded; and it is not till after some time, that they are capable of separating and judging of the objects that compose it. — The body of the sun is seen rising from the ocean, immense tracts both of sea and land intervening; the islands of Lipari, Panari, Alicudi, Strombolo, and Volcano, with their smoking summits, appear under your feet; and you look down on the whole of Sicily as on a map; and can trace every river through all its windings from its source to its mouth. The view is absolutely boundless on every side; nor is there any one object within the circle of vision, to interrupt it; so that the sight is every where lost in the im-

mensity: and I am persuaded it is only from the imperfection of our organs that the coast of Africa, and even of Greece, are not discovered, as they are certainly above the horizon. The circumference of the visibly horizon cannot be less than 2000 miles: at Malta, which is near 200 miles distant, they perceive all the eruptions from the second region; and that island is often discovered from about one half the elevation of the mountain; so that at the whole elevation, the horizon must extend to near double that distance, or 400 miles, which makes 800 for the diameter of the circle, and 2400 for the circumference. But this is by much too vast for our senses, not intended to grasp so boundless a scene. I find, indeed, by some of the Sicilian authors, particularly Massa, that the African coast, as well as that of Naples, with many of its islands, have been discovered from the top of Ætna. Of this, however, we cannot boast, though we can very well believe it. Indeed, if we knew the height of the mountain, it would be easy to calculate the extent of its visible horizon, and (*vice versa*) if its visible horizon was exactly ascertained, it would be an easy matter to calculate the height of the mountain. But the most beautiful part of the scene is certainly the mountain itself, the island of Sicily, and the numerous islands lying round it. All these, by a kind of magic in vision, that I am at a loss to account for, seem as if they were brought close round the skirts of Ætna; the distances appearing reduced to nothing. Perhaps this singular effect is produced by the rays of light passing from a rarer medium into a denser; which (from a well known law in optics) to an observer in the rarer medium, appears to lift up the objects that are at bottom of the dense one, as a piece of money placed in a bason appears lifted up as soon as the bason is filled with water.

The *Regione Deserta* or the frigid zone of Ætna, is the first object that calls your attention. It is marked out by a circle of snow and ice, which extends on all sides to the distance of about eight miles. In the centre of this circle, the great crater of the mountain rears its burning head, and the regions of intense cold and of intense heat seem forever to be united in the same point. — On the north side of the snowy region, they assure us, there are several small lakes that are never thawed; and that in many places, the snow, mixed with the ashes and salts of the mountain, is accumulated to a vast depth. And

indeed. I suppose the quantity of salts contained in this mountain, is one great reason of the preservation of its snows. — The *Regione Deserta* is immediately succeeded by the *Silvosa*, or the woody region, which forms a circle or girdle of the most beautiful green, which surrounds the mountain on all sides, and is certainly one of the most delightful spots on earth. This presents a remarkable contrast with the desert region. It is not smooth and even like the greatest part of the latter; but is finely variegated by an infinite number of those beautiful little mountains that have been formed by the different eruptions of Ætna. All these have now acquired a wonderful degree of fertility, except a very few that are but newly formed; that is, within these five or six hundred years: for it certainly requires some thousands to bring them to their greatest degree of perfection. We looked down into the craters of these, and attempted, but in vain, to number them.

The circumference of this zone or great circle on Ætna is not less than 70 or or 80 miles. It is every were succeeded by the vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields that compose the *Regione Culta*, or the fertile region. This last zone is much broader than the others, and extends on all sides to the foot of the mountain. Its whole circumference, according to Recupero, is 183 miles. It is likewise covered with a number of little conical and spherical mountains, and exhibits a wonderful variety of forms and makes a delightful contrast with the other two regions. It is bounded by the sea to the south and south-east, and on all its other sides by the rivers Semetus and Alcantara, which run almost round it. The whole course of these rivers is seen at once, and all their beautiful windings through these fertile valleys, looked upon as the favourite possession of Ceres herself, and the very scene of the rape of her daughter Proserpine.

Cast your eyes a little farther, and you embrace the whole island, and see all its cities, rivers, and mountains, delineated in the great chart of Nature: all the adjacent islands, the whole coast of Italy, as far as your eye can reach; for it is no where lost in the space. On the sun's first rising, the shadow of the mountain extends across the whole island, and makes a large track visible even in the sea and air. By degrees this is shortened, and, in a little time, is confined only to the neighbourhood of Ætna.

We had now time to examine a fourth region of this wonderful mountain, very different, indeed, from the others, and productive of very different sensations; but which has, undoubtedly, given being to all the rest; I mean the region of fire.

The present crater of this immense volcano is a circle of about three miles and a half in circumference. It goes shelving down on each side, and forms a regular hollow like a vast amphitheatre. From many places of this space, issue volumes of sulphureous smoke, which, being much heavier than the circumambient air, instead of rising in it, as smoke generally does, immediately rolls down the side of the mountain like a torrent, till coming to that part of the atmosphere of the same specific gravity with itself, it shoots of horizontally, and forms a large track in the air, according to the direction of the wind; which, happily for us, carried it exactly to the side opposite to that where we were placed. The crater is so hot, that it is very dangerous, if not impossible, to go down into it; besides, the smoke is very incommodious, and, in many places, the surface is so soft, there have been instances of people sinking down in it, and paying for their temerity with their lives. Near the centre of the crater is the great mouth of the volcano; that tremendous gulph so celebrated in all ages, looked upon as the terror and scourge both of this and another life; and equally useful to ancient poets, or to modern divines, when the Muse, or when the Spirit inspires. We beheld it with awe and with horror, and were not surprised that it had been considered as the place of the damned. When we reflect on the immensity of its depth, the vast cells and caverns whence so many lavas have issued; the force of its internal fire, to raise up those lavas to so vast a height, to support it as it were in the air, and even force it over the very summit of the crater, with all the dreadful accompaniments; the boiling of the matter, the shaking of the mountain, the explosions of flaming rocks, etc.; we must allow, that the most enthusiastic imagination, in the midst of all its terrors, hardly ever formed an idea of a hell more dreadful.

It was with a mixture both of pleasure and pain, that we quitted this awful scene. But the wind had risen very high, and clouds began to gather round the mountain. In a short time they formed like another heaven below us, and we

were in hopes of seeing a thunder-storm under our feet: a scene that is not uncommon in these exalted regions, and which I have already seen, on the top of the high Alps: but the clouds were soon dispelled again by the force of the wind, and we were disappointed in our expectations. —

On our arrival at the Torre del Filosofo, we could not help admiring, that the ruins of this structure have remained uncovered for so many ages, so near the top of Ætna, when thousands of places at a great distance from it, have been repeatedly buried by its lavas, in a much shorter time. A proof that few eruptions have risen so high in the mountain. —

We left the summit of the mountain about six o' clock, and it was eight at night before we reached Catania. We observed both with pleasure and pain the change of the climate as we descended. From the regions of the most rigid Winter, we soon arrived at those of the most delightful spring. On first entering the forests, the trees were still bare as in December, not a single leaf to be seen; but after we had descended a few miles, we found ourselves in the mildest, and the softest of climates; the trees in full verdure, and the fields covered with all the flowers of the summer; but as soon as we got out of the woods, and entered the torrid zone, we found the heats altogether insupportable, and suffered dreadfully from them before we reached the city. — On our arrival at Catania, we went immediately to bed, being exceedingly oppressed by the fatigue of our expedition; but still more by the violent heat of the day. — Adieu.

Ever your's,

Brydone.

ROSCOE.

William Roscoe *zu Liverpool ist Verfasser einer der vorzüglichsten Biographien, mit welchen die Englische Literatur in dem verflossenen Jahrhundert bereichert worden ist. Sie führt den Titel:* Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, 1795, 2 Vols. 4. with a frontispice and vignettes *(nach-*

gedruckt zu Basel 1799 *in* 4 *Vol. in* 8.), *in das Deutsche unter dem Titel:* **Wilhelm Roscoe's Lorenz von Medici,** *übersetzt von Kurt Sprengel, Berlin* 1797, *) *Die* public Characters of 1798-9 *liefern eine kurze biographisch-literarische Schilderung* **Roscoe's**, *aus welcher wir unsern Lesern das Wichtigste mittheilen wollen. Seine Ältern waren durch dürftige Umstände verhindert, ihrem Sohn eine glänzende Erziehung zu geben; und dieser selbst bewies keine grosse Lust, die gewöhnliche Schulanstalt zu besuchen. Er las indessen viel, und dachte noch mehr. Hierauf diente er als Schreiber bei einem Anwald in Liverpool. In dieser Lage wurde er durch einen seiner jugendlichen Freunde, der damit prahlte, Cicero's Schrift* de amicitia *gelesen zu haben, veranlasst, sich auf die Lateinische Sprache zu legen, und er that dieses mit solchem Eifer, dass er sich, wiewohl mit vieler Mühe, durch jene kleine Schrift arbeitete, und sodann, durch den glücklichen Erfolg aufgemuntert, die vorzüglichsten Römischen Klassiker las. Nachmals legte er sich auch auf die Französische und Italienische Sprache, und studirte die besten Schriftsteller beider Nationen. Und allen diesen Beschäftigungen konnte er nur die Stunden widmen, welche ihm nicht durch die Pflichten seines Berufs geraubt wurden. Als Knabe zeigte er auch bereits Anlage zur Poesie. Eins der ersten bedeutenden Werke dieser Art, welches er im* 16*ten Jahre seines Alters verfertigte, war* Mount pleasant, *ein beschreibendes Gedicht. Es zeugt von vielem dichterischen Genie und einem guten Geschmack. Nachdem er einige Jahre als Schreiber gearbeitet hatte, trat er mit einem andern Anwald zu Liverpool,* **Aspinwall**, *in Verbindung, und hatte, bei dem ausgebreiteten Geschäftskreise dieses geachteten Mannes, Gelegenheit, seine Kenntnisse in öffentlichen Geschäften zu vermehren.* **Roscoe** *widmete auch während dieser Zeit alle geschäftsfreien Augenblicke den Wissenschaften, und hatte unter andern Gelegenheit, sich durch eine* 1773 *vor der zu Liverpool zur Beförderung der schönen Künste bestehenden Gesellschaft vorgelesene Ode als einen Kenner der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst zu zeigen. Sie wurde nachmals mit seinem* Mount pleasant *gedruckt. Zwei andere seiner Gedichte,* to Pity *und* an Ode to Education, *findet man im zweiten Theile des* Spea-

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*) *Die französische Uebersetzung dieses Werks führt den Titel:* Vie de Laurent de Médicis, surnommé le magnifique, traduit de l'Anglois par Thurot, 2 Vol. Paris 1800. 8.

ker *von Dr. Enfield, seinem Freunde* *). Roscoe zeigt sich bereits in seinem Mount pleasant *als einen abgesagten Feind des unmenschlichen Sklavenhandels. Wir können nicht umhin, die schönen Verse, in welchen er seine Empfindungen hierüber mittheilt, abzuschreiben.*

— There Afric's swarthy sons their toils repeat,
Beneath the fervors of the noon-tide heat;
Torn from each joy that crowned their native soil;
No sweet reflections mitigate their toil;
From morn to eve, by rigorous hands opprest,
Dull fly their hours, of every hope unblest;
Till broke with labour, helpless and forlorn,
From their weak grasp the ling'ring morsel torn;
The reed-built hovel's friendly shade deny'd;
The jest of folly, and the scorn of pride;
Drooping beneath meridian suns they lie,
Lift the faint head, and bend th'imploring eye;
Till death, in kindness from the tortured breast
Calls the free spirit to the realms of rest.
 Shame to mankind! but shame to Britons most,
Who all the sweets of liberty can boast,
Yet deaf to every human claim, deny
That bliss to others which themselves enjoy:
Life's bitter draught with harsher bitter fill,
Blast every joy, and add to every ill;
The trembling limbs with galling iron bind,
Nor loose the heavier bondage of the mind.

Eine Schrift, welche nicht lange nachher zur Vertheidigung des Sklavenhandels erschien, veranlaſste ihn zu einer Gegenschrift, welche den Titel führt: A scriptural Refusal of a Pamphlet lately published by the Rev. Raymund Harris. *Als einen noch weit wärmern Freund der unterdrückten Menschheit lernte ihn das Publikum aus einem Gedicht* „the Wrongs of Africa" *kennen; die beiden ersten Gesänge kamen heraus,* 1787 *und* 1788, *der dritte ist vermuthlich noch nicht erschienen. — Die Kindheit der Französischen Revolution begeisterte*

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*) *Vermuthlich sind seine sämmtlichen Gedichte in folgendem, uns nur dem Titel nach bekannten Werke enthalten:* The Metrical Miscellany, consisting chiefly of poems hitherto unpublished, and including amongst others, Poems written by the Hon. Henry Erskine, W. Roscoe, Esq., Dr. Darwin, Dutchess of Devonshire etc. etc. London 1802.

sein poetisches Talent, und er verfertigte bei dieser Gelegenheit zwei Gedichte, welche mit unter die vollendetsten Produkte der Englischen Poesie gerechnet werden, Millions be free, *einen Gesang, und* the vine-covered Hills. *Die Revolutionsstürme, welche so bald auf die erste heitere Morgenröthe jenes politischen Umschwungs folgten, scheinen seine vorzüglichere Aufmerksamkeit von dieser grofsen Begebenheit abgezogen zu haben. Er begann nun um das Jahr* 1790 *sein* Life of Lorenzo de' Medici. *Auf die Ausarbeitung dieser vortrefflichen Schrift konnte er, anderer Geschäfte wegen, nur die Abendstunden verwenden. Das Werk selbst erschien zu Anfang des Jahres* 1796, *und nach einem Monat war schon die ganze erste Auflage vergriffen. „Wer wollte sich auch nicht, (sagt der Verfasser der vortrefflichen Uebersichten der Englischen Literatur, im Intelligenz-Blatte der Allgem. Lit. Zeit. nro.* 111. *v. J.* 1796, *bei der Anzeige dieses Buchs) an der Hand eines so wohl unterrichteten und fein sich ausdruckenden Führers in jene lachende Vergangenheit, in die glückliche Periode des Wiederaufblühens der Wissenschaften in der zweiten Hälfte des 15ten Jahrhunderts zurückbringen lassen. Roscoe schrieb das Leben des* Lorenz von Medici *aus trefflichen Quellen. Er hatte aus den Versteigerungen der Pinellischen und Crevennaschen Bibliotheken die seltensten Piecen dazu erhalten, und einer seiner Freunde brachte ihm aus der Laurentinischen und Ricardischen Bibliothek zu Florenz beneidenswerthe Schätze nach Liverpool, unter andern mehrere Gedichte des Lorenzo, deren Originale aus der Laurentinischen Bibliothek noch nie benutzt worden waren. Dafs er den Valori, und seine Ausschreiber Lancelotti, da Bruni, Fabroni, Tenhove und mit Vorsicht den Varillas benutzte, versteht sich. Der erste Theil besteht aus 5 Kapiteln und einem diplomatischen Anhange von* 42 *Artikeln. So auch der zweite. In diesen Anhängen werden viele Sonette und noch nie gedruckte Gedichte von Lorenzo, aber auch andere urkundliche Nachrichten mitgetheilt. Roscoe's Werk erhält vorzüglich dadurch Reiz, dafs er im 5ten und weitläuftigsten Kapitel mit grofser Ausführlichkeit die belletristischen Studien des damaligen Zeitalters durchgeht, die schönsten Stellen aus den* Selve d'Amore *und die Sonette des Lorenzo mit einer Übersetzung, und mit ästhetischen Bemerkungen begleitet, anführt, und überall einen feinen Geschmack zeigt. Als Ang. Fabroni seine* Vitam Laur. Medicei *in* 2 *Quartbänden herausgab, sagten Deutsche*

und Italiäner, daſs nichts vollendeter geschrieben werden könnte; wer hätte auch glauben sollen, daſs unter den Negersklavenhändlern in Liverpool noch ein besserer Biograph aufstehen sollte?" Bald nach der Bekanntmachung seines Werks hat Roscoe seinen bisherigen Beschäftigungen entsagt, und ist in einen Wirkungskreis getreten, der ihm mehr Muſse gewährt; die Früchte derselben hat das Publicum in einer Biographie Pabst Leo's des 10ten erhalten. Sie führt den Titel: The Life and Pontificate of Leo the tenth, with engravings, in 4 Vols. *(Preis* 6 l. 6 sh.*), und ist im Jahre* 1805 *erschienen; eine Deutsche, mit Anmerkungen von H. P. K. Henke versehene Übersetzung derselben ist in Leipzig* 1806 *herausgekommen. Bei Bearbeitung dieses Werks, das uns nicht genau genug bekannt ist, um über seinen Werth auf eine competente Art urtheilen zu können, unterstützten unsern Roscoe die Lords Holland und Bristol durch Herbeischaffung der zu diesem Behuf nothwendig erforderlichen Hülfsmittel. Roscoe stand zuletzt dem Handlungshause Roscoe, Clarke et Comp. vor, das lange Zeit einen bedeutenden Credit behauptete, bis miſslungene Speculationen eine Stockung seiner Zahlungen bewirkten. Roscoe muſste seine schöne Bibliothek verkaufen* (1816) *und sie ging um einen Spottpreis fort. Er hatte damals — wie der Herr Bibliothekar Spiker in seiner Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland erzählt — den Plan, ein Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam zu schreiben.*

Conspiracy of the Pazzi *)

The public agitation excited by the assassination of the duke of Milan **) had scarcely subsided, before an event took place at Florence of a much more atrocious nature, inasmuch as the objects destined to destruction had not afforded a pretext, in any degree plausible, for such an attempt. Accordingly we have now to enter on a transaction that has seldom been mentioned without emotions of the strongest horror and detestation; and which, as has justly been observed, is an incontrovertible proof of the practical atheism of the times in which it took place. — A transaction in which

*) The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici chap. IV. **) *Der Herzog Galeazzo Maria ward auf einem feierlichen Umgange, als er in seinem herzoglichen Ornat eben in die Stephanskirche eintreten wollte, meuchelmörderischer Weise getödtet.*

a pope, a cardinal, an archbishop, and several other ecclesiastics, associated themselves with a band of ruffians, to destroy two men who were an honor to their age and country; and purposed to perpetrate their crime at a season of hospitality, in the sanctuary of a Christian church, and at the very moment of the elevation of the host, when the audience bowed down before it, and the assassins were presumed to be in the immediate presence of their God.

At the head of this conspiracy were Sixtus IV. *) and his nephew Girolamo Riario. Raffaello Riario, the nephew of this Girolamo, who, although a young man then pursuing his studies, had lately been raised to the dignity of cardinal, was rather an instrument than an accomplice in the scheme. The enmity of Sixtus to Lorenzo **) had for some time been apparent, and if not occasioned by the assistance which Lorenzo had afforded to Niccolo Vitelli, and other independent nobles, whose dominions Sixtus had either threatened or attacked, was certainly increased by it. The destruction of the Medici appeared therefore to Sixtus as the removal of an obstacle that thwarted all his views; and by the accomplishment of which the small surrounding states would soon become an easy prey. There is however great reason to believe that the pope did not confine his ambition to these subordinate governments, but that if the conspiracy had succeeded to his wish, he meant to have grasped at the dominion of Florence itself. The alliance lately formed between the Florentines, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, which was principally effected by Lorenzo de' Medici, and by which the pope found himself prevented from disturbing the peace of Italy, was an additional and powerful motive of resentment. One of the first proofs of the displeasure of the pope, was his depriving Lorenzo of the office of treasurer of the papal see, which he gave to the Pazzi, a Florentine family, who as well as the Medici had a public bank at Rome, and who afterwards became the coadjutors of Sixtus in the execution of his treacherous purpose.

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*) *Sixtus IV. bestieg den päbstlichen Thron im Jahre 1471, und starb 1484, im 71sten Jahre seines Alters.* **) *Lorenzo de' Medici, geb. 1448, gest. 1492, Sohn des Cosmo von Medici, geb. 1389, gest. 1464, im 75sten Jahre seines Alters.*

This family was one of the noblest and most respectable in Florence; numerous in its members, and possessed of great wealth and influence. Of three brothers, two of whom had filled the office of gonfaloniere, only one was then living. If we may credit the account of Politiano *), Giacopo de' Pazzi, the surviving brother, who was regarded as the chief of the family, and far advanced in years, was an unprincipled libertine, who having by gaming and intemperance dissipated his paternal property, sought an opportunity of averting, or of concealing his own ruin in that of the republic. Giacopo had no children; but his elder brother Piero had left seven sons, and his younger Antonio three; one of whom, Guglielmo de' Pazzi, had in the lifetime of Cosmo de' Medici married Bianca, the sister of Lorenzo. Francesco, the brother of Guglielmo, had for several years resided principally at Rome. Of a bold and aspiring temper, he could not brook the superiority of the Medici, which was supposed to have induced him to chuse that place as his residence in preference to Florence.

Several of the Florentine authors have endeavoured to trace the reason of the enmity of this family to that of the Medici, but nothing seems discoverable, which could plausibly operate as a motive, much less as a justification of their resentment. On the contrary, the affinity between the two families, and the favors conferred by the Medici on the Pazzi, memorials of which yet remain in the hand-writing of Giacopo, might be presumed to have conciliated esteem; and that they lived on terms of apparent friendship and intimacy is evident from many circumstances of the conspiracy. Machiavelli **) relates a particular injury received by one of the Pazzi, which, as he informs us, that family attributed to the Medici. Giovanni de' Pazzi had married the daughter of Giovanni Borromeo, whose immense property upon his death

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*) *Politiano (Angelo), geb.* 1454 *zu Monte-Pulciano im Toskanischen (einem Ort der im Lateinischen* Mons-Politianus *heifst, und von dem sich Politiano, welcher eigentlich den Namen Angelo Bassi führte, benannte) gest.* 1494, *hat unter andern auch eine in Lateinischer Sprache abgefafste Geschichte der Verschwörung der Pazzi geschrieben. Seine sämmtlichen Werke sind zu Bologna* 1494 *in* 4. *und zu Venedig* 1498 *in fol. und späterhin* 1553 *zu Basel in fol. gedruckt worden.* **) *Niccolo Machiavelli, ein berühmter Italiänischer Geschichtschreiber und politischer Schriftsteller, geb.* 1469 *zu Florenz, gest.* 1527.

should have descended to his daughter. But pretensions to it being made by Carlo, his nephew, a litigation ensued, in the event of which the daughter was deprived of her inheritance. There is however reason to believe that this decree, whether justifiable or not, and of which we have no documents to enable us to form a judgment, was made many years before the death of Piero de' Medici, when his sons were too young to have taken a very active part in it; and it is certain that it produced no ostensible enmity between the families. It is also deserving of notice, that this transaction happened at a time when Lorenzo was absent from Florence, on one of his youthful excursions through Italy.

This conspiracy of which Sixtus and his nephew were the real instigators, was first agitated at Rome, where the intercourse between the count Girolamo Riario and Francesco de' Pazzi, in consequence of the office held by the latter, afforded them an opportunity of communicating to each other their mutual jealousy of the power of the Medici, and their desire of depriving them of their influence in Florence; in which event it is highly probable, that the Pazzi were to have exercised the chief authority in the city, under the patronage, if not under the avowed dominion of the papal see. The principal agent engaged in the undertaking was Francesco Salviati, archbishop of Pisa, to which rank he had lately been promoted by Sixtus, in opposition to the wishes of the Medici, who had for some time endeavoured to prevent him from exercising his episcopal functions. If it be allowed that the unfavorable character given of him by Politiano is exaggerated, it is generally agreed that his qualities were the reverse of those which ought to have been the recommendations to such high preferment. The other conspirators were, Giacopo Salviati, brother of the archbishop, Giacopo Poggio, one of the sons of the celebrated Poggio Bracciolini, and who, like all the other sons of that eminent scholar, had obtained no small share of literary reputation *); Bernardo Bandini, a daring libertine, rendered desperate by the consequences of his excesses; Giovan Battista Montesicco, who had distinguished himself by his military talents as one of the Condottieri **) of the armies of the pope; Antonio

*) *Er übersetzte unter andern die florentinische Geschichte seines Vaters aus dem Lateinischen in das Italiänische.* **) Condottiere, (*ein italiänisches Wort*) *Führer, Anführer.*

Maffei, a priest of Volterra, and Stefano da Bagnone, one of the apostolic scribes, with several others of inferior note.

In the arrangement of their plan, which appears to have been concerted with great precaution and secrecy, the conspirators soon discovered, that the dangers which they had to encounter were not so likely to arise from the difficulty of the attempt, as from the subsequent resentment of the Florentines, a great majority of whom were strongly attached to the Medici. Hence it became necessary to provide a military force, the assistance of which might be equally requisite whether the enterprise proved abortive or successful. By the influence of the pope, the king of Naples, who was then in alliance with him, and on one of whose sons he had recently bestowed a cardinal's hat, was also induced to countenance the attempt.

These preliminaries being adjusted, Girolamo wrote to his nephew cardinal Riario, then at Pisa, ordering him to obey whatever directions he might receive from the archbishop. A body of two thousand men were destined to approach by different routes towards Florence, so as to be in readiness at the time appointed for striking the blow.

Shortly afterwards, the archbishop requested the presence of the cardinal at Florence, whither he immediately repaired, and took up his residence at a seat of the Pazzi, about a mile from the city. It seems to have been the intention of the conspirators to have effected their purpose at Fiesole *), where Lorenzo then had his country residence, to which they supposed that he would invite the cardinal and his attendants. Nor were they deceived in this conjecture, for Lorenzo prepared a magnificent entertainment on this occasion; but the absence of Giuliano **), on account of indisposition, obliged the conspirators to postpone the attempt. Disappointed in their hopes, another plan was now to be adopted; and on further deliberation it was resolved, that the assassination should take place on the succeeding Sunday, in the church of the Reparata, since called Santa Maria del Fiore, and that the signal for execution should be the elevation of the host. At the same moment the archbishop and others of the conspirators were to seize upon the palace, or

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*) *Fiesole, damals ein Städtchen unweit Florenz.* **) *Giuliano, geb. 1453, ermordet durch die Pazzi, 1478, Bruder des Lorenzo il Magnifico.*

residence of the magistrates, whilst the office of Giacopo de' Pazzi was to endeavour, by the cry of liberty, to incite the citizens to revolt.

The immediate assassination of Giuliano was committed to Francesco de' Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini, and that of Lorenzo had been intrusted to the sole hand of Montesicco. This office he had willingly undertaken whilst he understood that it was to be executed in a private dwelling, but he shrunk from the idea of polluting the house of God with so heinous a crime. Two ecclesiastics were therefore selected for the commission of a deed, from which the soldier was deterred by conscious motives. These were Stefano da Bagnone, the apostolic scribe, and Antonio Maffei.

The young cardinal having expressed a desire to attend divine service in the church of the Reparata, on the ensuing Sunday, being the twenty-sixth day of April 1478, Lorenzo invited him and his suite to his house in Florence. He accordingly came with a large retinue, supporting the united characters of cardinal and apostolic legate, and was received by Lorenzo with that splendor and hospitality with which he was always accustomed to entertain men of high rank and consequence. Giuliano did not appear, a circumstance that alarmed the conspirators, whose arrangements would not admit of longer delay. They soon however learnt that he intended to be present at the church. — The service was already begun, and the Cardinal had taken his seat, when Francesco de' Pazzi and Bandini, observing that Giuliano was not yet arrived, left the church and went to his house, in order to ensure and hasten his attendance. Giuliano accompanied them, and as he walked between them, they threw their arms round him with the familiarity of intimate friends, but in fact to discover whether he had any armour under his dress; possibly conjecturing from his long delay, that he had suspected their purpose. At the same time, by their freedom and jocularity, they endeavoured to obviate any apprehensions which he might entertain from such a proceeding. The conspirators having taken their stations near their intended victims, waited with impatience for the appointed signal. The bell rang — the priest raised the consecrated wafer — the people bowed before it — and at the same instant Bandini plunged a short dagger into the breast of Giuliano. — On receiving

the wound he took a few hasty steps and fell, when Francesco de' Pazzi rushed upon him with incredible fury, and stabbed him in different parts of his body, continuing to repeat his strokes even after he was apparently dead. Such was the violence of his rage that he wounded himself deeply in the thigh. The priests who had undertaken the murder of Lorenzo were not equally successful. An ill-directed blow from Maffei, which was aimed at the throat, but took place behind the neck, rather roused him to his defense than disabled him. He immediately threw off his cloak, and holding it up as a shield in his left hand, with his right he drew his sword, and repelled his assailants. Perceiving that their purpose was defeated, the two ecclesiastics, after having wounded one of Lorenzo's attendants who had interposed to defend him, endeavoured to save themselves by flight. At the same moment Bandini, his dagger streaming with the blood of Giuliano, rushed towards Lorenzo; but meeting in his way with Francesco Nori, a person in the service of the Medici, and in whom they placed great confidence, he stabbed him with a wound instantaneously mortal. At the approach of Bandini the friends of Lorenzo encircled him, and hurried him into the sacristy, where Politiano and others closed the doors, which were of brass. Apprehensions being entertained that the weapon which had wounded him was poisoned, a young man attached to Lorenzo sucked the wound. A general alarm and consternation took place in the church; and such was the tumult which ensued, that it was at first believed by the audience that the building was falling in; but no sooner was it understood that Lorenzo was in danger, than several of the youth of Florence formed themselves into a body, and receiving him into the midst of them, conducted him into his house, making a circuitous turn from the church, lest he should meet with the death body of his brother.

Whilst these transactions passed in the church, another commotion took place in the palace, where the archbishop, who had left the church, as agreed upon before the attack on the Medici, and about thirty of his associates, attempted to overpower the magistrates, and to possess themselves of the seat of government. Leaving some of his followers stationed in different apartments, the archbishop proceeded to an interior chamber, where Cesare Petrucci, then gonfaloniere and the other magistrates were assembled. No sooner was the

gonfaloniere informed of his approach, than out of respect to his rank he rose to meet him. Whether the archbishop was disconcerted by the presence of Petrucci, who was known to be of a resolute character, of which he had given a striking instance in frustrating the attack of Bernardo Nardi upon the town of Prato, or whether his courage was not equal to the undertaking, is uncertain; but instead of intimidating the magistrates by a sudden attack, he began to inform Petrucci that the pope had bestowed an employment on his son, of which he had to deliver so him the credentials. This he did with such hesitation, and in so desultory a manner, that it was scarcely possible to collect his meaning. Petrucci also observed that he frequently changed color, and at times turned towards the door, as if giving a signal to some one to approach. — Alarmed at his manner, and probably aware of his character, Petrucci suddenly rushed out of the chamber, and called together the guards and attendants. By attempting to retreat, the archbishop confessed his guilt. In pursuing him, Petrucci met with Giacopo Poggio, whom he caught by the hair, and throwing him on the ground, delivered him into the custody of his followers. The rest of the magistrates and their attendants seized upon such arms as the place supplied, and the implements of the kitchen became formidable weapons in their hands. Having secured the doors of the palace they furiously attacked their scattered and intimidated enemies who no longer attempted resistance.

During this commotion they were alarmed by a tumult from without, and perceived from the windows Giacopo de' Pazzi, followed by about one hundred soldiers, crying out liberty, and exhorting the people to revolt. At the same time they found that the insurgents had forced the gates of the palace, and that some of them were entering to defend their companions. The magistrates however persevered in their defence, and repulsing their enemies, secured the gates till a reinforcement of their friends came to their assistance. Petrucci was now first informed of the assassination of Giuliano, and the attack made upon Lorenzo. The relation of this treachery excited his highest indignation. With the concurrence of the state counsellors, he ordered Giacopo Poggio to be hung in sight of the populace, out of the palace windows; and secured the archbishop, with his brother and the other chiefs of the conspiracy. Their followers were

either slaughtered in the palace, or thrown half alive through the windows. One only of the whole number escaped. He was found some days afterwards concealed in the wainscots, perishing with hunger, and in consideration of his sufferings received his pardon.

The young cardinal Riario, who had taken refuge at the altar, was preserved from the rage of the populace by the interference of Lorenzo, who appeared to give credit to his asseverations, that he was ignorant of the intentions of the conspirators. It is said that his fears had so violent an effect upon him that he never afterwards recovered his natural complexion. His attendants fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the citizens. The streets were polluted with the dead bodies and mangled limbs of the slaughtered. With the head of one of these unfortunate wretches on a lance the populace paraded the city, which resounded with the cry of *Palle, Palle* *), *Perish the traitors!* Francesco de' Pazzi being found at the house of his uncle Giacopo, where on account of his wound he was confined to his bed, was dragged out naked and exhausted by loss of blood, and being brought to the palace, suffered the same death as his associate. His punishment was immediately followed by that of the archbishop, who was hung through the windows of the palace, and was not allowed even to divest himself of his prelatical robes.

The last moments of Salviati, if we may credit Politiano, were marked by a singular instance of ferocity. Being suspended close to Francesco de' Pazzi, he seized the naked body with his teeth, and relaxed not from his hold even in the agonies of death. Jacopo de' Pazzi had escaped from the city during the tumult, but the day following he was made a prisoner by the neighbouring peasants, who regardless of his intreaties to put him to death, brought him to Florence, and delivered him up to the magistrates. As his guilt was manifest, his execution was instantaneous, and afforded from the windows of the palace another spectacle that gratified the resentment of the enraged multitude. His nephew Renato, who suffered at the same time, excited in some degree the commiseration of the spectators. Devoted to his studies, and averse to popular commotions, he had refused to be an

*) The *palle-d'oro*, or golden balls, the arms of the family of Medici.

actor in the conspiracy, and his silence was his only crime. The body of Giacopo had been interred in the church of Santa Croce, and to this circumstance the superstition of the people attributed an unusual and incessant fall of rain that succeeded these disturbances. Partaking in their prejudices, or desirous of gratifying their revenge, the magistrates ordered his body to be removed without the walls of the city. The following morning it was again torn from the grave by a great multitude of children, who in spite of the restrictions of decency, and the interference of some of the inhabitants, after dragging it a long time through the streets, and treating it with every degree of wanton opprobrium, threw it into the river Arno.

Such was the fate of a man who had enjoyed the highest honors of the republic, and for his services to the state had been rewarded with the privileges of the equestrian rank. The rest of this devoted family were condemned either to imprisonment or to exile, excepting only Guglielmo de' Pazzi, who, though not unsuspected, was first sheltered from the popular fury in the house of Lorenzo, and was afterwards ordered to remain at his own villa, about twenty-five miles distant from Florence.

Although most diligent search was made for the priests who had undertaken the murder of Lorenzo, it was not till the third day after the attempt that they were discovered having obtained a shelter in the monastery of the Benedictine monks. No sooner were they brought from the place of their concealment, than the populace, after cruelly mutilating them, put them to death; and with difficulty were prevented from slaughtering the monks themselves. Montesicco, who had adhered to the cause of the conspirators, although he had refused to be the active instrument of their project, was taken a few days afterwards, as he was endeavouring to save himself by flight, and beheaded, having first made a full confession of all the circumstances attending the conspiracy, by which it appeared that the pope was privy in the whole transaction. The punishment of Bernardo Bandini was longer delayed. He had safely passed the bounds of Italy, and had taken refuge at length in Constantinople: but the Sultan Mahomet being apprized of his crime, ordered him to be seized and sent in chains to Florence, at the same time alledging as the motive of his conduct, the respect which he

had for the character of Lorenzo de' Medici. He arrived in the month of December in the ensuing year; and met with the due reward of his treachery. An embassy was sent from Florence to return thanks to the Sultan in the name of the republic.

Throughout the whole of this just but dreadful retribution, Lorenzo had exerted all his influence to restrain the indignation of the populace, and to prevent the further effusion of blood. Soon after the attempt upon his life, an immense multitude surrounded his house, and not being convinced of his safety, demanded to see him. He seized the opportunity which their affection afforded, and notwithstanding his wound, endeavoured by a pathetic and forcible address to moderate the violence of their resentment. He entreated that they would resign to the magistrates the task of ascertaining and of punishing the guilty, lest the innocent should be incautiously involved in destruction. His appearance and his admonitions had a powerful and instantaneous effect. With one voice the people devoted themselves to the support of his cause, and besought him to take all possible precautions for his safety, as upon that depended the hopes and welfare of the republic. However Lorenzo might be gratified with these proofs of the affection of his fellow-citizens, he could not but lament that inconsiderate zeal which was so likely to impel them to a culpable excess. Turning to some of the Florentine nobility by whom he was attended, he declared that he felt more anxiety from the intemperate acclamations of his friends, than he had experienced even from his own disasters.

The general sorrow for the loss of Giuliano was strongly marked. On the fourth day after his death his obsequies were performed, with great magnificence, in the church of S. Lorenzo. It appeared that he had received from the daggers of Bandini and Francesco de' Pazzi no less than nineteen wounds. Many of the Florentine youth changed their dress in testimony of respect to his memory. In the predilection of the Florentines for Giuliano, historians are agreed. Even Machiavelli allows, that he possessed all the humanity and liberality that could be wished for in one born to such and elevated station, and that his funeral was honored by the tears of his fellow-citizens.

Tall of stature — strong in his person — his breast prominent — his limbs full and muscular — dark eyes — a lively look — an olive complexion — loose black hair turned back from his forehead; such is the portrait given of Giuliano by his intimate associate Politiano, who to these particulars has further added, that he excelled in active exercises; in horsemanship, in wrestling, in throwing the spear; that he was habituated to thirst and to hunger, and frequently passed a day in voluntary abstinence; possessed of great courage, of unshaken fortitude, a friend to religion and order; an admirer of painting, music and other elegant arts. — From the same author we also learn, that Giuliano had given proofs of his poetical talents in several pieces remarkable for their strength of diction, and plenitude of thought; but of these no specimens now remain.

Shortly after this transaction, Lorenzo received a visit from Antonio da San Gallo, who informed him that the untimely death of Giuliano had prevented his disclosing to Lorenzo a circumstance, with which it was now become necessary that he should be acquainted. This was the birth of a son, whom a lady of the family of Gorini had born to Giuliano about twelve months before his death, and whom Antonio had held over the baptismal fount, where he received the name of Giulio. Lorenzo immediately repaired to the place of the infant's residence, and taking him under his protection, delivered him to Antonio, with whom he remained until he arrived at the seventh year of his age. This concealed offspring of illicit love, to whom the kindness of Lorenzo supplied the untimely loss of a father, was destined to act an important part in the affairs of Europe. The final extinction of the liberties of Florence; the alliance of the family of Medici with the royal house of France; the expulsion of Henry VIII. of England from the bosom of the Roman church; and the consequent establishment of the doctrines of the reformers in this island, are principally to be referred to this illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici, who, through various vicissitudes of fortune, at length obtained the supreme direction of the Roman see, and under the name of Clement VII. guided the bark of St. Peter through a succession of the severest storms which it has ever experienced.

The public grief occasioned by the death of Giuliano was however mingled with, and alleviated by exultation for

the safety of Lorenzo. Every possible method was devised to brand with infamy the perpetrators of the deed. By a public decree, the name and arms of the Pazzi were ordered to be for ever suppressed. The appellations of such places in the city as were derived from that family were directed to be changed. All persons contracting marriage with the descendants of Andrea de' Pazzi were declared ammoniti *), and prohibited from all offices and dignities in the republic. The ancient ceremony of conducting annually the sacred fire from the church of S. Giovanni to the house of the Pazzi was abolished, and a new method was adopted of continuing this popular susperstition. Andrea dal Castagno was employed, at the public expense, to represent the persons of the traitors on the walls of the palace, in execution of which he obtained great applause, although the figures, as a mark of infamy, were suspended by the feet. On the other hand the skill of the Florentine artists was exerted in soothing the feelings, and gratifying the curiosity of the public, by perpetuating the remembrance of the dangers which Lorenzo had escaped. By the assistance of Andrea Verocchio, Orsini, a celebrated modeller in wax, formed three figures as large as the life, which bore the most perfect resemblance of the person and features of Lorenzo, and which were placed in different churches of the territory of Florence. One of these represented him in the dress which he wore when he received the wound, and as he appeared to the populace at the window of his palace. A more lasting memorial was devised by Antonio Pollajuoli, who struck a medal on this occasion, exhibiting in the ancient choir of the Reparata, the assassination of Giuliano, and the attack made upon Lorenzo. In this medal, the conspirators are all represented naked, not merely for the purpose of displaying the knowledge of the artist in the human figure, in which he excelled all his contemporaries, but as some have conjectured, as being characteristic of the flagitious act in which they were engaged.

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*) *d. h. Verwiesene.*



